

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果報告 期末報告

教育學門中的性別、知識與權力：中等學校師資培育教育
專業課程之性別分析(GM08)(II-I)

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中華民國 103 年 04 月 28 日

中文摘要：旨在了解中等學校師資培育機構性別教育相關課程的開課現況，研究發現，性別教育相關課程在中等學校師資培育機構中堪稱邊緣化，而授課教師的性別比例則十分傾斜；就課程內容而言，授課者大抵都把喚醒個人的性別意識視為性別教育相關課程的目標之一，單元內容可以歸納四個類目：有關性別的基本概念或理論基礎、性別的跨領域或議題探討、性別與教育領域或議題、有關教育的措施或行動。針對這些發現，根據女性主義觀點，指出作為跨領域的性別教育，在教育學門中所受到的認可程度有限；儘管「個人的即政治的」之信念備受重視，教職女性化的議題甚少受到關注；雖然絕大多數的教學綱要都處理與性別有關的基本概念或理論基礎，卻鮮少綱要明指女性主義或婦女運動為單元內容；雖然教師的性別識能可分為三階段，不過認知與行動之間的落差值得注意。最後本文主張若要認真看待性別平等的價值，不能忽視女性的聲音，若性別平等教育要在中等學校實施，在培育師資生的師培機構中忽視性別教育是很荒謬的；建議僅是喚醒性別意識將不足以讓未來的教師把性別教育融入學科或學習領域教學，他們需要把性別意識付諸實踐的機會，而這需要一門以上且循序漸進的課程才能達成。

中文關鍵詞：學門知識、性別教育、課程研究、師資培育、女性主義

英文摘要：This study aims to understand the status quo of course offering of gender education in secondary teacher education institutions. The findings can be divided into two parts. First of all, gender education related courses are marginalized in the institutions in question and the gender ratio of the instructors skews extremely. As far as the content is concerned, the majority of the instructors emphasize the raising of gender consciousness as one of the course objectives, and four categories of course units emerge: concepts or theories fundamental to gender, interdisciplinary issues related to gender, gender and the field of education or educational issues, educational measures or actions for gender education. Based on a feminist perspective, four paradoxes are highlighted for attention: 1. As an interdisciplinary field, the extent for gender education to be recognized in the (sub)discipline of education is probably limited. 2. Even though the belief that the personal is political is stressed,

the issue of feminization of teaching receives scant attention. 3. While most syllabi deal with concepts or theories fundamental to gender, very few list feminisms or women's movement as course units. 4. Gender literacy of teachers can be classified into three stages, and the gap between cognition and action is noteworthy. This article concludes that women's voices cannot be ignored, if the value of gender equity is to be taken seriously, and that it will be ridiculous to neglect gender education in teacher preparation programs and institutions, if it is to be implemented in secondary schools. Awakening prospective teachers' gender consciousness alone is not sufficient for them to fuse gender education into subject matters or learning areas; they also need opportunities to carry out their gender consciousness, which will take more than one course stepwise to achieve.

英文關鍵詞： disciplinary knowledge, gender education, curriculum studies, teacher education, feminism

行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫成果報告

(期中進度報告/期末報告)

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(GM08)(II-I)

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計畫主持人：楊巧玲

共同主持人：無

計畫參與人員：陳誼芳、黃雨筑、林宜靜

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中、英文摘要及關鍵詞 (keywords)

中文摘要

本研究計畫旨在了解中等學校師資培育機構性別教育相關課程的開課現況，研究發現，性別教育相關課程在中等學校師資培育機構中堪稱邊緣化，而授課教師的性別比例則十分傾斜；就課程內容而言，授課者大抵都把喚醒個人的性別意識視為性別教育相關課程的目標之一，單元內容可以歸納四個類目：有關性別的基本概念或理論基礎、性別的跨領域或議題探討、性別與教育領域或議題、有關教育的措施或行動。針對這些發現，根據女性主義觀點，指出作為跨領域的性別教育，在教育學門中所受到的認可程度有限；儘管「個人的即政治的」之信念備受重視，教職女性化的議題甚少受到關注；雖然絕大多數的教學綱要都處理與性別有關的基本概念或理論基礎，卻鮮少綱要明指女性主義或婦女運動為單元內容；雖然教師的性別識能可分為三階段，不過認知與行動之間的落差值得注意。最後本文主張若要認真看待性別平等的價值，不能忽視女性的聲音，若性別平等教育要在中等學校實施，在培育師資生的師培機構中忽視性別教育是很荒謬的；建議僅是喚醒性別意識將不足以讓未來的教師把性別教育融入學科或學習領域教學，他們需要把性別意識付諸實踐的機會，而這需要一門以上且循序漸進的課程才能達成。

中文關鍵詞：性別教育、師資培育、課程研究、女性主義、學門知識

Abstract

This study aims to understand the status quo of course offering of gender education in secondary teacher education institutions. The findings can be divided into two parts. First of all, gender education related courses are marginalized in the institutions in question and the gender ratio of the instructors skews extremely. As far as the content is concerned, the majority of the instructors emphasize the raising of gender consciousness as one of the course objectives, and four categories of course units emerge: concepts or theories fundamental to gender, interdisciplinary issues related to gender, gender and the field of education or educational issues, educational measures or actions for gender education. Based on a feminist perspective, four paradoxes are

highlighted for attention: 1. As an interdisciplinary field, the extent for gender education to be recognized in the (sub)discipline of education is probably limited. 2. Even though the belief that the personal is political is stressed, the issue of feminization of teaching receives scant attention. 3. While most syllabi deal with concepts or theories fundamental to gender, very few list feminisms or women's movement as course units. 4. Gender literacy of teachers can be classified into three stages, and the gap between cognition and action is noteworthy. This article concludes that women's voices cannot be ignored, if the value of gender equity is to be taken seriously, and that it will be ridiculous to neglect gender education in teacher preparation programs and institutions, if it is to be implemented in secondary schools. Awakening prospective teachers' gender consciousness alone is not sufficient for them to fuse gender education into subject matters or learning areas; they also need opportunities to carry out their gender consciousness, which will take more than one course stepwise to achieve.

Key words: gender education, teacher education, curriculum studies, feminism, disciplinary knowledge

前言

本研究計畫初步提出為期三年的計畫，希望達成三個目的：首先是呼籲師資培育機構檢視所開設的教育專業課程對師資生性別意識培力的影響，並探究可行的改善之道；其次是邀請師資培育機構中的授課者對於所開設的教育專業課程重行評估，並思考如何有助於師資生性別意識的養成；最後是透過教學工作坊、學術研討會，試圖建構具性別意識的教育專業課程內容，並將研究成果加以推廣，讓更多的師資培育機構以及教育專業科目的授課者瞭解國家的性別政策、重視性別教育的推動。

經過審查，先行通過核定第一年期，於是本研究計畫的主要提問如下：中等學校師資培育機構開設教育專業科目的現況如何？性別教育相關課程的開設與否是基於怎樣的考量？如果開設，課程內容如何安排？師資結構又是如何？

本研究計畫之重要性

本研究計畫的重要性包括：

- 一、檢視教育學門的知識與權力之依附關係並彰顯其間的性別問題
- 二、探討被視為理所當然的教育專業課程所負載的性別偏見與歧視
- 三、填補教育學門與性別研究的相關文獻中之空白領域或不足之處

文獻探討

培育具有性別意識的師資之重要性眾所皆知（李淑菁，2011；李雪菱，2011；莊明貞，1997；游美惠，2001、2002a；楊巧玲，2002a；Sadker, Sadker & Hicks, 1980；Sanders, 2002；Zittleman & Sadker, 2003），而師資培育的課程本身是否具有性別意識，或是意味著什麼樣的性別權力關係，需要加以檢視與反省。以下分成三個部分進行與本研究計畫相關的文獻回顧，並加以評述，以說明本研究計畫的理論觀點，並突顯本研究計畫的原創性與預期貢獻。

一、學門知識的性別權力探討

本研究計畫的焦點是教育學門，要探討這個學門中的性別、知識與權力，可以向其他學門借鏡，原因有二：一方面是國內針對教育學門的知識體系進行性別權力關係的分析之相關文獻仍然有限（蕭昭君，2003），一方面是作為或說被視為一個應用的學門，教育學門往往受到其他學門的影響，所以其他學門的知識建構以及其所蘊含或展現的性別權力關係就值得注意。女性主義社會學家 Judith Stacey 和 Barrie Thorne (1993) 在探討女性主義理論在社會學門的地位時，就表示社會學理論的重要性遠遠超越了社會學門的界限，很多「應用」²的領域都依賴社會學的架構，而教育就在她們所列的「應用領域」之一。

在探討學門知識的性別權力關係時，女性主義是主要的理論觀點，而女性主義的理論觀點正是本研究計畫的依據。值得注意的是，當我們可以說「女性主義的理論觀點」時，這本身就是一個權力抗爭的成果，事實上，有不少學門還在抗拒這樣的理論觀點；例如國內女性主義哲學學者陳瑤華在 2002 年台灣女性學學會所主辦的「檢視大專教科書性別意識」研討會中就指出，在哲學教科書中有一個基本內容對於女性主義的哲學造成嚴重的阻礙，那就是不少研究女性主義哲學的研究者常常會質疑：真的有女性主義的倫理學、知識論、形上學、政治學嗎？她認為這個提問的本身所反映的是研究者未能嚴肅地看待女性主義哲學的發展（引自楊巧玲，2004：71）。雖然教科書的呈現可能不完全等同於整個學門，但是其指標性與影響力是無庸置疑的，這也就是為什麼教科書的性別檢視持續受到重視的原因，而這方面的研究成果對本研究計畫深具啟發，將於下文說明。本研究計畫的企圖就是要去探究目前中等學校師資培育的教育專業課程裡，女性主義觀點是否缺席？可以如何補充？

二、女性主義教育學相關論述

經由上述其他學門，特別是社會學學門知識的性別權力關係之分析，不禁思索女性主義理論觀點在教育學學門的情形是如何。從既有的文獻可以得知，「女性主義教育學」某種程度已經存在，就國內而言，用

¹ 該文原發表於 1985 年，本研究計畫所引用的是收錄該文的一本選集，由 L.S. Kauffman 主編，出版於 1993 年。

² 原文為“applied” fields，此處的中文引號反映原文（Stacey & Thorne, 1993:181）。

「女性主義教育學」為關鍵字進行期刊論文資料庫的查詢，可以發現自 1990 年代末以來，相關的論文持續出現，包括 ERICDATA 高等教育知識庫 36 筆、台灣期刊論文索引系統 29 筆、台灣碩博士論文知識加值系統 8 筆、台灣電子期刊服務網 4 筆，扣除重複的資料後，共計 69 筆，其中以女性主義教育學為題的有 27 篇，佔了將近四成，相較於謝小苓和楊佳羚於 1999 年發表的檢視十年來教育研究中的性別論述，發現在 309 篇期刊、雜誌上的研究論文以及 121 篇碩博士學位論文中，沒有以女性主義教育學為題的相關論文（引自潘慧玲，1999），堪稱有所成長。

到底何謂女性主義教育學？如何發展而成？潘慧玲（1999）在以「教育學發展的女性主義觀點」為題對女性主義教育學進行初探的一文中，對美國女性主義教育學的發展脈絡做了詳盡的說明。根據潘慧玲的觀察，女性主義教育學的相關文獻十分龐雜，原因之一是學者來自不同的學術背景，主要分為兩部分：「婦女研究」(Women's Studies) 學程或系所和教育學院，至於所謂「相關文獻」大概也可以分為兩部分，其一為「性別與學校教育」(gender and schooling) 的研究，致力於揭露課程與課堂的性別不平等，呼籲實施性別涵蓋(gender-inclusive) 課程；其二為「女性主義教育學」(feminist pedagogy) 的倡議，致力於挑戰高等教育中所充斥的父權思想，呼籲重新認知婦女的學習方式使其能在學習環境中建立主體性。潘慧玲認為有了上述的脈絡性理解，我們可以得知如果就廣義來解釋，只要是與女性主義相關的教育研究都可以涵蓋在女性主義教育學之中，但是如果就狹義來解釋，女性主義教育學係指因不滿父權的教育體制而企圖建立一種納入女性經驗的教育學，相對於「性別與學校教育」研究的關注中小學學生，「女性主義教育學」所關注的是成人。

基於上述對於女性主義教育學的脈絡與內涵之理解，本研究計畫可以分析在師資培育機構中，擔任教育專業課程的授課教師來自什麼樣的學術背景，這樣的背景與她/他是否開設性別教育相關課程是否有關，如果開設，什麼樣的議題被納入，議題的納入與排除基於什麼考量，如果沒有開設，是否在課程內容中納入具有女性主義觀點的教育論述或研究，無論是或否，各有什麼考量。這樣的分析有助於瞭解目前師資培育教育專業課程培育師資生的性別意識之現況，指出不足之處並建議改進之道，也能檢視女性主義理論觀點在教育學學門中的地位，並思索充實女性主義教育學的行動方案。誠如女性主義社會學者曾熾芬和吳嘉苓所言，女性主義觀點的社會學研究成果不是沒有，只是常被忽略，排除在教科書之外，同時，有些主題領域嚴重欠缺女性主義觀點的經驗研究，也就不容易被納入討論（曾熾芬等人，2004：137），本研究計畫想要瞭解在性別教育已成國家政策、教改方向的當今，在性別教育相關研究或說廣義的女性主義教育學已經穩定成長之際，在師資培育的教育專業課程入門科目中到底忽略或排除了什麼，又有什麼是嚴重欠缺的。

合作分享。

三、師資培育課程的性別研究

回溯教育學門裡與性別議題有關的研究，「課程研究」這個領域應該算是具有引領作用的，例如在 1980 年代就有課程研究的學者針對國小教科書中充滿偏頗的性別意識型態加以批評（如黃政傑，1988；歐用生，1988），而此類研究對後來的教科書內容關於性別呈現的修正不無影響（蕭昭君，2002a）。如前所言，婦女運動團體如婦女新知也是從檢視國小教科書著手，開始關注教育並努力地把性別議題納入之後的教育改革（楊巧玲，2011；蘇芊玲，2002）。事實上，教科書的研究自此以後一直未曾中斷，甚至算是蓬勃發展，例如 2004 年國立編譯館開始鼓勵碩博士學位論文進行教科書研究的補助措施，2008 年開始出版「教科書研究」專業期刊³（國家教育研究院，無日期）。

儘管如此，教科書方面的研究仍多以中小學階段為主，尤以小學階段為大宗，關於性別的研究也不例外（蕭昭君，2002a, 2002b, 2003）。當然課程研究不僅止於教科書的檢視，也包含教科書以外的正式課程、潛在課程，但是無論何者，性別觀點的分析仍多以中小學為研究場域，例如 2006 年第 9 卷第 4 期的「課程與教學季刊」曾以「女性主義與課程」為主題，收錄四篇論文，其中有兩篇理論介紹（周珮儀，2006；張佳琳，2006），都已較能跳脫楊幸真（2005）「一再引用類似的文獻」之批評，但是似乎也顯示出「女性主義教育學」和「課程研究」的斷裂；另兩篇則分別研究高中學生的課堂經驗以凸顯課程與教學的性別化(gendered)（楊巧玲，2006）、研究國中階段的學校如何透過性別差異的服儀規範進行父權社會的性別刻板印象之潛在課程（張如慧，2006），雖然這類研究豐富了「女性主義教育學」的經驗研究，卻仍未觸及高等教育的範疇。這個「高等教育階段缺席」的現象似乎還是持續，就像魏美娟和方文慧（2011）所說的，國內對於性別平等教育課程的研究，主要集中在國高中及小學，關於大專校院性別課程的研究較少。

如果培育具有性別意識的基層教師是性別教育推動的關鍵，師資培育工作者的性別意識便是關鍵中的關鍵，但是如前所述，基層教師的性別意識已經得到不少研究者的關注，師資培育者的相關研究卻較為少見，王儷靜

（2004）的研究算是例外，她曾針對在師範學院擔任兩性教育課程的授課教師進行訪談，結果發現這些授課教師的教學信念，座落在女性主義及和諧論這兩端的光譜上，多數採兩性互動的觀點，只有少數強調女性主義的視野，而學校的開課結構也影響學生的選修意願，至於誰適合開此類課程則頗具爭議。由此可見，當時的師範學院性別相關課程仍以「兩性教育」為名，如今已正名為「性別平等教育」，而且師資培育機構早已不限於師範學院，因此師資培育機構的相關課程是否隨之更新，是否落實性別平等教育法第 17 條

³ 2011 年國立編譯館併於國家教育院而成「教科書發展中心」。

第四款「大專校院應廣開性別研究相關課程」的規定，授課教師本身的教學信念與實踐是否受到系統性的評鑑，在在值得重視，本研究計畫希望能夠對此有所貢獻。另一方面，王儷靜的研究是針對獨立開設性別教育相關課程的師資培育者，本研究計畫也想瞭解在中等學校師資職前教育的教育專業課程入門課中，女性主義理論或性別議題是否以及如何融入，以期一窺教育學專門知識體系的性別權力關係。

研究方法

爲了回答本研究計畫的提問，採行兩種方法：

一、內容分析：

(一) 蒐集中等教育師培機構相關資料

根據教育部中等教育司師資培育之大學一覽表，包括三類，分別是師範/教育大學、設有師資培育相關學系大學、設置師資培育中心之大學，並有「培育類科」一欄，針對該欄註明「中等學校」類科的大學加以篩選，整理出中等教育師資培育機構如下：共計 41 所大學設置中等學校師資培育中心，含 3 所國立師範大學、18 所國立一般大學、10 所私立一般大學、6 所國立科技大學、4 所私立科技大學；共計 5 所大學設有 52 個師資培育學系，含台灣師範大學 25 系、彰化師範大學 13 系、高雄師範大學 12 系、政治大學 1 系、文化大學 1 系。

(二) 蒐集性別教育相關課程開課資料

前文曾經述及，教育部頒訂的師資職前教育課程教育專業課程科目及學分名列「兩性教育/性別教育」爲選修課程之一，因此透過教育部所設置的「大學課程資源網」與「技職校院課程資源網」，以「兩性教育」、「性別教育」爲關鍵字詞查詢，分別查得 20 門與 4 門性別教育相關課程，共計 24 門，每門皆兩學分。最後蒐集所有的性別教育相關課程之教學綱要，結果發現其中兩份綱要有所重複，具體而言，兩位授課教師各開兩門課程，而兩門課程使用相同的教學綱要，換言之，最後進行內容分析的文件資料是 22 份教學綱要。

二、個別訪談：

在 22 位授課者中，共徵得 10 位參與訪談，包括 2 位男性、8 位女性。從取得同意到執行訪談，耗費很多時日，因爲遍布各地，尤其是逐字稿的謄寫、確認，更是花費很多時間，目前仍在進行資料分析，可望寫成兩篇論文。

結果與討論（含結論與建議）

此處先行摘述內容分析研究結果，並行初步討論。

一、性別教育相關課程開課情形

總計 41 所中等學校師資培育大學ⁱⁱ中，18 所開設性別教育相關課程，占 44%，將近五成。進一步分析之後可以發現，不同類型的師資培育大學之開課情形有所

不同。

(一) 開課比例因不同類型師培大學而異，設置師資培育中心者比例最低
表 1 中等學校師資培育不同大學類型開設性別教育相關課程統計

師資培育 大學類型	師範 大學	設有師資培育學系 一般大學	設置師資培育中心 一般與科技大學	合計
開設課程大學數	3	1	14	18
總大學數	3	2	38	43-2 ⁱⁱⁱ
開課百分比	100	50	37	44

(二) 按開課單位(含師資培育學系和師資培育中心)進行統計，不到三成開課
表 2 合計師資培育學系與師資培育中心的開課統計

	師資培育學系	師資培育中心	合計
開課單位數	5	16	21
單位總數	52	41	93
開課百分比	10	39	23

(三) 課程在各師資培育單位的分佈情形顯得非常零星

表 3 24 門性別教育相關課程的分佈統計

師範大學		設有師資培育學系一般大學	設置師資培育中心大學		合計
4 學系	2 中心	1 學系	一般大學 10 個中心	科技大學 4 個中心	21 個 單位
6 門	2 門	1 門	11 門	4 門	24 門

(四) 師資人口組成結構顯現大幅度的性別傾斜

表 4 授課教師人口組成統計

	女性	男性	合計
教授	7	1	8
副教授	7	0	7
助理教授	5	1	6
講師	1	0	1
合計	20	2	22

二、 性別教育相關課程內容分析

針對教學綱要中的兩大共通元素進行內容分析，結果分為以下兩部分。

(一) 教學(課程)目標的內容分析顯示喚醒性別意識最受重視，而反省個人經驗是喚醒性別意識的主要途徑

表 5 教學(課程)目標之內容分析

目標階段與	喚醒性別	培養教學能力	培養處理校園
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類別	意識	性別融入教學	性別獨立教學	性別事件能力
份數(n=22)	21	7	6	1
百分比	95	32	27	5

若就「喚醒性別意識」這個階段的目標進一步分析，大抵可以分為 5 種類目：反省個人經驗、檢視教育體系、檢視廣大社會、強調採取行動、強調進行研究，資料顯示，22 份教學綱要的目標陳述中幾乎每一份至少都包含一個屬於反省個人經驗的陳述，其餘各類的份數分佈分別為 13、15、8、4，也就是說，當授課者意圖喚醒師資培育生（以下簡稱師資生）的性別意識時，大抵都會關注其個人經驗的回顧與反省，著眼於外在廣大社會以及教育體系的探討者也佔有六、七成，而提及行動與研究的分別佔有將近四成和二成，統計如表 8。

表 6 21 份教學綱要中涉及「喚醒性別意識」目標的類目分析

	反省個人經驗	檢視教育體系	檢視廣大社會	強調採取行動	強調進行研究
份數(n=21)	20	13	15	8	4
百分比	95	62	71	38	19

教學（課程）目標本身並無法顯示教學的內容，因此繼續針對綱要中所列的教學單元名稱或說明進行內容分析。

（二）單元內容（名稱）的內容分析可歸納出四個類目：基本概念或理論基礎、跨領域或議題探討、教育領域或議題、教育的措施或行動

表 7 單元內容類目分析

	類目 1 性別 基本概念/ 理論基礎	類目 2 性別 跨領域或議 題探討	類目 3 性別 與教育領域 或議題	類目 4 有關 教育的措施 或行動
教學綱要數(n=22)與百分比	19(86%)	19(86%)	19(86%)	13(59%)
單元數(n=271)與百分比	95(35%)	83(31%)	76(28%)	17(6%)

三、討論

上述研究結果意義為何？以下試圖提出幾點討論。

（一）有關性別教育相關課程開課情形

1. 開課數量與比例彰顯出性別教育的邊緣化
2. 授課者的組成特色似乎透露出教育學門中跨越領域有其困難

（二）有關性別教育課程相關課程教學內容

針對 100 年度所開設的 24 門性別教育相關課程的內容，包括教學（課程）目標、單元內容（名稱），本研究的發現凸顯三項潛在的矛盾：

1. 「個人即政治」的信念既醒目又不足

2. 性別概念/理論基礎受到重視，女性主義/婦女運動付之闕如
3. 中等學校師資培育性別教育課程在認知與行動之間的落差

四、結論與建議

本研究彰顯了於 100 學年度性別平等教育在中等學校師資培育教育專業課程中的不足，何以致此？從女性主義的觀點來看，在很多學門中被生產與傳遞的知識都是男流的知識，排除了另一半的人口，這些學門之中不乏教育學門仰賴的母學門(Martin, 1982; Peterson, 1993)。而師資培育與教育學門息息相關，若教育學門及其母學門能透過模糊化、斷裂與跨越而滲透與分裂，一方面汲取女性主義、性別研究的學術養分，轉變原學門既存的概念架構，一方面學門內的成員也能接受這樣的轉變，降低學門類別的守門機制，那麼在師資培育機構中開設性別教育課程可能比較不會受到歸屬感的威脅，進一步促使師資培育者/教育學門成員勇於跨界(Klein, 1993; Stacey & Thorne, 1985)。事實上，如果要認真看待性別平等的價值，我們不能忽視女性的聲音，以利達致「認識論的平等」(Martin, 1982:133)，如果性別平等教育要在中等學校實施，我們不能容許性別教育課程在培育師資生的師培機構中成為被忽略的存有甚至缺席，這是很荒謬的。

另一方面，法律的規範與落實有其必要，前已述及，2004 年公佈實施的性別平等教育法第 15 條規定：「師資培育之大學之教育專業課程，應有性別平等教育相關課程」，但是該法公布前一年教育部修正的「中等學校、國民小學、幼稚園、特殊教育教師師資職前教育課程教育專業課程科目及學分要點」，「兩性教育」/「性別教育」只是 30 個「選修」的「參考」科目之一，即使該要點隨著 2013 年 6 月 17 日發布的「師資職前教育課程教育專業科目及學分對照表實施要點」而廢除，新發布的要點卻只將選修科目由 30 項調為 23 項，原來的「兩性教育」/「性別教育」修正成「性別教育」，這樣並「無法確保合格且具性別平等教育意識專業師資之養成。」(教育部，2010：37)具體的建議是未來「性別平等教育法」修訂時，明訂性別平等教育相關課程納入師資培育必修課程之列。^{iv}

對未來的中等學校教師，我們應該在職前培育的性別教育課程中安排些什麼？喚醒性別意識是必要的，而本研究發現絕大多數的授課者也都強調其重要性，事實上，基層教師與性別意識的相關文獻已經指出教師的性別意識會對課程內容有所影響（如李淑菁，2011；李雪菱，2011）。儘管如此，僅是喚醒性別意識可能不足以讓未來的教師把性別教育融入學科或學習領域教學，他們需要把性別意識付諸實踐的機會，而這可能需要一門以上的課程才能達成，大致上可以有兩種途徑：其一是性別平等的概念被融入在每一門教育專業科目，如此一來，便實際地向師資生示範如何把性別教育融入其未來任教的學科領域；其二是開設階段性的性別教育專業課程，供師資生循序修習，如此一來，授課教師就不必嘗試在唯一的性別平等教育課程裡涵蓋太多的單元主題，企圖達到不同階段的教學目標。同樣重要的是，不同階段目標之下的具體內涵或教學內容需要更精緻的探究，而這就需要跨學門的合作與努力，教育學門與性別研究學者透過模糊化、斷裂與跨越，進而滲透與分裂，以鬆動學門的界線，共同致力於性別教育課程目標

的發展、核心概念的建構、教材的組織研發。無庸置疑的是，師資培育一直都是教育改革的關鍵，性別平等教育的推動也不例外。

本研究的貢獻在於彌補性別觀點的課程研究在高等教育階段缺席之現象(蕭昭君, 2003; 魏美娟、方文慧, 2011), 以中等學校師資培育的性別教育課程為主, 從既有的文本資料進行量化與質性的內容分析, 讓我們得以直接看見師資培育職前教育階段性別教育課程的邊緣化, 間接思考教育學門及其依賴的母學門在認識論上的不平等。然而這樣的研究也有其侷限, 最明顯的是資料來源的完整性, 前已述及, 兩個課程資料庫難以確保精準性, 而教學綱要的內容亦然, 授課者是否都按時更新無從得知; 其次, 蒐集到的教學綱要是否等同實際上的教學內容有待商榷, 畢竟只是「綱要」(outline), 尤其有些教學綱要所列的目標與單元相當簡略, 難以判斷授課者在教學現場如何切入與呈現; 最後也是與前兩點息息相關的限制是, 無論就課程目標或單元名稱進行內容分析, 從規準的採行、類目的編碼、到主題的浮現, 無法脫離主觀性的詮釋, 有流於武斷之虞。上述的研究限制有待後續的研究採取其他的方法加以突破, 而與授課者進行面對面訪談將是可行取徑之一。此外, 本研究的對象僅限於獨立開課的性別教育課程, 或許其他中等學校師資培育教育專業課程也將性別教育融入其中, 有待後續研究進一步系統性地詳加檢視與探討。

ⁱ 教育部於民國 102 年組織改造, 目前掌管師資培育業務單位為「師資培育及藝術教育司」。

ⁱⁱ 41 所設置師資培育中心、5 所設有師資培育學系, 共計應為 46 校, 但是 3 所師大、政治大學以及文化大學同時設有師資培育學系與師資培育中心, 因此總數 46 需要扣除 5, 得 41 校。

ⁱⁱⁱ 設有師資培育學系的 2 所一般大學同時設置師資培育中心, 因此總數需要扣除 2。

^{iv} 事實上, 立法院曾於 2010 年 12 月開了三次「性別平等教育法部分條文修正草案」公聽會, 修正內容之一就是第 15 條增訂「師資培育大學之教育專業課程, 應有至少兩門性別平等教育必修課程」。然而 2011 年 6 月的修訂並未通過該條擬新增的條文(全國法規資料庫, 無日期)。

Abstract

Feminization of teaching is phenomenal. This article aims to explore what kind of gender relations this phenomenon implies and if it has been changing. Through interviewing with incumbent and retired teachers in depth, both male and female, this study finds that a tight gender system is established via the entry to the workplace, division of labor in schools, and teachers' family lives. This system dichotomizes men and women based on absolute difference, which legitimizes the inequity between them, including not only distribution of power and privileges but also the cultivation of consciousness, skills and institutions. And all this socially and culturally constructed difference is used to reinforce its essentialness, which makes the gender system appear natural and necessary and thus sustained. Nonetheless, as time changes, such system has begun to loosen. Is elementary teaching the true profession for women? This article argues that the very thesis that elementary teaching suits women better is very likely to strengthen the stereotypical gender ideology and perpetuate gendered division of labor at workplace as well as at home .

Keywords: elementary school teachers, elementary teaching, gender analysis, gender relations, feminization of teaching.

Introduction

That the majority of elementary teachers in Taiwan are women is phenomenal, known as feminization of teaching(Cortina & Román, 2006). In other words, in the occupation of teaching, females outnumber males and their proportion increases. This study intends to inquire into the gender relations this phenomenon displays and if it is changing.

According to the recent official statistics published in 2011(Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics, 2011a), the total of female teachers at all levels is 168,472, accounting for 61.67% of the entire teaching force. It is fair to say that females outnumber males. However, the description of 'feminization of teaching' does not fit squarely . A more detailed statistics shows that, while 69.01% of elementary teachers are female, the proportion of women teachers at the higher education level only reaches 33.99%. On the other hand, the overall ratio of female teachers does tend to grow yearly, from 26.49% in 1950 to 61.67% in 2010, almost without exception (Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics, 2011b). Such yearly growth applies almost all school levels. In terms of the elementary one, 30.47% of the teaching force

were women in 1950, women teachers approached 50% in 1979, and the percentage has kept growing up to now, seen as Table 1.

Table 1 Number and percentage of female elementary teachers

School year	Number	percentage
1950-51	6,361	30.47
1979-80	34,663	50.09
2010-11	68,692	69.01

source : Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics (2011a 、 2011b)

What gender relations are implied by yearly increase in female teachers and their aggregation at the elementary level? Whether gender relations have been changing as the value of gender equity gets promoted? Is elementary teaching suitable for women? If yes, why? If not, why is elementary teaching feminized? This study tries to answer these questions.

Teaching and Gender

Research related to teachers' work has long lacked a gender lens(Acker, 1995/96). Even though Lortie (1975) adopts a sociological approach to investigating school teachers and finds that teaching was more likely to attract females, he does not explore further how gender functions in it. Until the 1980s studies such as teachers' culture, life and career began to pay attention to gender (such as Acker, 1989; Biklen, 1995; de Lyon & Migniuolo, 1989) .

In terms of the existing literature in Taiwan, research about teachers has focused mainly on surveying their job satisfaction or stress with gender being treated as a variable for testing or control. The gender of teachers themselves started to catch researchers' attention in the 1970s. What concerned then researchers most can be divided into two categories. One is the influence the gender of teachers has on students' performance and achievement. The other is feminization of elementary and junior high school teachers or the change in the ratio of women to men. A significant shift occurred in the 1980s, which was from 'being anxious about too many female teachers' to 'being worried about female teachers' problem'. A good many studies did direct toward role conflict and adjustment difficulty of women teachers.

Such shift seems to be conducive to understanding female teachers but ironically tends to problematize themselves, that is what Woods (1990) calls 'a deficit model of teachers'. This is not unlike the reasoning shown in the mainstream field of sociology of education, which sees feminization of teaching as preventing teaching from

professionalization. This reasoning ignores the fact that occupation itself is a gendered institution. All positions and jobs are not gender-neutral but instead presuppose workers of certain gender (Acker, 1999; Garey, 1999; Williams, 1993). In other words, gender is a set of ideology which defines what behavior, identity and expression constitute a normal man and woman (Stein, Tolman, Porche & Spencer, 2002), including the jobs they take. The work done by men always outvalues that done by women, most of whom aggregate in occupations of low pay, inferior benefit and rare promotion (Garey, 1999; Gatta & Roos, 2005; Hakim, 2004).

Many scholars (such as Cahill, 1994, Connell, 2002, Thorne, 1993, West & Zimmerman, 1987) have criticized the inadequacy of regarding gender as a variable, a set of attributes, or a role in the past, which overlooks the very essence of gender as an institution, a relation. This study agrees with this criticism, which maintains that the explanation of sex role theory leads people to converge on individual socialization rather than on social structure (Connell, 1985). In fact, gender is not fixed prior to social interaction but constituted in and through it. If the fundamental dynamic of sex role theory is socialization, then the essential process of gender relations is categorization and stratification (Ferree, 1990; Reskin, 1988). This study is built upon the gender relations theory, paying attention to how different individuals are categorized and stratified in elementary teaching and if and how gender relations vary with generations.

Compared to most researchers' attention to single sex, this study includes both female and male experience. This inclusion aims not to divide them into separate categories but seem them as part of social relations in order for us to understand why and how women are often subordinated in such relations, such as the distribution of resource and responsibility (Fischman, 2000; Flax, 1990; Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). Thorne (1993:108) suggests that study on gender ought to start with a sense of the whole but not to presume segregation and difference to refrain from sharp dichotomy. This study follows such suggestion in which experiences of male teachers are covered as well as those of their counterpart. Only treating both as segment of social relations can we examine how socially and culturally constructed gender influences individual practice in society and how gender is shaped by the society and individuals with intentional and unintentional operation.

Method

Research about teachers is ample but teachers are usually seen as object, not as subject. It is about the 1980s when the research approach gradually became a 'teachers' voice' one (Acker, 1995/96), a shift which Woods(1990) terms as from

‘cold eyes’ to ‘warm hearts’. On the one hand, researchers attend to subjective experiences of teachers and on the other, the influence teachers’ working environment has on their subjective experiences is also taken into account. This study extends such approach and adopts in-depth interviews as a primary method for data collection. Both retired and incumbent elementary teachers are included and they are all different in gender, teacher preparation background, seniority, teaching experience, and marriage status. The purpose of maximizing their diversity is twofold: to look for a common pattern (Merriam, 2002; Patton, 1990) and to explore whether gender relations has been changing.

The recruitment of research participants starts with my personal network. First of all, I ask a teacher with an administrative position to invite her colleagues who are interested in participation. That elementary school is located in a southern city, about 10 years old, and of a large scale, more than 100 teachers in total. 26 out of them return the invitation slip which expresses their willingness to participate. In the end, however, only 19 teachers (11 females and 8 males) are actually interviewed, as some refuse indirectly in the name of being busy when I contact them. Even though these participants teach at the same school, they have different teaching experience which is conducive to expanding their heterogeneity (Glesne, 1998).

In the meantime, I also try to muster senior and retired teachers via other networks and find three couples: Mr. X and Ms. O, Mr. Y and Ms. M, Mr. Z and Ms. N. The first couple used to be elementary teachers but the husband later becomes high school teacher and assumes various administrative positions. The second couple remain to teach in elementary school but the husband takes an administrative route and retires from it. With regard to the third couple, the husband teaches in junior high and the wife in elementary and both are retired. Another female participant Ms. L used to teach in elementary school and then shifts to junior high until retirement. In so doing this study attempts to depict and compare if and how gender implication of elementary teaching varies with time.

Participants get to choose from two options, individual interview and group interview. No matter which option, everyone is interviewed twice. The first time focuses on their work in school, including how they become an elementary teacher and what they do in school, while the second time pays attention to their family life, including marriage, housework, parenthood. The latter is one of the trends of research about teachers, which extends the researcher’s concern from the workplace to the private sphere (Cunningham, 2000; Gannerud, 2001). As the first interview finishes, the transcription follows and then is sent to the participant with whom the second interview is arranged. Each interview lasts from 1.5 to 3 hours, starting on October 5, 2006 and ending on May 25, 2007. The information about the participants is listed in

Table 2.

Table 2 statistical information about the participants

age years of teaching	female teachers(15 in total)			male teachers (11 in total)			total
	31-40	41-50	51-60	31-40	41-50	51-60	
1-10	Ms. A Ms. B Ms. C	0	0	Mr. P Mr. Q	0	0	5
11-20	Ms. D Ms. E Ms. F Ms. G Ms. H Ms. I	Ms. J Ms. K	0	Mr. R Mr. S Mr. T Mr. U	Mr. V	0	13
21-30	0	0	Ms. L Ms. M Ms. N	0	Mr. W	Mr. X Mr. Y Mr. Z	7
31 and beyond	0	0	Ms. O	0	0	0	1
total	9	2	4	6	2	3	26

source : made by the author

The strategy of infusion/crystallization is employed for data analysis (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). First of all, every transcript is read individually and carefully in which key points are summarized in accordance with questions raised. The purpose is to holistically comprehend every participant's past experience, current work and life arrangement, which is called horizontal penetration. Next, the result inducted from horizontal penetration is to used to compare among different participants with respect to their teaching background, workplace experience and family life, which is called vertical penetration.

Analysis and Interpretation

Just like most occupations, elementary teaching holds specific entry channel and division of labor. In the meantime, just like all employees, elementary teachers possess their private life which usually intertwines their work life. The following will perform a gender analysis and interpretation in terms of entry channel, division of

labor and life .

A. Entry channel

How do they become elementary teachers? Two routes stand out: the formal teacher education institutions and short term teacher training. It is necessary to trace the experience of teacher preparation if we want to analyze elementary teaching from a gender perspective. Prior research has shown that teacher education itself is replete with gender implication (de Lyon & Migniuolo, 1989; Fischman, 2000; Gitlin, 1996). This study finds a conspicuous gender difference. To most women, becoming an elementary school teacher seems to match expectations due to its high stability, low competition, and compatible with family. On the contrary, elementary teaching appears to be a powerless choice for most men because of its low criteria, lack of challenge, and being with children. Even so, such gender disparity has gradually been changing as time goes by. Some female participants speak of elementary teaching not as an expectation of her own or family members and even as an accident. Some of male participants claim that they want to be elementary school teachers because they are inspired and taken care of by their elementary school teachers. Some even aspire to the life style of elementary teaching and shift from their original occupation.

(A)Female participants: From ‘ought to’ to ‘happen to’ be elementary teachers

The reason for becoming elementary teachers for 15 female participants reveals an alteration from ‘ought to’ to ‘happen to’:

- a. Parental expectation and familial consideration make elementary teaching be taken for granted.

The birth year of the female participants ranges from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. The idea that it’s the best for women to become teachers has come to be a widespread belief for the three decades, especially parental expectation toward daughters. For example, born in the late 1940s as the oldest child, Ms. L is interested in the field of diplomacy and law, but her father expects her dearly to be a school teacher to increase income for the family as soon as possible. Ms. M and Ms. N born in the mid-1950s remember that they did not really understand their own interest upon the graduation of junior high¹ but took the entrance examination for 5-year teachers’ college anyway because of the encouragement from parents. Parental encouragement was on both accounts: free of tuition and guaranteed job. Ms. F born in the latter 1960s also mentions that becoming

¹ Back then in Taiwan, compulsory education lasted only 6 years and if students wanted to go further, they had to take an entrance examination for junior high.

an elementary school teacher does not result from her interest but rather from parental advice and that once graduated from 5-year teachers' college one would teach in elementary school for sure.

Even the teacher education system changed in 1987, when 5-year teachers' college taking junior high graduates transformed into 4-year teachers' college taking senior high graduates, the above-mentioned kept intact. According to Ms. D, born in the late 1960s, many female fellow students chose teachers' college to live up to familial expectations:

In freshman year, professors always asked why we were there and the majority responded because of family, especially the girls. Elementary teaching seems to be the occupation most suitable for women and the reason for it is that, I think, it's secure and stable. (Ms. D, Science teacher, 20070103) ²

The younger generation Ms. A, born in the mid-1970s, tells a similar story,

My first priority was the department of advertisement at the Chengchi University³, but the chance was little. And then my parents suggested me to consider teachers' college. I did and the exam result fitted for that. They thought this job to be more stable and I listened. (Ms. A, Local Language teacher and also the leader of teaching branch⁴, 20060206)

Some female participants become an elementary school teacher not due to parental expectations but to economic limitation. Ms. O was born in the mid-1950s with many siblings. She wanted to go to college and did pass the entrance exam for the most prestigious senior high school. But she ended up choosing the 5-year teachers' college in order to reduce her parents' burden and therefore became a school teacher.

b. Life chances make them happen to be elementary school teachers.

As 5-year teachers' college was upgraded in the late 1980s when the living standard ascended in general, parental expectation rose as well. Take

² When what participants say is quoted, the code represents the following order: pseudonym, current position, and interview date.

³ National Chengchi University, a prestigious and public higher education institution in Taiwan, usually takes a very high score of entrance exam to be admitted.

⁴ The bureaucratic organization in Taiwanese schools is generally composed of four departments and each of 2-3 branches, depending on school size. The teaching branch belongs to the department of academic affairs.

Ms. D as an instance. She is a single child and her father is a civil servant. Probably because of this, he expects her to flourish in fields different from his. But she failed the entrance exam the first time and when she passed the second one a year later, she settled on the upgraded teachers' college, which still was free of tuition. Like Ms. D's father, Ms. B's mother holds high expectation of her. Even Ms. B got admitted to the 5-year teachers' college, her mother asked her to go to a senior high school in order to attend a 'real' college, since for her mother only the poor let their offspring go to the 5-year teachers' college. Ms. B did matriculate and became an elementary school teacher inadvertently.

Another participant Ms. J reports that teaching in elementary school is absolutely accidental. She majored in chemistry in college and after graduation assumed a researcher in a company in the north. Later on, she got married and had to move to the south, where she surprisingly discovered that there simply was no job for her. Why? Because the R & D division in the south was reserved only for men at that time, the early 1990s in Taiwan. One day Ms. J obtained an information on newspaper about short-term teacher training program and gave it a try. She passed the exam, studied for one year, and got selected. Since then, she has taught for almost 15 years. She points out in interview that teaching is attractive especially for women:

From the perspective of women, if you are a teacher, you can take care of both family and work. And I think that is quite alluring. (Ms. G, Ms. J⁵; Grade 2, Grade 4 home room teacher; 20070323)

(B) Male participants: from 'cannot help but' to 'it's fine to' become elementary school teachers

The reason for becoming an elementary school teacher for 11 male participants can be divided into two categories: 'cannot help but' and 'it's fine'.

a. Cannot help but become elementary teachers

Compared with females who become school teachers to live up to social expectations, most elementary male teachers cannot help but do so due to the constraints of poverty or ability. The former is the most common reason no matter in which decade they were born. Mr. Y, Mr. W and Mr. S, born in 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s respectively, all attribute their attending teachers' colleges to familial economic stress. Born in a time when most people were poor, Mr. Y states that his farming parents could not afford him to go to

⁵ When group interviews are quoted, the underlined last name signifies the one who speaks.

college even though he had passed the entrance exam to the very best senior high school. That is why he went to a 5-year teachers' college. A sense of loss haunted until he finished his first year in that college. But for others, it may take much longer to accept the fact he ends up to be an elementary school teacher. Mr. W reports that,

I didn't take it until I've taught 5 years. Kind of a sense of relief, that is, well, face it! I am an elementary school teacher! I believe many male students in 5-year teachers' colleges had the same feelings as I did. In other words, we didn't accept elementary teaching from our hearts.

(Mr. W, PE teacher and also the leader of sanitary branch⁶, 20061103)

Mr. S, another participant of younger generation, admits that he is still not comfortable with the title of elementary teacher even he has been teaching for more than 10 years. The heart of the problem lies in the part of elementary because he thinks elementary teaching belongs to women and thus he identifies himself as PE teacher or administrator. What follows is his statement,

I found two things unlike elementary teachers' work. First is PE, because PE teacher is more like a coach. I can't deny my male chauvinism. Since entering elementary schools, I've tried my best to jump out of the frame of elementary school teachers. If someone asks me about what I do, I never say I am an elementary school teacher. Instead, I always mention PE teacher first. Or I will speak of how many years I've been an administrator. (Mr. S, PE teacher and also a member of compulsory education counseling team⁷, 20070205)

As for the constraints of ability, ability here refers to the academic performance in school. Mr. T, born in the late 1960s, specifies in interview that his family expected him to be a doctor because for them only doctors deserve authentic respect and make family proud. But Mr. T was not confident enough in his academic achievement and insisted on taking the entrance exam to 5-year teachers' college upon graduation of junior high school after long discussion and dispute with his family.

⁶ This branch belongs to the department of student affairs.

⁷ This team is formed by Bureau of Education of local governments and recruits school teachers who are willing to be committed to R & D and visit schools in need of help with teaching.

b. It's fine to become elementary school teachers.

With societal changes, it seems to be fine for men to teach in elementary schools. Take Mr. P as an example. He majored in the field of engineering in university and then obtained a master degree. After conscription, he took a job related to his major in the mid-1990s. About three years later his company underwent restructuring and that was the moment when he found teaching to be a good life style based on the experience of his relatives and friends. Mr. P thus studied in a short-term program of teacher training, took a selection exam and became an elementary school teacher.

Another participant similar to Mr. P's situation is Mr. Q. With a bachelor degree in business, Mr. Q worked in a bank. But he became tired of interpersonal relations based on interests and aspired after teacher-student relations his wife enjoyed. After discussing with his family and gaining support, he resigned from the bank and went to graduate school in the field of education wherein he took teacher education program. Then he went through the process of internship and examination and became an elementary school teacher.

Even those who felt forced to be elementary teachers also have slowly accepted elementary teaching and even enjoy it, such as a retired teacher, Mr. Y. Looking back at his entire teaching career now, he said, he is not regretful, though he used to be. After all, this job is really secure. Although retired from the administrative position of director, Mr. Y does not think male teachers have to take the administrative path because the organization of schools has changed and administrators no longer symbolize hierarchical authority but are expected to serve the teaching force. Mr. W with 23-year teaching experience holds a similar opinion. He comments that as schools grow more democratic, it gets more and more challenging to assume administrative positions, which in turn has gradually decreased male teachers' burden of becoming administrators. Even the one Mr. S, who is still not comfortable with being an elementary school teacher, acknowledges as well that with power comes pressure. He is currently committed to pursuing a master degree and developing his teaching profession and this is why he joins the team of teaching counseling at the Bureau of Education of the local government.

Another reason for such shift has something to do with the change in salary. Mr. W suggests that male elementary school teachers used to be despised mainly due to low salary, which has improved on a large scale

since the 1990s. Another participant of younger generation, Mr. U is satisfied with his payroll,

My present pay is more than 50000 per month. As a thirty something man, this money is good enough, compared with other occupations. I started teaching in August, 1992, when my monthly income was just over 27000 and it's OK at that time. And it goes up year by year and now I am entering the 15th year, which makes me earn more than 55000. Frankly speaking, this salary is not rich but better than many men. (Mr. U, Grade 5 home room teacher, 20061206)

B. Division of labor

Compared with the change in the entry channel, the division of labor in school remains more stable. Indeed, many studies indicate that occupational segregation of gender has long existed (Bradley, 1989; Gatta & Roos, 2005; Hakim, 2004). With respect to elementary teaching, the teaching experience of interviewees reveals gender division of labor which the majority of them do not question with two exceptions, Ms. I and Ms. C Both maintain that every teacher should be competent in teaching each grade and should have done so no matter women or men in order for them to really grasp different grade levels. How on earth is elementary teaching work divided by gender? It can be categorized into two kinds: vertical and horizontal division of labor.

(A) vertical division of labor by gender: 'Men administer and women teach'

Vertical division of labor by gender refers to the fact that certain gender enjoys higher position and pay or/and more opportunity of promotion in workplace, also known as authority gap or glass ceiling (Hakim, 2004:148), and the interview data do reflect this trend.

a. Male teachers simply evaporate.

Why is it that most elementary teachers are female? One participant Ms. E, graduated from 4-year teachers' college and with 14-year teaching experience, observes that male teachers simply evaporate. According to her, 4-year teachers' colleges used to admit male and female students in the same amount and thus male teachers should be equal with their counterpart in school. But it has been very often to see male teachers assume administrative positions, from basic ones to principals, or take civil examinations and serve as government officials. Some pursued higher degrees to teach at higher levels, and some even left teaching altogether.

To some participants with more seniority, what is called by Ms. E as evaporation is understandable. For example, the couple Ms. O and Mr. X, both were graduated from 5-year teachers' college and taught in different elementary school in the 1970s. Later on, with the encouragement and support from the wife, Ms. O, Mr. X resigned from elementary teaching and went on for a normal university. After graduation, Mr. X got to teach at junior high and then moved to senior high where he took an administrative post and became a director while being interviewed. The following is an excerpt of the interview:

Mr. X: Asking a big boy to teach elementary school kids is indeed not that OK. I once thought to myself what should I do if I had to teach at the elementary level for my entire life! I don't mean to look down on them, but teaching elementary kids all the time should be considered.

I : What do you mean by 'should be considered'?

Mr. X: Well, men simply shouldn't stay in elementary schools but ought to move on to junior high, senior high.

Ms. O: Males aren't as considerate as females by nature. Females can treat kids like sisters or mothers, but men can't. In other words, men don't fit elementary teaching that well.

(Ms. O, Mr. X; Science teacher, English teacher and secretary-general in a vocational high school ; 20061005)

Assuming an administrative post in addition to teaching is almost necessary for all male participants. This commonality reflects to some extent societal expectation and acknowledge of men. On the one hand, administrative posts signify the status of leadership at which men are believed to be good. Ms. F and Ms. K report in interview that, based on their observation in workplace, men are more capable to tackle things, especially with respect to leading. On the other hand, elementary teachers also assume the responsibility of administration, which takes extra energy and time and thus is thought to fit men better, especially younger men. Many participants, no matter male or female, declare that school managers usually ask male teachers to take over administrative tasks besides teaching because doing both at the same time is quite demanding and male teachers are more likely to accept such request.

It is right at this juncture when we can see more clearly how male

elementary teachers evaporate. According to participants with more teaching experience, at the age when prospective teachers were financed totally by the government, they were assigned to schools in accordance with their academic achievement upon graduation from teacher education institutions. Due to inferior results in college, male more often than not were appointed to rural schools or even outlands. With limited resource in such schools and work ethics in school in general, these young men would be charged with administrative duties once they arrived. Graduating from 5-year teachers' college in the late 1970s Mr. T dug into the past while interviewed:

I was allotted to a small school with only 12 classes then. It's full of principal, directors and teachers of higher rank. We were new but obliged to do all kinds of things. And those were the things, frankly speaking, those old teachers didn't like. For example, they didn't like to be home room teachers because you would have to deal with many trivial things all the time. So we the newcomers became home room teachers. At the same time, we had to help with tasks from different branches. Like I myself not only worked in the academic branch but also carried the duty of student affairs branch. I even did the work of the branch of school counseling such as birthday parties, things like that. (Mr. T, special education teacher, 20070213)

The above experience is not an exception. Mr. U, a younger male teacher also cites he has taught upper grade levels together with assuming an administrative post for nine consecutive years except for the very first year when he only taught a single subject. This is exactly why male teachers are more visible in elementary schools, which in turn makes them easier to step up on the management ladder, graduated from 4-year teachers' college, sees this visibility as male advantage in elementary teaching:

Why do men get more chances of being an administrative member, even though always starting with a low rank? I think that's because people see us! For example, I was nobody in the beginning. But now that they need someone to take students out for contests or something and I volunteer, they will see you day in day out. And then they will think of you as somebody and you will stand out in the end! (Mr. S, PE teacher and also a member of compulsory education counseling team,

20070510)

b. Female teachers persist in teaching.

What have female teachers been through in elementary teaching? Most participants report that they have been home room teachers since they entered this workplace. Even if some of them do take up administrative responsibilities, they are not remunerated. The most senior participant Ms. O recalls all sorts of bureaucratic jobs she had experienced, ranging from being cashier and distributing food early on to managing property, being the leader of a grade level, to propagating official messages lately. She never gained bonus even though she did several jobs at the same time. The reward of reducing teaching hours just took effect not long ago.

A few of female participants do become a manager of low rank. But it's more like a deal than a stepping-stone. Ms. E and Ms. A are such cases. The former promised to assist in administration in order to come to the current school from the previous one several years ago. The latter used to work at the Bureau of Education in the local government for two years in order to change schools later. When she came to the current school, she took the official post and remains during this study. The reason for that is, according to Ms. A, she can be subject teacher along with that post and once she gets used to teaching, she will be home room teacher again.

As a matter of fact, when we talk about career planning, not a single female teacher aspires after the track of school management. Two reasons stand out. First of all, they are not interested in management work because it needs much communication and coordination and pleases nobody. Ms. B working in the private sector in the past expresses publicly that she doesn't like administration at all, saying:

Administration means you have to face those above and below and many tasks too. I don't like that. I like teaching and therefore am willing to throw myself to it. (Ms. B, Grade 1 home room teacher, 20070115)

Secondly, they are afraid that management work will have an impact on family life because it usually takes longer hours and probably needs to be on a business trip or move to other positions. Ms. O mentions two cases to explain how difficult it is for women to go for managerial jobs. A female director is committed to school work but not supported by her spouse, who

complains the home is not like home at all. Another female director moves up to be a principal and has to leave for the school very early in the morning and come home very late, because that school is far away from her residence. She gets divorced in the end. Ms. O also speaks of a common situation where both husbands and wives serve in elementary schools and wives take care of the family and encourage husbands to pursue the administrative ladder or graduate school degrees.

Placing female elementary teachers in the sphere of family begins much earlier. Young women not yet married will be more likely to be matched by senior teachers with men in or out of schools than invited to join in administration, which is very different from that encountered by young male teachers. Ms. D shares with me her own experience and observation:

People say that you're stable now, an elementary teacher and the next thing is to think about marriage. When I just graduated and went to teach, people saw a young lady and arranged for me to see somebody again and again. But this wouldn't happen to young male teachers. And I do feel they aren't as eager to get married, because for men, the older you get, the more valuable you become. You can see male teachers go up for master or even Ph. D. degree or administrative positions such as directors or principals. (Ms. D, Science teacher, 20070103)

(B) horizontal division of labor by gender: male subject teacher and female home room teacher

Horizontal division of labor by gender refers to the occasion where men and women do different types of jobs (Hakim, 2004:148), which can often be seen in elementary schools.

a. men as subject teachers

As mentioned before, it is demanding to be home room teacher and run office at the same time. Currently if one assumes administrative work then she or he only teaches specific subject areas. In reality, however, since men tend to take over official jobs, home room teachers belong to women, which results in gender division of labor. Out of eight male participants only two are home room teachers and the rest teach subjects only or being an administrator of low rank simultaneously.

Another reason for males to teach subjects is due to specialty. A Fine

Arts teacher Mr. R regards himself as being very lucky; since graduated from 4-year teachers' college majoring in Fine Arts, he has been teaching this same subject for 11 years, no matter the school he was assigned or the one he passed an exam to enter.

It is noteworthy that, however, there exists division of labor within subject teaching by gender as well as by specialty. Take physical education as an instance. Not only those in charge of PE related administration but also PE teachers are all male, and expertise seems not to be the only concern. Three participants, Mr. W, Mr. V, and Mr. S teach PE, but only Mr. S majored in PE while in 4-year teachers' college. Mr. W and Mr. V selected administration and music as their specialty while in 5-year teachers' college respectively. In addition to PE, the subject of technology is taught mainly by male teachers as well. According to Ms. A, there are six technology teachers, all male. Mr. S, who has chances to visit many elementary schools because of his duty in the municipal government⁸, reports that men dominate in PE and technology, especially the latter, even though the majority of elementary school teachers are women.

b. women as home room teachers

In contrast, most female participants are home room teachers. The significant difference between being a home room teacher and a subject teacher lies in the teacher-student relationship. Home room teachers maintain long term and comprehensive relationship with students, while subject teachers interact with students only or mostly in class. Ms. D, just shifting from home room teacher explains such difference in this way:

Subject teachers are tired only in class. Once kids leave (the specialty classroom) you will be totally relaxed and enjoy your own time and own space. But home room teachers aren't like that at all. When you get home, parents call you up and talk a lot. Sometimes the talk lasts up to 10 pm even though I tell them not to call after 9! (Ms. D, Science teacher, 20070103)

Mr. P, never being a home room teacher, also states that subject teachers don't have to face the pressure from children, parents, and even colleague, even though they need to prepare for and teach classes.

⁸ The Bureau of Education in the local government recruits school teachers to form a team, whose mission includes conducting research and giving counsel. To give counsel, team members need to visit schools and offer help.

Home room teachers take care of kids. To be honest, nowadays, it's not easy to take care of kids, not to mention to make them in control. And parents become more aware. Unlike doctors, whose words are usually taken seriously, parents don't necessarily listen to teachers, which cause many problems. Even subject teachers sometimes turn to home room teachers for helping difficult kids and they have to help them. (Mr. P, Technology and Science teacher, also the leader of general affairs branch, 20070105)

'Taking care of' mentioned by Mr. P is the key to home room teachers' work, especially for those who teach lower grade levels. And this is exactly the justification most participants offer for explaining why home room teachers of lower grades (Grade 1 and 2) are all male. They reason that women are better at taking care of children, which requires patience and carefulness and men simply lack such characteristics. Two home room teachers of Grade 1 Ms. I and Ms. C tell me:

Ms. I: Generally speaking men don't like young students, especially grade 1 and 2, because that will make them like babysitters and they're afraid. In fact, school principals aren't willing to let them do that either.

I: Why is that so?

Ms. I: They presuppose male teachers can't handle those kids, impatient, and harsh.

Ms. C: Or they can be too indulgent, that is, the other extreme.

(Ms. I, Ms. C; Grade 1 home room teachers; 20061228)

But as students grow to upper grades, principals' consideration probably changes as well. They tend to believe preteens will become more rebellious and thus need male teachers to lead. It is apparent that if men are home room teachers, they always teach upper graders (Grade 5 and 6).

It is worth noting that, as schools get more democratic, the assignment of positions is not decided entirely by the administrators any longer.

Teachers' interest and willingness are taken into account as well. This does not mean that, however, the boundary of gender disappears. Many female teachers who are pregnant or have children of school age prefer to sign up as home room teachers of lower grade levels in order for them to rest or care for their own children in the afternoon, when students leave. And male

teachers still tend to choose subjects such as PE, technology or home room teachers of upper grade levels. Mr. W explains,

We think of ourselves not suitable for teaching kids at young age. To be honest, we aren't patient enough and get into a temper easily, especially grade 1 and 2. So you can find many grade 1 and 2 teachers to be women. We will separate ourselves from them (the young kids). It's O.K. to be together with them for a short while and even to talk a bit. But it won't be O.K. to interact with them all the time. They simply are not listening, and you'll have to keep reminding them all along at any time. In the end, you'll feel yourself pretty much like a nagger. (Mr. W, PE teacher and also the leader of sanitary branch, 20061103)

C. Family life

Based on what some interviewees report above, it's not difficult to imagine how family life differs between female and male teachers. The saying of Ms. J that elementary teaching is attractive for women because it makes work compatible with family is an example. Other instances, from others being eager to match for young female teachers to married teachers volunteering to teach low grade levels, all have something to do with a concern for family life. In fact, female teachers do shoulder most burden of household and parenting work. In contrast, men are expected not to have a family early but to make progress in career, which in turn rationalizes why male teachers carry fewer family responsibilities. Nonetheless, as the value of gender equity becomes gradually treasured, the division of labor in family life between male and female teachers shows signs of change as well.

(A) Female teachers: from seeking a balance between family and work to exploring about her self

Except for Ms. H, the 14 female participants all are married. When talking about life other than work, one theme in common is their effort to harmonize between family and work, but somehow they seem to look after their own needs as well.

a. balancing family with work

We can hear clearly from interviews many female participants of different generations mention how hard they have managed to keep balanced between both spheres. With the retired participants, I asked them why they never walked on the road to the administration during their entire teaching career, they responded so:

Ms. N: *The family just was enough for her! She (Ms. M) (has) three kids and I (have) two.*

Ms. M: *We didn't have extra time to think about all this. As soon as the school was over, we went home right away.*

Mr. Z (Ms. N's husband) : *Who would take care of kids (if she took the administrative job)?*

Ms. N: *That's right! Because we are good wives and mothers at home and hard-working teachers at school. That is, play your role, and that's enough.*

(Ms. M, Mr. Y, Ms. N, Mr. Z; retired teachers; 20061019)

The career plan of younger generation seems to remain unchanged. For instance, Ms. A, born in the mid-1970s and with two children of pre-school age, is an administrator of low rank and doesn't attempt to go up for fear of having an impact on family life.

What do female teachers do when they get home from work? Looking after children and doing household work are typical. The difference lies in how much support they gain from such as parents-in-law, family of origin, and spouse. Some of them gain little, like Ms. B. She lives with parents-in-law who don't help with attending grandchildren, and her husband's work requires night shifts. Therefore Ms. B always takes care of her child alone, which causes her not to have another child. She told her life after work this way:

I have to pick up him; he is going to be Grade 1. I feel very tired all the time. I have to pick him up every day after work. And now he is taking swimming classes, and I have to be in company, waiting for him there. When he finishes, I'll take a bath for him then bring him home. And do all sorts of things when we get home. It's later than 10 o'clock already when he goes to bed. Then I can do my own things, prepare my work, and go to bed around 12:30. Next day starts at 6:50 when I have to get up. Only weekends can I rest longer. (Ms. B, Grade 1 home room teacher, 20070524)

Ms. G also notes that since his husband working in the bank is very busy and doesn't come home until late evenings, she brings up two kids all by herself, which is very exhausting. Especially when they were young, she

kept holding babies, including holidays and winter and summer vacations.

Female teachers are occupied with household work at home in addition to looking after kids. The spouses of some hardly do any as those men never did while growing up. Ms. I talks about his husband this way:

He is a single child and grows up in a well-to-do family. His grandmother, parents and many aunties took very good care of him, so he didn't need to do anything but ate well and wore well. He has been spoiled and accustomed to this . (Ms. I, Ms. C; Grade 1 home room teachers; 20070426)

Ms. I immediately justifies her husband being spoiled with her own experience, saying that her own mother has sacrificed for the family as well and now being a mother herself, it seems reasonable to do just the same.

Some spouses have a hand in housekeeping, but female teacher still take the main responsibility. While some couples share housework more equally, female teachers will feel somewhat uncomfortable if they live with parents-in-law, especially when they were just married. Ms. E tells that although her parents-in-law live in a different floor, they can see their son do the laundry and mop the floor, at which her mother-in-law nagged before. According to Ms. E, her mother-in-law is a working woman as well, used to manage housework all by herself, and started asking her father-in-law to help with as he retired. Even though Ms. E's husband has adapted to partake in homemaking nowadays, it's still she who is in charge.

b. looking after own needs

To some degree, the family life of female participants appears different across generations. For the retired ones, the family occupied them besides school work. Ms. M recalls as soon as she got home kids were her only commitment until they went to bed, including monitoring their homework and piano practice. Then she would do her own things, which means doing laundry, washing dishes, mopping the floor, and so on. On the contrary, some younger ones show attention to their own needs, but the premise is still to manage childcare and housework first and well. Some take exercise or leisure classes when children attend cram schools. Others do whatever they want in late evening after they finish housework and kids go to bed, which may or may not be related to their school work. If they want to pursue advanced degrees, they usually wait until children grow older, such as becoming a first grader.

(B) Male teachers: from busy with work to sharing domestic labor

From what 11 male participants report it's not difficult to see how little they commit themselves to the family life in spite of the gradual increase in domestic labor they share.

a. Commitment to work

As mentioned earlier, male teachers usually assume administrative positions, which often take extra time, the family life is thus limited. Mr. U remembers one of his experiences when he taught in a small-scale school being an administrator of low rank:

Then I worked in a school of small size and was the leader of general affairs branch. Some building projects were undertaken and I would have to go to school and take a look on weekends. My wife would complain about that. By the way, that school was not near where I lived; it took me more than one hour to get there and come back. You know, many projects in school are complicated and you just have to go and see during recession, after school, or on weekends, because you're the leader of general affairs branch. (Mr. U, Grade 5 home room teacher, 20070523)

On the other hand, the reason why male teachers devote themselves to work has something to do with gender role expectations. In general, men are expected or expect themselves to be responsible for raising the family. The pay for elementary teaching used to be low and male teachers tended to take other jobs besides teaching in order to make more money. Mr. Y, graduating from 5-year teachers' college, taught children about fine arts after school because he had three children, which was a heavy burden financially. His wife, Ms. M, took the entire responsibility of doing housework and looking after children. She jested in interview that older generations in the countryside prefer elementary school teachers to others as daughter-in-law, because they work in school to support the family and manage the household and take care of kids at home.

Younger male teachers underwent similar experiences. When Mr. U's wife was pregnant, he asked her to resign from work and had to uphold the family all by himself. As his salary was limited then, he worked part time outside the school to make ends meet. One year later, he stopped part-time jobs because he did not want his wife to take care of child alone. The couple

had cared for their two children for their first three years. As the second child went to kindergarten, the wife entered the workplace again to reduce Mr. U's load.

b. Sharing domestic labor

What Mr. U did is not exceptional. According to male participants' talk, almost all of them think, with different extent, that men should participate in domestic work, including doing housework and looking after children. Few among them consider the division of labor in their family to be gender equal, but the majority admit their wives still do more. Like Mr. P, from being an engineer to being a teacher, with wife being a civil servant, describes the division of domestic labor in his family as 'dad keying on PC and mom doing housework':

This is the way it is for us. I only wash dishes and my wife does the laundry, cleaning, and all other things. She and I both take care of kids but she does the most. (Mr. P, Technology and Science teacher, also the leader of general affairs branch, 20070105)

Mr. S's wife is an elementary school teacher as well. She does all domestic work except washing dishes and doing the laundry, which is taken care of by Mr. S. Moreover, Mr. S often stays in school for exercise or jugs in the park nearby his house. Such pattern probably is not exceptional either. With wife being an elementary school teacher, Mr. W also acknowledges this common phenomenon:

Some male teachers do help with housework, like me. But to be honest, my wife does more, and that exhausts her energy to a greater extent. Because she has been busy in school and still so when she gets home. Male colleague perhaps do some sports after school and their wives will pick up their kids or make an arrangement of some kind for them. In this society male colleague are allowed to do their own business, but for female ones they tend to consult with their husbands first. Very few men consult and neither do they worry about kids, including myself. (Mr. W, PE teacher and also the leader of sanitary branch, 20070213)

Discussion

From the analysis and interpretation shown above, it's not difficult to see how gender organizes the work and life of elementary teachers. As feminist Lather (1991) indicates, gender is an organizational principle fundamental to social relations, which deeply shapes and mediates the concrete conditions in our life, including the distribution of power and privilege as well as the formation of our consciousness, skills, and institutions.

A. With respect to the distribution of power and privilege

As soon as male teachers enter schools, they are more likely to be charged with authoritative work even only of a low rank. One interviewee Mr. S spoke of himself eager to be an administrator in order to detach 'elementary teacher' from 'female work', because

The moment you get the official stamp signifies your power, which makes men feel superior. In fact what I got is really nothing, just a position of low rank, but still it means leadership. Power to men is just like famous brand to women. (Mr. S, PE teacher and also a member of compulsory education counseling team, 20070205)

It's undeniable that men pay for the power gained. Many male teachers are exhausted somewhat by their taking several jobs at the same time. Chen's study (2003) finds 'can not complain' and 'dare not reject' are common experiences for male elementary teachers. Some works are always seen as suitable only for men, such as being the director of the general affairs department, carrying heavy loads, giving commands on the stage for important events. If they complain or reject, their masculinity can be questioned. In contrast with the participants of this study, however, it appears that male teachers also see benefits accompanying hardship and fatigue, which come with more chances to contact higher levels, connect with more people and become more visible. And that is conducive to their upward movement, from branch leader, department director, to school principal. To some extent, this is so-called glass escalator taken by men who work in the female-dominated field, also known as male advantage (Allan, 1993; Budig, 2002; Williams, 1992).

To the contrary, female teachers are usually charged with home room teaching, especially at lower grade levels, which entails caring work, including

intimate interpersonal interaction with students as well as parents. Such work, more like domestic labor done by women in the private sphere traditionally, is often not visible and not paid attention to unless it is not finished or something goes wrong, which is thus characterized by being never done or never enough (Daniels, 1987; DeVault, 1991; Smith, 1987). Low visibility implies weak expertise on the other hand. Many male teachers are assigned or employed in accordance with their majors or become subject teachers compatible with administrative jobs. Home room teaching carried out by female teachers seems not as professional. Ms. E states that because of the ongoing low fertility many elementary schools face the fate of reducing size and her school is discussing about it. In related meetings, many parents argue for subject teachers and administrators to stay, which causes discontents from home room teachers:

Parents contend subject teachers should stay on behalf of their expertise and branch leaders and department directors stay, too, because they make the school work. That means only home room teachers are to be left out. This message hurts us. We don't understand why parents always want to pick home room teachers, not subject ones, for their kids but now don't regard them as professionals. (Ms. E, Grade 3 home room teacher, 20070420)

B. With respect to the formation of consciousness, skills and institutions

What Ms. E says reflects to some degree gender contradictions (Grumet, 1988), that is female traits such as carefulness, patience, and kindness are recognized as suitable for caring work on the one hand. On the other, these traits are so essentialized that all women are believed to have them and caring work is seen as an easy job (Li, 2003; Hoffman, 1981). This is an example of how gender shapes and mediates people's consciousness. Such consciousness occurs not only at workplace but also at home and is usually utilized to judge the value of certain skills, which establishes, directly or indirectly, formal and informal institutions. The case in point here is that, as female traits are associated closely with mother nature (Aspinwall & Drummond, 1989; Forrester, 2005), women are treated as the best candidate of main caretakers. For female elementary teachers, caring work probably never stops since they take care of young students in school and of young children at home. If their spouses are not school educators, their being in charge of parenting is taken for granted more easily. Ms. A, with non-educator spouse and two kids, tells that:

My husband is quite willing to deal with mundane stuff of kids. But he is less interested in teaching them. He thinks since you're capable you're in charge. And that's it! My kids have been used to mom telling stories and don't want their dad to do that. (Ms. A, Local Language teacher and also the leader of teaching branch , 20070507)

Even if spouses are elementary school teachers, the responsibility of raising kids still falls primarily on female teachers' shoulders.

As a matter of fact, before entering the workplace, such consciousness has had an impact on the expectation parents hold of the female teachers. The saying that it's best for girls to become teachers is widespread. The reasoning behind the saying is two-fold. The first has something to do with reducing parents' burden of investing in daughters. The other presumes daughters to get married and assume the role of wife and mother, which is exactly why elementary teaching is regarded as good for women because their working schedule is more flexible and compatible with the demand of raising kids, such as getting off work early and more holidays (Lortie, 1975). Despite this, Ms. H, unmarried, opposes such reasoning vehemently:

Many men want to marry teachers. Because the life of teachers is very regular, from 7 something in the morning to 4 something in the afternoon. After school you may pick up kids and take care of them. They believe female teachers can do both. But that's ridiculous for us, unmarried ones. I become a teacher simply because I want to. (Ms. H, Grade 3 home room teacher, 20070209)

Nevertheless, many participants still believe elementary teaching to be pertinent to women and the main reason is this occupation makes it possible to have both career and children at the same time. Many few question why this very job is less appropriate for men. Probably because men are expected to achieve higher and such expectations are usually transformed into intangible encouragement and tangible opportunity. As time goes by, men become more and more talented for administration and leadership. Just like aforementioned two female teachers, Ms. F and Ms. K, who see male teachers more capable to lead, Mr. U also observes administrative experiences as useful for male teacher, "once he cumulates experiences to certain degree he will definitely go up." (Mr. U, Grade 5 home room teacher, 20070523) It is therefore not surprising that male teachers are not good at leading children, especially lower grade ones. Shifting to

teaching from banking, Mr. Q says, “I don’t know if it’s due to traditional concepts, we just feel uncomfortable with teaching children of this young age.” (Mr. Q, Grade 4 home room teacher, 20070201) Neither do others, including females, believe men can care for children. They still tend to think of female teachers as apt for safeguarding young kids. Such belief extends over family life. Take Ms. C as an example. She has a child of pre-school age and her spouse teaches at the same school as hers. But she worries about the way her husband interacts with their kid, “They argue with each other sometimes and dad will show his authority, which makes the kid cry even louder. I’m so worried that I will jump into that situation in the end.” (Ms. I and Ms. C, Grade 1 home room teacher, 20070426)

As Acker (1999) points out, gender is a category of culture but not of biology. In fact it is this cultural category which fabricates our biological concepts. The discussion above reveals that such concepts in turn reinforce gendered differentiation of skills and formulation of institutions. No wonder feminist sociologist Davies (1996) claims the term gender is more a verb than a noun. If people believe women to be more apposite to caring work, they will offer more opportunity for them to practice, which is very likely to strengthen their skills. And therefore, the institutions of gendered division of labor become unshakable, which makes artificial devices appear natural and inevitable.

Conclusion

This study aims to explore the gender relations implied in feminization of teaching and if it’s been changing. By interviewing with incumbent and retired teachers, this study finds that elementary teaching used to be the top priority for young people from disadvantaged family background no matter which gender. But gender still exercises influences. While becoming an elementary teacher is consistent with societal expectation of women, it seems inadequate for men. Such expectation somehow has an influence on division of labor in workplace and individual arrangement in career and life, which reveals unequal power relations of gender.

To be specific, unequal power relations of gender refers to categorization and stratification based on gender. The distribution of power and privilege by gender interacts with the formation of consciousness, skills and institutions by gender, which erects a almost impeccable gender system. This system dichotomizes humans into men and women and rationalizes the inequity between them on the basis of their absolute differences (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999).

We can see that gender is not born but done, as West and Zimmerman (1987: 137) indicate, “Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological. Once the differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the ‘essentialness’ of gender.” Nevertheless, once gender relations is done it can be changed as well.

From what the participants of this study say, we can see that, even though most of them take the gender system for granted, some questions still emerge. Elementary teaching can be women’s own career choice but not necessarily societal expectation. Men teach at elementary school because they like to interact with children and establish close interpersonal relations. Changes do occur indeed as time goes by. In terms of entry channel, parents don’t necessarily expect daughter to go teaching, administrative leadership doesn’t attract men as much, and some men do shift to elementary teaching from other occupations. In terms of division of labor, some participants believe elementary teaching to be gender free and every teacher to be competent for all kinds of work. In terms of family life, male teachers share certain domestic labor and parenting work, and female teachers are aware of their own needs in addition to keeping balance between work and family.

Is elementary teaching appropriate for women? With the traditional gender system in mind, the answer to the question is affirmative because, after all, the indicator of women’s success is family but not achievement (Hakim, 2004). Besides, in contrast with the private sector, elementary teaching is more gender equal. Ms. B used to work in the service industry several years. She recalls about her first job after graduation from university in 1990 that girls were told to clean up the office and the rest room upon entering and boys weren’t. If tracing the history back even further, the very fact that women become teachers can be seen as the accomplishment of women’s movement. In the time when women’s right to education was not guaranteed it was nearly impossible for them to teach (Delamont & Coffey, 1997).

On the other hand, elementary teaching is the baseline of teaching as a whole and its feminization manifests gender segregation and discrimination to some extent. As feminist economist Nancy Folbre’s (2001) observation, even though women join in the workforce, most of them aggregate in works conventionally belonging to women and teaching is one of them. What is women’s work? Daniels’s (1987: 408) description is quite to the point, “The closer the work to the activities of nurturing, comforting, encouraging, or facilitating interaction, the more closely associated it is with women’s ‘natural’ or

‘feminine’ proclivities.” Such activities are not perceived as acquisition, skills and premise, their reward and salary is usually inferior to those carried out mainly by men.

Is elementary teaching favorable for women? On behalf of the gender perspective held by this study, the answer is negative. For a long time, no matter the distribution of power and privilege or the formation of consciousness, skills and institutions, men are the advantaged. Even if elementary teaching is seen as proper for women, the primary reason appeals to two regards, compatible with women’s family responsibilities and female characteristics. As a result, women tend to enter elementary schools and persist in teaching but not try to move upward in order to meet the demands from family life. To the contrary, those men who enter elementary teaching are expected to prosper and thus they tend to devote themselves to work, which justifies for them to share less domestic labor. If we don’t challenge the unequal gender relations socially and culturally constructed, the discourse of elementary teaching favorable for women is very likely to strengthen stereotypical gender ideology and reinforce gendered division of labor in workplace as well as at home.

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科技部補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

日期:2014/04/28

科技部補助計畫	計畫名稱: 教育學門中的性別、知識與權力: 中等學校師資培育教育專業課程之性別分析(GM08)(II-I)
	計畫主持人: 楊巧玲
	計畫編號: 101-2629-H-017-001- 學門領域: 性別研究
無研發成果推廣資料	

101 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人：楊巧玲		計畫編號：101-2629-H-017-001-				計畫名稱：教育學門中的性別、知識與權力：中等學校師資培育教育專業課程之性別分析(GM08)(II-I)	
成果項目		量化			單位	備註(質化說明：如數個計畫共同成果、成果列為該期刊之封面故事...等)	
		實際已達成數(被接受或已發表)	預期總達成數(含實際已達成數)	本計畫實際貢獻百分比			
國內	論文著作	期刊論文	0	3	0%	篇	已經投稿一篇，正在審查之中。 即將繳交摘要，投稿到「台灣女性學學會」年度研討會，預計將於2014/10/18-19舉行。
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	0%		
		研討會論文	0	1	0%		
		專書	0	0	0%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	0%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	0%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	0%	件	
		權利金	0	0	0%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (本國籍)	碩士生	0	0	0%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	0%		
博士後研究員		0	0	0%			
專任助理		0	0	0%			
國外	論文著作	期刊論文	0	1	0%	篇	World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI). 2012/12/28-2013/01/03.
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	0%		
		研討會論文	1	2	50%		
		專書	0	0	0%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	0%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	0%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	0%	件	
		權利金	0	0	0%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (外國籍)	碩士生	0	0	0%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	0%		
博士後研究員		0	0	0%			
專任助理		0	0	0%			

<p>其他成果 (無法以量化表達之 成果如辦理學術活 動、獲得獎項、重要 國際合作、研究成果 國際影響力及其他 協助產業技術發展 之具體效益事項 等，請以文字敘述填 列。)</p>	無
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	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科 教 處 計 畫 加 填 項 目	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
	課程/模組	0	
	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
	教材	0	
	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
	電子報、網站	0	
	計畫成果推廣之參與(閱聽)人數	0	

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

達成目標

未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限）

實驗失敗

因故實驗中斷

其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形：

論文： 已發表 未發表之文稿 撰寫中 無

專利： 已獲得 申請中 無

技轉： 已技轉 洽談中 無

其他：（以 100 字為限）

本研究計畫前半的內容分析已經完成，並於發表於 2012/12/28-2013/01/03 舉辦的 World Council for Curriculum and Instruction(WCCI)，題目是：The absent presence: the missing discourse of gender in teacher preparation curriculum. 地點在 Garden Villa Hotel, Kaohsiung, Taiwan。改寫之後，投稿國內 TSSCI 期刊，目前仍在審查之中。

本研究計畫後半的訪談研究，共訪談十位在中等師資培育機構任教性別教育相關課程者，從一開始的徵詢意願，到逐一地完成訪談，由於遍布各地，舟車勞頓，再加上要完成逐字稿並請參與者確認，耗費時日，目前正在分析資料，可望寫成論文兩篇，將會投稿國內外期刊各一份。

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限）

本研究計畫旨在檢視教育學門知識論上的性別不平等現象，透過系統性的搜尋，瞭解中等師資培育機構開設性別教育相關課程數量極為有限，尤其是中等學校師資培育重鎮，三所師範大學，開課比例極低，並對既有的 22 門課，針對其教學綱要（課程大綱）進行內容分析。結果發現作為跨領域的性別教育，在教育學門中所受到的認可程度有限；儘管「個人的即政治的」之信念備受重視，教職女性化的議題甚少受到關注；雖然絕大多數的教學綱要都處理與性別有關的基本概念或理論基礎，卻鮮少綱要明指女性主義或婦女運動為單元內容；雖然教師的性別識能可分為三階段，不過認知與行動之間的落差值得注意。

本研究之學術價值在於，突破了既有的性別教育相關文獻所呈現的「高等教育缺席」狀態，在實務價值上，本研究的呼籲，可望對師資培育課程注入性別觀點有所貢獻，誠如本研究結果所主張的：若要認真看待性別平等的價值，不能忽視女性的聲音，若性別平等教育要

在中等學校實施，在培育師資生的師培機構中忽視性別教育是很荒謬的；建議僅是喚醒性別意識將不足以讓未來的教師把性別教育融入學科或學習領域教學，他們需要把性別意識付諸實踐的機會，而這需要一門以上且循序漸進的課程才能達成。