Gender and Education

Dolić, Nikolina

Master's thesis / Diplomski rad

2016

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:142:599952

Rights / Prava: In copyright / Zaštićeno autorskim pravom.

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-03-29**

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET
SVEUČILIŠTE JOSIPA JURJA STROSSMAYERA U OSIJEKU

Repository / Repozitorij:

FFOS-repository - Repository of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Osijek

zir.nsk.hr

SVEUČILIŠTE JOSIPA JURJA STROSSMAYERA U OSIJEKU

dabar
DIGITALNI AKADEMSKI ARHIVI I REPOZITORIJI

Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku

Filozofski fakultet Osijek

Diplomski studij engleskog jezika i književnosti (nastavnički smjer) i filozofije (nastavnički smjer)

Nikolina Dolić

Gender and Education

Diplomski rad

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Jadranka Zlomislić

Osijek, 2016

Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku

Filozofski fakultet Osijek

Odsjek za engleski jezik i književnost

Diplomski studij engleskog jezika i književnosti (nastavnički smjer) i filozofije (nastavnički smjer)

Nikolina Dolić

Gender and Education

Diplomski rad

Znanstveno područje: humanističke znanosti

Znanstveno polje: filologija

Znanstvena grana: anglistika

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Jadranka Zlomislić

Osijek, 2016

University of J. J. Strossmayer in Osijek
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Teaching English as a Foreign Language, MA Programme
and Philosophy, MA Programme

Nikolina Dolić

Gender and Education

Diploma paper

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Jadranka Zlomislić

Osijek, 2016

University of J.J. Strossmayer in Osijek
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature
Teaching English as a Foreign Language, MA Programme
and Philosophy, MA Programme

Nikolina Dolić

Gender and Education

Diploma paper

Humanities, philology, English studies

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Jadranka Zlomislić

Osijek, 2016

CONTENTS

Abstract 1

Introduction 2

1. The Feminization of Education 3

2.1. Gender Stereotypes 5

2.1.2. Women Teachers and Lower Pay 10

2.1.3. Positions in Higher Education 12

2.1.4. Male vs. Female Fields of Study 18

2.2. The Formalization of Schools and the Reform of Education 20

2.4. The Certification of Teachers 25

3. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession 28

3.1. Advantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession 29

3.1.1. The Opportunity for Education of Women Teachers 29

3.1.2. The Linking of Different Teaching Styles, the Influence on Learners and Teacher Expectations 31

3.2. Disadvantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession 33

3.2.1. Status of the Profession 34

3.2.2. Underpaid Profession 36

3.2.3. The Employment at the Level of Education 37

3.3. Which is More True? 38

Conclusion 42

Sažetak 44

Works Cited 45

Abstract

This paper explores gender and education in Croatia and the United States. It aims to call attention to the feminization of the teaching profession with a particular emphasis on the major reasons that have led to this occurrence. The paper focuses on the traditional gender stereotypes which have impacted the teaching profession through their gender bias and have led to the feminization of the teaching profession. The gender discrimination is evident in the teaching hierarchy, the pay gap and the particular male fields.

In addition, this paper explores the consequences of the feminization of teaching. The claim that the teaching profession is feminized is substatiated with the use of statistical data taken from both the Croatian Bureau of Statistics and the United States Bureau of Statistics. It is important to note that although the feminization of teaching is on the increase in both Croatia and the United States, which is evident in the figures that show that more women employed as teachers than men, women are still paid less for the same job. Furthermore, regardless of feminization, higher education and better administrative jobs are still dominated by men.

Keywords:

feminization, teaching profession, gender stereotypes, women teachers

Introduction

This paper explores gender and education in Croatia and in the United States with a particular focus on the causes and consequences of the feminization of the teaching profession. The paper highlights the impact of gender stereotypes in education as one of the major causes which are evident in the various forms of gender discrimination, such as the teaching hierarchy, the gap in pay, the particular male/female fields (STEM), etc. Each of these aspects is explored in detail as well as the advantages and disadvantages of feminization in order to show both sides of the issue.

The first chapter defines the feminization of teaching from various sources and studies as well as outlines the causes that have led to this occurrence. Gender stereotypes are highlighted as one of the most prominent causes which are evident in the lower pay, male vs female fields of study and men and women's employment status as faculty members and academic leaders with educational institutions. Furthermore, causes for the gender gap are listed, among which prevail the formalization of teaching which occurred in the 19th century and the progress of education itself. In addition, the certification of teachers is emphasized as an important cause for the feminization since it expected more from the teachers which some were unable or unwilling to undertake.

The second chapter deals with the advantages and disadvantages of the feminization of the teaching profession based on case studies from Croatia and the United States. Both the advantages and disadvantages are numerous but we will deal with only the most foremost ones. Feminization brought new opportunities for the education of women teachers as well as important changes into the classroom such as different teaching styles and diverse teacher expectations.

This paper aims to show how teaching is feminized and how the feminization of teaching has influenced the educational system. Also, it intends to show whether the influence of feminization was positive or negative. Through already existing studies in both Croatia and the United States, the difference concerning the impact of feminization, if any, is portrayed.

1. The Feminization of Education

Education is ″the process of teaching or learning, especially in a school or college.″[1] Education, as defined, does not mention gender with regard to either those learning or those teaching. Education is neutral in that sense. Also, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon (2012) said that ″education is the basic building block of every society. It is a fundamental human right, not a privilege of the few.″ Good quality education opportunities must be available in order to increase the standard of living, improve the level of knowledge, and reduce poverty.

Over the last few decades, because women have overrun education, the teaching profession has become feminized. The feminization of teaching is an occurrence in the teaching profession in which the employment of women prevails over men. This shift in gender from male to female teachers stems from various reasons and has raised many questions on whether it can be seen as an advantage or a drawback in education.

Morwenna Griffiths, in her article *″The Feminization of Teaching and the Practice of Teaching: Threat or Opportunity″* writes that ″the feminization of teaching, insofar as it exists, is to be welcomed because it provides a space for resisting hegemonic masculinity″ (Griffiths 1), especially since the teaching profession ″is able to create a culture that values difference″(Griffiths 2). If we look at the teaching profession as an instrument of shaping young minds and at schools as places which reflect the views of society, women teachers have an opportunity to escape the influence of men and to create their own culture inside the classroom. This shift form male to female teachers occurred mostly in the 19th century due to various causes such as the formalization of schools where education became compulsory for all children, the demand for necessary characteristics of teachers such as gentleness and emotionality and their competence achieved through teacher certification. Teachers had to be certified in several categories such as good moral character, have appropriate education and a capacity to govern a school. Although certified, some schools still refused to hire women, because they believed women lacked ″literary acquirements, aptness to teach and ability to govern a school″ (Fegan 43). In his study, Fegan quotes Rury (1989) who states that ″feminization was due to a combination of labor market forces, changing demands for teachers in the wake of educational reforms, and an underlying shift in popular perceptions of

[1] http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/education(visited on 29 June 2015)

female roles″ (6). Gender stereotypes according to which ″women were [considered] more naturally adept at dealing with children″ (5) are often seen as a part of the causes for the appearance of feminization in the world. These stereotypes listed women´s qualities such as emotionality, motherhood and gentleness as a vital predisposition for the teaching profession. Preston, as quoted in Fegan´s study, stated that the ″feminization of teaching happened because social propaganda surrounding the profession was heavily influenced by prevalent gender stereotypes of the time period″ (8). We can claim that feminization occurred because of numerous reasons with which Fegan also agrees stating that ″the feminization of teaching was the result of a perfect storm of factors, rather than simply the consequence of one single issue″ (11 – 12). Also, Juliane Jacobi, in her article *″Modernization Through Feminization? ″* writes how ″feminization may be seen as a response to the challenges posed by the process of modernization to the education″ (Jacobi 55 – 56).

Authors like Calvin Stowe and John Rury linked the formalization of schools with the appearance of feminization of teaching while those like JoAne Preston argued how gender stereotypes and women´s qualities actually led to the feminization. Elizabeth Boyle concurs with Preston and adds how the social perspective of women and men affected the teaching profession. Boyle[2] wrote ″when the society needed more women to enter teaching, the aspects of teaching that seemed appropriate to women were emphasized: nurturance and morality. When teaching emphasized discipline and national duty, more men became teachers″. Another cause mentioned in the studies was a pure economic point of view where women were employed because they were willing to work for less money.

Boyle also lists industrialization as one of the reasons and she claims that ″the industrial revolution created a wide variety of jobs for men; many of these jobs paid more than teaching. ″It enabled men to move on to better paying professions and leave teaching to women.

[2] https://stuff.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/w/wgs/prize/eb04.html(visited on 4 February 2016)

2.1. Gender Stereotypes

With the number of children enrolling in schools on the increase, the need for teachers also grew exponentially. Reform of education gave opportunity to women to teach and to bring their own qualities into teaching. However, herein lays another problem. Why were women accepted as teachers? What were these necessary qualities that made them perfect for the position of a teacher? Although they were employed as teachers, the reasons for their employment were based on gender stereotypes. As it will be pointed out, these occurrences appeared in both Croatia and the United States.

Amy M. Blackstone writes that ″gender roles are the roles that men and women are expected to occupy based on their sex″ (Blackstone 337). Gender stereotypes are based on the values and beliefs of a particular society. They are imprinted on a child since its birth. The roles of both men and women are determined by the expectations of a society which dictates the appropriate behavior for both sexes. These stereotypes determine what falls under feminine and what under masculine. Gender is not the same as male/female sex. Historically, women are viewed as nurturing and gentle, defined by motherhood and care for her home, husband and children. Men, on the other hand, should be ″the heads of their households by providing financially for the family and making important family decisions″ (Blackstone 336). Therefore, society has certain expectations from both genders. Whether it is in private life or public sphere, there are patterns of behavior men and women must adhere to in order to uphold their roles. This notion of gender stereotypes which places men and women into certain ″boxes″ extends into every sphere of life. When it comes to employment, society propels men and women toward appropriate jobs. Education is one of the first professions which offered a place for a woman. Her nature is what made her perfect for the teaching position. Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Roman (2006) in their research ″*Women and Teaching. Global Perspectives on the Feminization of the Profession*″ write:

> ″The social function fulfilled at home by women, the agent to whom the care for young children was delegated, supported their absorption in schools. Thus the role that women traditionally occupied in the domestic space began to extend itself into the public sphere. That is to say, the demand for women did not occur because of requirements for professionalization; on the contrary, their entrance into teaching should be understood as a result of glorification of the so – called feminine nature that

made women a suitable candidate to be put in charge of young children in her role as social mother.″ (Cortina, San Roman 5)

Up until the 19th century, education was reserved mostly for the male sex, whether it was in the role of learner or teacher, the female sex had no place in schools. This was the case in both Croatia and the United States. With time, separate schools for female children were becoming available and since men had no knowledge as how to teach girls, teaching positions opened for women teachers. For example, Cumberland College in Princeton, Kentucky [3] was one of the first schools in the United States to accept female students. However, even though women had little experience, it was still expected of them to bring ″maternal care″ into the classroom. Nothing changed except her place of work. Instead of raising her own children, a woman teacher had to raise 20 other children. The problem with gender stereotypes is that they are incorporated in education and teachers, whether male or female, continue to pass them on. These stereotypes were taught especially in the 19th century when education became available to girls and women teachers were employed. Girls were taught to be submissive, passive and obedient. In other words, they were taught on how to be a perfect wife because, even though they had access to education, the only future after school was marriage. Boys had more opportunities and were granted every chance to be independent and assertive. In the 60s, the success of girls showed that they were more successful during primary school while in high school, that success was on a decline. The reason for this was that the expectations, both from their parents and teachers, were solely focused on marriage. Gender stereotypes are not only visible in the expected nature that men and women should exhibit but also in the selection of future occupations, namely in ″the choices of courses taken by females and males in tertiary education. Females predominate in courses in education, health care and social sciences, while males predominate in courses in science, technology engineering and mathematics (STEM)″.[4] Even in education, which sought after women for their natural aptitude for teaching, there were clear signs of gender stereotypes particularly in the division of positions deemed suitable for men and those for women. In the early education, women taught younger children because of fear that they will not be able to maintain discipline with older children. When that changed and women began teaching older children as well, men moved on to better paying positions inside education. Administrative positions such as superintendent were reserved mostly for men. Fegan wrote that ″while the expectations of

[3] http://www.cumberland.org/hfcpc/schools/CumbC.htm(visited on 4 February 2016)
[4] https://www.coe.int/t/DGHL/STANDARDSETTING/EQUALITY/03themes/gender%20stereotypes%20and%20sexism/Report%202%20NFP%20Conference%20Helsinki%20%20Education.pdf(visited on 4 February 2016)

what made a good teacher shifted during the feminization of teaching to traditional female qualities, the qualifications of newly formed administrative positions in education were similarly aligned with male qualities″ (Fegan 61). Even though feminization of teaching led to the notion that female qualities are ideal for a teacher, male qualities such as independence, intellectual superiority, emotional restraint, and physical dominance, corresponded with those necessary for administrative positions. Fegan also claims that ″a male administrator was necessary not only to deal with discipline issues, but also because the submissiveness of female teachers and the proactive strength of male administrators were a perfect match″ (64).

Similarly in Croatia, the position of women as both students and teachers in the 19thcentury reflected the views of society. Historian Dinko Župan dealt with the problem of education of women in Croatia in the period from 1868 to 1918. In his book *″A Mental Corset. The Sex Politics of Women´s Education in Croatia (1868 – 1918)″* details the beginning of female education and the first appearance of female schools. Župan links the power of society with the position of women when he claims that the ruling gender politics instructs the members of the society to accept desirable gender roles (12). Through education, society imposed the appropriate gender roles to which both women and men had to conform. 19th century in Croatia portrayed women as mothers and wives. Their mental inferiority made them unsuitable for education (24). Just like in the United States, their only obligation, because of their gender, was to care for a family. Women had no place in schools. Even when they were finally allowed to attend schools, society used education to propagate and teach appropriate behavior expected of women. Župan claims that 19th century gender discourse derived female identity from male identity as a primary starting point (25). The school system served to teach children to respect the authority of a patriarch and the ruler of the country. Girls were taught that being a mother is the only way to truly be a woman. Since her only preoccupation was to be a wife and a mother, she could not work outside her private sphere. Anything public would hinder her in fulfilling her true duty.

In the years 1808/09 in Zagreb, in a public school for girls, there were only 42 female students. However, private girl schools had more students. In the 1930s there was one public school for girls and five private ones. The important point to make here is that these private schools mostly served to prepare young girls from rich families for the marriage market. Schools served to make perfect wife material. Župan made a chart with the desirable traits for good girls, mothers and wives according to the needs of the society in the 19th century. There he stated that a girl needs to be shy, pious, silent, demure and meek; a good wife needs to be quiet, submissive, simple, while a good mother needs to be humble, pious, kind, calm and

caring. ″Every attempt to overcome the limits of culturally given gender identities was portrayed as unnatural and a dangerous act that distanced men and women from their ″true″ identity″ (59).

2.1.1. Limited Career Options

The position of women in the 19th century and before that speaks of the oppression and submission of the fairer sex to men. Throughout the history, women had an inferior place in society compared to men. They were expected to be obedient and respectful to their family and to follow certain rules. A woman was the property of the patriarch of the family, namely her father who was to be obeyed in everything. After she came to a certain age, her father would choose a suitable husband for her. She would be traded from one man to another. Her husband would have all power over her and their children. It not surprising then that the woman´s position did not change. She just becomes the property of another man. Having a job at that point was not an option. The woman´s was solely obligated to her husband and children. But, it cannot be said that every society in the world had that kind of treatment towards women. Some African and Indian tribes have always valued women and considered them to be equal to men. For example, Howard Zinn, in his book *″A People´s History of the United States″* writes that ″women in the Plains Indian tribes of the Midwest did not have farming duties hut had a very important place in the tribe as healers, herbalists, and sometimes holy people who gave advice″ (Zinn 94).

In Ancient Rome, both sons and daughters were equally under the rule of their father. But, it was expected from the sons to continue with the family line and to go into public life. A daughter´s right was to marry but she could refuse if she could prove something to be wrong with her soon-to-be husband. Roman women could own land, particularly if the father died and the inheritance was divided equally between the siblings, they could write their own wills, and appear in court. But, laws were modified to restrict their rights after a few cases in which a woman behaved above her station – that is, like a man. Aristocratic women, however, had a special position. They were educated and in charge or running their own households. Since some aristocratic men were mostly away from home for longer periods of time, women would take over all of the husband´s duties. Middle and low class women did not have the same rights nor opportunities. They cared for the house and the only jobs they could do outside of the home were limited to being wet nurses, midwives, actresses, dancers or prostitutes.

Jumping forward in history, we come to the position women had in the Middle Ages. The Christian church had a vast influence in the world and some new ″job positions″ became available to women. Women did not need to be ″condemned″ solely to the role of a wife and mother. If she joined the Church as an abbess, she could even gain some influence and importance. During this period, the married women, who lived in poverty, were equal to men, they had to work just as hard otherwise they would starve. The Middle Ages had more women recognized for their valuable insights regarding theology, political influence and vast ownership of lands and money. But, with the passing into another age, women´s rights became more and more restricted.

At the beginning of the 19th century, women had very few legal, social or political rights: they could not vote, could not sue or be sued, could not testify in court, had extremely limited control over personal property after marriage, were rarely granted legal custody of their children in cases of divorce, and were barred from institutions of higher education.[5]Education especially was limited only for men. They were the ones with the intelligence for higher education and with the need to better themselves. For a woman, there were only jobs such as governesses, factory workers, seamstresses, etc. Howard Zinn also writes: ″It is possible, reading standard histories, to forget half the population of the country. The explorers were men, the landholders and merchants men, the political leaders men, the military figures men. The very invisibility of women, the overlooking of women, is a sign of their submerged status″ (94).

The position of women was the same in most civilized countries in the world. Here we include both the United States and Croatia (as part of Europe). Women were limited in their options when it came to work. Mostly they could work as nurses, factory workers, governesses, etc. They worked in cases of severe financial misfortune or if they needed to provide for themselves. With the progress of the educational system, women got an opportunity to become teachers especially because they suddenly had all the appropriate qualities for teaching. Teaching became the best option. However, as we will see in the following chapter, even employed, women earned less money than men.

[5]http://www.chegg.com/homework-help/questions-and-answers/review-list-different-women-west-first-week-perceptions-women-west-changed-article-find-co-q1067513(visited on 15 June 2016)

2.1.2. Women Teachers and Lower Pay

Another plausible cause of the feminization of the teaching profession is the fact that women as teachers earned less money than men. Their pay was smaller than the men´s. So even if some schools were against employing women teachers, in an effort to save money, they still accepted women. The Littleton School Committee, in Littleton, Massachusetts in 1943 concluded that ″God seems to have made woman peculiarly suited to guide and develop the infant mind, and it seems...very poor policy to pay a man 20 or 22 dollars a month, for teaching children the ABCs, when a female could do the work more successfully at one third of the price″[6]. When it comes to numbers, in 1835 in Massachusetts, women earned $11.96 per month while men earned $18.34. Fegan (2012) writes how one of the reasons for lower pay was that the formalization of schools opened a hierarchical division of jobs in education. The administrating jobs were paid better because the pay depended on the level of education that the teacher possessed. Mostly men occupied those positions since, to them, the pay was now enough to be a provider for the family. ″The gender segregation in the newly formed bureaucracy of schools where women taught lower grades and men taught higher grades and managed schools was not random, but rather the consequence of institutional policies that allowed men to occupy the most sought after positions in the field of education″ (Fegan 57). This pay gap can be directly linked to the previously mentioned gender stereotypes.

The Bureau of Statistics issued the data regarding the average persons employed in education and the average monthly pay received by gender in Croatia. In the year 2014 the total number of persons employed in education was 109 588 with 84 466 or 77,1% women and 25 122 or 22,9% men. The average monthly pay, in 2013 in education in total was 5,669.00 HRK, with women earning 5,454.00 HRK and men 6, 349.00 HRK. From this data, it is evident that more women seek employment in education yet receive less pay than men receive. Men occupy higher positions, mostly in universities while women prevail in primary and secondary education.[7] If we compare these numbers with the United States, there is an even greater discrepancy in salaries between male and female teachers. The American Association of University Women (AAUW)[8] regularly publishes the statistical data for the pay gap in the United States. Since it is divided by states, we will mention just a few representative states. In 2014, in the District of Columbia, annual pay for men was $68.932

[6] http://www.pbs.org/onlyateacher/timeline.html (visited on June 6 2016)
[7] http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/menandwomen/men_and_women_2015.pdf, (visited on 1 September 2015)
[8] http://www.aauw.org/research/the-simple-truth-about-the-gender-pay-gap/(visited on 1 September 2015)

while women earned $61.718 which is only 90 per cent of what men earned. The difference is even greater in some other states such as Louisiana where men earned $48.382 and women earned $31.586 which is only 65 per cent of what men were paid. In education, using the data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) from 2006-2008, Tinch (2008) displays annual earnings for primary school teachers which was: for women $41.000, and for men $45.000. For secondary school teachers, annual earning for women was $43.700, and for men $48.000 while for those teaching in higher education the annual earnings were $42.000 for women and $42.900 for men.

As it was said at the beginning of this chapter, the causes for the feminization of the teaching profession are numerous. The teaching profession has become a women´s profession. As a result of feminization, the number of women as teachers increased with every year. On the examples of Croatia and the United States, there is definitive evidence of women´s dominance. In Croatia, at the end of 2013/2014, the statistical data issued by The Bureau for Statistics in Croatia[9] shows how in primary and secondary education, women prevail. In primary education there are 85,7 per cent women teachers and only 14,3 per cent men teachers. In secondary education, 66,4 per cent of women are teachers and only 33,6 per cent teachers were men. However, if we look at the data for higher education, in 2013/2014, 49 per cent of the teachers are women and 51 per cent men.

According to the data taken from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), in the fall of 2012 3,109,101 teachers were employed in the United States. [10] The research *"Seven Trends: The Transformation of the Teaching Force"*, done by Ingersoll, Merrill and Stuckey, shows how in 1980/1981 over 66,9 per cent of the teachers were women. Over the years, that number increased and in 2011/2012 it grew to 76,1. In June 2012, the United Nations Statistics Division issued new data. The number of female teachers in both United States and Croatia decreased with the level of education. In primary education, women prevail as teachers with 87 per cent for the United States and 92 per cent for Croatia. However, in higher education, the numbers are on a decrease with only 47 per cent of women teachers for the United States and 44 per cent for Croatia.

[9]: http://www.socwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/fact_12-2007-stem.pdf(visited on 1 September 2015)
[10]http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d14/tables/dt14_213.40.asp?current=yes (visited on 1 September 2015)

2.1.3. Positions in Higher Education

Even though feminization enabled women to become teachers, certain levels of education are still less available than others. For example, women prevail in primary and secondary education while men still dominate higher education in both Croatia and the United States.

Jennifer C. Madigan in her essay writes: ″In 1918, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education made a case for the creation of a two-track system: one track steered students, primarily males, toward college preparatory coursework, and the other track provided vocational training. For White, Black, and other minority girls, the vocational track was encouraged″ (Madigan 12). In addition, even though women were accepted into higher education, they were still steered towards certain careers such as nurses, secretaries or teachers.

Linda Eisenmann mentions Rury (2002) who in turn writes about a book of Edward Clarke *″Sex in Education″* from 1873 in which Clarke claims that ″collegiate studies, particularly in coeducational contexts, were downright dangerous for young women″ (Eisenmann 5). From which stemmed that college would be too much for this ″frail woman″ because it might lead to numerous disorders and even sterility. In his study, Rury also uses the book of Sheila Rothman who claims that this particular point of view was dictated by the society, which implemented gender stereotypes through schools and colleges. However, contrary to Rothman, Rury poses Rosalind Rosenberg who occupied herself with the research of women in higher education in the period of 1890 – 1930. Rosenberg was convinced that college for women was ″a window of opportunity. This opportunity for a college education became possible in 1972, when a law named *Title IX* was passed. It said: ″No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.″ Teacher´s new obligations were to encourage girls to participate in everything in which they could not before these changes, such as math, science, athletic programs. If schools violated the new regulations, they would lose government funding. For example, one of the first women colleges and the oldest one in the United States, Salem College[11], was founded in 1772. It was a simple school for girls that later on became a

[11] http://www.salem.edu/about/history/(visited on 17 May 2016)

college. Elisabeth Oesterlein became its first teacher. Oesterlein ran Salem College together with a few other unmarried women referred to as ″Single Sisters.″

Similarly, in Croatia, even though women were teachers, they had no college education. Vrcelj and Mušanović write that in 1895, Croatian women teachers started an initiative, which demanded a college education for women. On 1st October 1895 women teachers submitted their request to the Academic Senate of Franjo Josip I´s Royal University (Akademskom senatu Kraljevskog sveučilišta Franje Josipa I). Women teachers appealed to be allowed to enroll certain classes in order to improve their knowledge in some areas necessary for a teacher. Tihana Luetić (2013) wrote a paper ″»Well, It Must Be!«– Student and the First Female Member of »DOMAGOJ« Association, Božena Kralj″, about the life of one of the first woman in college, Božena Kralj. What was so important about Božena Kralj was that she, as a woman, stepped into many areas that were previously limited only to men. Of course, her advancement was not met with great support. Those few young women who dared to pursue academic carriers were faced with judgment of the society, not only from men but also from women. Any kind of significant change occurred only after World War II when democracy blossomed. Vrcelj and Mušanović (2011) claim how after World War II the number of women in higher education grew exponentially.

Today, the number of men and women in Croatia who pursue different levels of education vary depending on the level of education and gender. Table 1 shows the number of people in Croatia who have decided to pursue education at different levels. The table is divided into primary education, upper secondary education and higher education. The two years, which are compared, are 1961 and 2011. In comparison to 1961, there was a decline in the year 2011 in primary education while the ratio of those deciding to pursue higher education has grown exponentially.

Table 1

Male and female in education in Croatia.

	Primary Education			**Secondary Education**			**Higher Education**		
Year	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
1961.	85,6	92,4	77,8	12,6	6,8	19,4	1,8	0,8	2,8
2011	30,8	37,2	23,8	52,6	45,9	60,0	16,4	16,7	16,0

Table 2 (taken from the Census Bureau – American College Testing Program) shows the increasing number of children pursuing education in the United States. In 1980, only 33, 4 per cent of children finished high school. In 2012, that number rose drastically to 96, 2 per cent. From this table, we can also see the ratio between men and women in education. Only 54,0 per cent women finish high school while over 70, 1 per cent men do. However, as the data show, more women enroll into college than men do.

Table 2

Male and female enrollment rates in the United States.

Year	High school completers			Enrolled in college		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1980	33,4	28,4	27,3	49,3	46,7	51,8
2012	96,2	70,1	54,0	66,2	61,3	71,3

In a study done by Mušanović (as cited in Vrcelj, Mušanović, 2011) on a sample of female students at the Faculty of Pedagogy in Rijeka, there is a consensus that the future teachers still have strong traditional beliefs when it comes to gender. When they finally enter a classroom, they will pass on those stereotypes and beliefs onto their students. As a result, there are specialized areas in which women must study while men may choose from a different set of more scientific areas. Vrcelj and Mušanović (2011) claim how the scientific career is a challenge not many women would undertake because they are not motivated enough nor do they have a female role model in the same area.

Although, the enrollment of women into colleges has increased in both Croatia and the United States, there is still a difference in the choice of study among the men and women in both countries. Men still prevail in male areas, for example in Croatia in areas such as engineering and computer sciences the enrollment of men is 83,8 per cent. As visible in Table 3, in the year 2014, the number of men and women differs according to the field of study.

Table 3

Masters of Science, Masters and University Specialists, by field of Science in 2014 in Croatia.

2014	Total	Women	Men	Sex distribution	
				Women	Men
Total	595	369	226	62,0	38,0
Life sciences	7	5	2	71,4	28,6
Engineering	20	9	11	45,0	55,0
Biomedicine and health	106	69	37	65,1	34,9
Biotechnical Sciences	17	11	6	64,7	35,3
Social Sciences	408	251	157	61,5	38,5
Humanities	14	10	4	71,4	28,6
Artistic field	4	2	2	50,0	50,0
Interdisciplinary Field	19	12	7	63,2	36,8

Also, in Table 4, we can see the number of women and men pursuing doctorates in Croatia in the year 2014 by the field of science. Women prevail in studies such as humanities, life sciences, social sciences, etc. while men dominate engineering.

Table 4

Doctors of Science, by field of Science in 2014 in Croatia.

2014	Total	Women	Men	Sex distribution	
				Women	Men
Total	851	446	405	52,4	47,6
Life sciences	137	82	55	59,9	40,1
Engineering	175	39	136	22,3	77,7

Biomedicine and health	164	87	77	53,0	47,0
Biotechnical Sciences	42	24	18	57,1	42,9
Social Sciences	177	110	67	62,1	37,9
Humanities	138	94	44	68,1	31,9
Artistic field	7	4	3	57,1	42,9
Interdisciplinary Field	11	6	5	54,5	45,5

Knapp, Kelly – Reid and Ginder[12] compiled the data from Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) in the fall 2009 in the United States. This data includes the number of men and women pursuing different fields of study. Women prefer psychology, nursing, primary education, communication studies, etc. while men pursue business administration and management, finance, biology, political science, economics, marketing, engineering, etc.

In both the US and Croatia, teaching as a profession gained respect with the formalization of schools, however it remained low on the prestige scale since women were the teachers. Gender stereotypes in the society prevented teaching from becoming equal to other professions that were dominated by men. Furthermore, even inside the teaching profession there are areas where men are still dominant such as higher education and administrative positions. Logically, the higher the position you hold, the higher the pay you will receive.

This is very important for personal and professional success because if one is to develop one's status, knowledge or be more successful, one needs to be in a high position and be well paid. At least that is the consensus in both the Croatian and American society, both in the past and today.

Labaree (1989) tried to analyze the problems in education and the reasons why schools were insufficiently professional in the transfer of knowledge to children. He quotes the statement from *The Holmes Group*[13] that started an initiative to reform education and bring greater prestige and importance to teachers. ″Differentiating the teaching career…would make

[12] http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2010/2010161.pdf(visited on 7 March 2016)
[13] http://www.udel.edu/holmes/origins.html(visited on 7 March 2016)

it possible for districts to go beyond limited financial incentives and to challenge and reward commitment. This is essential to encourage teachers to reinvest in their work, and earn rewards while remaining in their classrooms; it will also counterbalance the defection of talented, committed teachers into administration″ (Labaree 157). As stated in this quote and mentioned several times in this paper, teaching was considered to be a secondary occupation mostly because the pay was extremely low. Those who taught were doing it solely until something better came along or as a form of additional cash influx. When education became compulsory and the school year was prolonged, many left the profession because they did not have the time or were reluctant to risk losing their ″real″ and better paying job. The problem was solved by hiring women who, as a bonus, worked for less money. However, not all men left. They simply climbed higher to better paying jobs inside the profession. Labaree mentions three ways for a teacher to get a higher paying job inside the teaching profession and those are to work in a city school, to teach higher grades and to go into an administrative position. Labaree illustrates his claim specifically on the example of four teachers in the United States in the 19th and early 20th century. He points out that the only way to a better position was through personal development, meaning through education and additional certification with which one improves professionally. Higher education, administrative positions and higher grades mean better pay and higher professional status.

However, all this proved to be more of a challenge to women then to men. If we consider Labaree´s three ways for teachers to improve, it is clear they become more difficult when women teachers are in question. Fegan (2012) deals with Labaree´s three ways of improvement. He writes that married women could hardly leave their family to teach elsewhere and single women had minimal experience and certification to teach in the cities. In addition, to advance by teaching in the higher grades, we can return to the beginning of this paper. Both in the United States and Croatia, society believed that women were too weak and frail to maintain the discipline in higher grades and with older children. They were deemed suitable to teach young children because younger children were easier to control. Although moving into administrative jobs would bring more money, this continued to be an option that was difficult if not impossible for women to achieve at the time.

2.1.4. Male vs. Female Fields of Study

This particular occurrence where certain fields of study are ″male″ or ″female″ stems from the view of a society in regard to what a man or a woman should be teaching. Although many years have passed since the 19th century, these stereotypes based on gender are still present. Since the teaching profession became feminized, even if a man wants to be a teacher, he needs to limit himself to ″masculine″ fields inside the profession. The research done in the United States by Welde, Laursen and Thiry shows that, despite the betterment of the position of women, they are still undervalued when it comes to science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). This problem originates from education and stereotypes. Women today have the opportunity to earn any degree but they rarely decide to pursue it. [14] There are numerous reasons for this particular problem and some are named in the research done by Welde, Laursen and Thiry:

- *The classroom climate* which pays more attention to boys than girls. Boys are encouraged to converse and actively participate.
- *A death of role models* represents another reason since students tend to look at their teachers as role models and accept some of their traits. Since balancing a career and family is not easy, a large number of girls decide not to continue with higher education.
- *Poor preparation and lack of encouragement.* Different approaches to boys and girls during their early education can leave girls in a worse position than boys.
- *A lack of ′critical mass′ of women.* Since there are so few women in higher positions in education, it discourages other women from trying.

Because of the fact that there are more men in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM), the United States, namely the President Barrack Obama, started a new initiative. The aim of this initiative is to encourage women to go into STEM and participate on equal ground with men. Currently, only 41 per cent of women earn their PhD′s in STEM fields in the United States and make up only 28 per cent of tenure-track faculty in those fields. President Obama concluded that in order to get more women into STEM, they need to have proper female role models. If women can see the possibility of success, they might try. Women in STEM, serving as role models include Department of the Interior Secretary Sally

[14] http://www.socwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/fact_12-2007-stem.pdf (visited on 28 August 2015)

Jewel, Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency Arati Prabhakar, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Acting Administrator Kathy Sullivan, and Food and Drug Administration Commissioner Margaret Hamburg.

Hilary Clinton, Secretary of State, in 2012 launched another initiative called Equal Futures Partnership in which she, alongside 12 other member countries, is promoting two goals: they want to insure economic opportunities for women and enable more political and civic participation by women. In September 2012, Croatia joined this initiative and ″has developed a national action plan for Equal Futures to promote women's political participation, strengthen the social and economic position of rural women, advance female businesses and women in the labor market, and support international efforts to empower women.″[15] In the study *″Using Implicit Bias Training to Improve Attitudes Toward Women in STEM″* by Sarah M. Jackson, Amy L. Hillard and Tamera R. Schneider, they remark on the research done by Dasgupta and Asgari in 2004 *″Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic gender stereotyping″*. They came to the conclusion that ″exposure to biographical information about famous women leaders, exposure to women in faculty and leadership positions, and a greater proportion of women in the academic environment reduced female students' automatic stereotyping about their in-group″ (Jackson, Hillard, Schneider 421). They argue for diversity training which will influence men´s personal implicit associations toward women in STEM. Implicit associations greatly influence the change in men´s perception of women and women´s perception of going into STEM.

It is necessary to change the stereotypical view of women and gender bias in STEM in order for women to try to pursue a new career. Enabling women to participate freely in the sphere of public life will encourage them to pursue jobs that are more challenging. Since half of the population in the United States is comprised of women, it is important for them to get degrees in science, technology, engineering and math. President Obama states that ″it is critical to our Nation's ability to out-build, out-educate, and out-innovate future competitors.″

As shown above, men focus on certain masculine subjects while women turn to feminine ones. Does that have any influence on children? Is there a difference in teaching between men and women? Will the children suffer in any way if the teacher is of a particular gender? Again, here we can discuss the influence of gender stereotypes. If a teacher is a

[15] https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/04/19/fact-sheet-equal-futures-partnership-promise-progress(visited on 1 September 2015)

woman, will only the female learners benefit and will that leave male learners at any kind of disadvantage? Questions like these will be addressed in the chapter on the advantages and disadvantages of the feminization of teaching profession.

2.2. The Formalization of Schools and the Reform of Education

Before the 19th century, education did not have a great role in the American society. In the early years, when the first settlers came to America, they carried over customs, rules and regulations from England. ″The establishment of dame schools took place in the kitchens of the older women in the community. It was at this juncture that women established themselves as teachers in colonial America″ (Madigan 11). These dame schools which represented the primary form of schools, were organized inside a woman´s house where she would teach a small group of children. Both boys and girls were allowed to attend, however, only boys would attend town schools. In the 19th century, girls were accepted to town schools but they had to keep a different schedule and not interact with boys. The need for equality increased with the development of the co-educational system.

In the 1800s, ″the formalization of teaching both increased the demand for female teachers and decreased the supply of male teachers″ (Fegan 5). With the formalization of schools, the school year prolonged and more children enrolled. Schools became public and started using public funds from tax paying citizens. Since men used teaching as a secondary job, they could no longer fully participate. ″The lengthening of the school year meant a more serious time commitment from men who were also farmers or tradesmen, a commitment they were largely not inclined to make because of the status and money other occupations offered″ (25). The reform of education continued and more children enrolled since education grew in importance. The U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2015) offers data in regard to the enrollment rates for children in the United States between 1950s and 2014. Enrollment in public and private primary and secondary schools grew rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1971 and 1984, total primary and secondary school enrollment decreased every year, reflecting the decline in the size of the school-age population over that period. Enrollment in the fall of 2011 was 54.8 million children and was about the same as in the fall 2010 in about 54.9 million children.

The situation in Croatia was similar. Until 1774, in Croatia girls did not receive a formal education. The only way for them to have any kind of education was through private schools or convents. After the reform of education, girls were accepted into schools but they were to be separated from boys and taught appropriate subjects. The Croatian educational system in the 19th century served to instill appropriate gender roles for both girls and boys. Mostly, society attempted to conduct education through separate schools for each gender. The problem was that not many girls enrolled in schools. In the 1840/1, there were 5946 boys enrolled and only 2753 girls. (Župan 63). Another problem was that Croatia as a country had very limited funds. Even when there was the attempt to open new schools, especially separate ones, there were limitations due to the lack of money.

The Croatian education for girls was divided into primary public schools and secondary public schools yet not every girl could attend them. Secondary schools were available to middle and high-class girls. We mentioned not attending schools as a problem which stemmed from parents refusing to send their daughters to schools. In 1851 in Cerje, after the first primary school was opened, in the first year no parent sent their daughter to attend because they claimed their daughters did not need it (65).

Table 5

Attendance of primary public schools in Croatia in 1887/8 and 1884/5 (Župan 70)

School Inspectorate	**School attendance 1877/8 (%)**		**School attendance 1884/5 (%)**		**Percentage of girls in schools**		**Percentage of boys in schools**	
	Girls	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**1877/8**	**1884/5**	**1877/8**	**1884/5**
Zagreb	100	100	100	85,6	44,6	47,8	55,4	52,2
Osječko	65,5	68,3	87,7	88,3	46,6	48,5	53,4	51,5
Vukovarsko	83,3	86,0	89,5	92,9	46,1	48,0	53,9	52,0
Riječko	48,2	69,8	56,4	74,3	36,4	39,8	63,6	60,2
Total	74,25	81,025	83,4	85,27	43,42	46, 025	56,57	53,976

As it is visible from Table 5, the number of girls attending primary public schools was lower than boys even after the reform of education. This trend continued until some severe punishment measures were introduced to those who failed to send their daughters to school.

Župan writes that this was a problem for gender politics because the society could not influence girls that were out of their reach (74). This was quite a paradox. Because of the gender politics girls were considered inferior and the education of boys had priority, however, if girls did not go to schools, society could not instruct them on their proper gender role.

2.3. Increased Need for Schools and Teachers

The ideas and perception of a society regarding gender and the proper direction in education of young children and future citizens needed to start at a very young age. Schools were ideal as appropriate means of transferring those ideas. In the 19th century, conventional schools as we know them today did not exist. Education was not important and the only reason some schools were formed was ″as a means to teach discipline and religion″ (Fegan 21). With the formalization and more parents seeking education for their children, the need for schools and teachers grew. However, in order for children to get an adequate education, teachers had to be certified and educated themselves. For that to happen, teaching had to become a proper and well respected profession. Stowe pointed out the importance of schools and legitimate teachers.

> ″Teaching should be a profession: the wants of the country can never be adequately supplied till it is so. There are now in our country not less than one and a half million of children destitute of schools, and for them at least twenty thousand teachers are needed in addition to the eighty thousand already employed. But how can men of competent talents venture to make teaching their profession at the present low rate of wages and uncertainty of support? How can they engage in an occupation so laborious, and the severities of which so often bring on premature old age, on a pittance which gives them but a bare subsistence from day to day, and leaves them no provision for seasons of sickness and years of debility? If we have competent teachers, we must give them a sufficient and certain support. They should be regarded as public servants, and in time of peace treated as soldiers are in time of war-pensioned, if disabled, and their families provided for if they fall in the service″ (Fegan 21).

The increased enrollment rates between the years 1850 and 1990 in the United States shows the rise in value of education.

Table 6 [16]

School enrollment of children between the ages of 5 to 19 per 100 persons in the United States.

Year	School enrollment (%)
1850	47,2
1990	50,5
1950	78,7
1990	92,6

As it is visible from the *Table 6*, the number of children led to a demand of forming new schools and employing more teachers.

Table 7

Number of teachers in primary and secondary schools by gender in the United States

Year	Male	Female
1869/70	78	123
1900/01	126	306
1951/52	235	728
1990/91	669	1728

Table 7 shows the number of teachers in primary and secondary school and their steady growth. In addition, it is visible the obvious difference in gender with women far surpassing men in terms of employment as teachers.

What is important to note in this period is that this increase in the need for schools and women teachers is linked also to the industrial revolution. In the United States, the Industrial Revolution began at the end of the 18th century. With the development of new manufacturing technologies, the technological development was also on the rise like Robert Fulton's steamboat, Samuel F. B. Morse's invention of the telegraph, and Elias Howe's invention of the sewing machine. The Industrial Revolution enabled men to move on to better paying jobs and leave the teaching profession to women. With the appearance of new machinery, the

[16] http://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf (visited on 10 June 2016)

steam engine and new factories, the need for workers increased. Mass production replaced homemade products which brought people from their homes into factories. Men from rural areas moved to the city, leaving their jobs in a pursuit of better opportunities. Although these jobs seemed better and with higher pay, in the end they were not. The longer working hours, horrible working conditions, and low pay were just some of the problems. However, until this became known, most men moved and accepted those jobs. Women were still limited in their options and worked in even worse conditions than men. Boyle[17] quotes Grumet: ″The classroom, the mill, and domestic service were the only options available to women who wished employment. Although teaching provided one of the few ways that women could see themselves as participants in the world outside the home, the rationale for their presence in the classroom replicated the sentimental rhetoric of child nurturance that was being heaped on motherhood″. Men left the teaching profession to women and they were accepted as suitable replacement because they worked for less pay and were satisfied with the opportunity to have an income.

The Industrial Revolution had it´s beginning in Europe and it seized Croatia as well. The situation in Croatia is a little difficult to grasp since at this period Croatia was not a self-governing country so we must view it as a part of the Habsburg Monarchy and the rest of Europe. However, the Industrial Revolution brought technological improvement to many countries and we can claim that the circumstances in that respect were similar in both Croatia and the United States. More job opportunities for men meant new options for women. Branimir Mendeš in his article *″Početci institucijskog predškolskog odgoja u Hrvatskoj i njegova temeljna obilježja″*[18] points out the problems which occurred with both parents in the working force. Jobs required more time away from home, which left young children home alone. Although Mendeš deals for the most part with the appearance of kindergartens as a means to care for children with working parents, this is important for our discussion because children of many ages were left without care not only the youngest. It was necessary to send them either to kindergartens or schools. In 1878, the Habsburg Monarchy issued a document called *″Naredba ob ustrojstvu zabavišta″*[19] in order to regulate the education and care for young children. This document list laws and obligations of the educational system and what is most important it also describes who can be put in leadership positions. The teacher in this case can only be a female person who has gone through the proper training. This proper

[17] https://stuff.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/w/wgs/prize/eb04.html (visited on June 4 2016)

[18] *″The Beginnings of Institutional Preschool Education in Croatia and its Basic Features″*

[19] *″The Order on the Organization of the Entertaiment Center″*

training was held in the first teaching schools for young women and the female candidates had to be at least 16 years old and physically healthy. In addition, they had to have the appropriate pre-education, good hearing and musical voice, as well as speak Croatian and most importantly, they had to possess a certificate confirming irreproachable behavior (Mendeš 241).

If we link the Industrial Revolution with the appearance of new jobs for men and new opportunities for women, there was no one left home to care for children. More children who needed to be cared for led to an increase in educational institutions. Since primary care for the youngest children was considered to be in the woman´s domain, only women could be teachers. As it will be visible throughout this whole paper, women were and still are dominant in the primary education.

2.4. The Certification of Teachers

The influx of women into education was caused mostly by the formalization of schools and an ever-growing need for teachers who could dedicate themselves to teaching. Those teachers had to be educated, qualified and constantly build on their knowledge. It led to the professionalization of teaching as a profession that ″correlated to the feminization of teaching″ (Fegan 32). Fegan writes that with the professionalization, teachers had to be certified in several categories such as good moral character, capacity to govern a school and suitable academic attainments. Fegan also writes that ″when the certification requirements were raised by school districts and state legislatures across the country as a result of the movement to emphasize the importance of teacher seminaries, the opportunity cost for men in the teaching profession, from a purely economic standpoint, was simply too great to remain as teachers″ (26). Since men saw teaching as a secondary occupation, there was no need to stay any longer, especially when they could earn more money doing other jobs even without certification.

Why was certification so important? Ingersoll and Perda (2008) claim that ″to sociologists, the underlying and most important quality distinguishing professions from other kinds of occupations is the degree of expertise and complexity involved in the work itself″ (Ingersoll, Perda 108). Beside the fact that it eliminated from teaching those who were not serious about it, certification increased the prestige of the profession. Outlaw, Clement and Clement (2007)

in their paper *″Then and Now: Developing Highly Qualified Teachers″* wrote that ″the degree or level of qualification was determined through various means, ranging from an examination by a minister to ascertain the candidate's soundness in the faith to a written examination in subject areas″.[20] They also claim how, in the early days of the educational system, finishing primary and secondary schools was enough to get the job of a teacher. Sometime after, future teachers were offered different courses ranging from summer schools to four-year programs. One of the writers of the paper *″Then and Now: Developing Highly Qualified Teachers″*, Florence Clement, was a teacher back in 1945. She had earned college credit teaching, however, she claims how she had no pre-knowledge about a curriculum, how to teach students at different levels, etc. Fegan lists an example of the Maine School Report in 1848 that used specified questions in an interview to verify their competence:

> ″What method or methods would you adopt in order to inculcate the principles of morality, justice, truth, humanity, industry, and temperance?
>
> What significance do you attach to each of the above terms?
>
> How would you deal with a child who was (1) obstinately disobedient? (2) physically and mentally indolent? (3) addicted to falsehood? (4) impulsive?″

Teachers were also tested on the ″3 R´s″ reading, writing and arithmetic in order to show their knowledge to teach. Fegan also claims how these tests were administered every year unlike today when one test at the beginning of the career is enough. Calvin Stowe, as quoted in Fegan´s thesis, also argued about the importance of introducing teacher seminars which would serve to improve the knowledge and competence of teachers.

> ″VI. Supply of Teachers. In order to furnish the numerous schools with well-qualified teachers, each of the twenty-eight regencies, into which the kingdom is divided, is required to maintain at least one seminary for the education of teachers. Not more than seventy pupils can be received into any one of these seminaries; the age of admission is from sixteen to eighteen, and the term of study three years. The law declares, that ″the principal aim of these seminaries shall be, to form teachers, sound both in body and mind; to imbue them with sentiments of religion, and with zeal and love for their duties″. The course of instruction and exercises comprehends all the branches which are taught in the

[20] http://www.countryschoolassociation.org/Then%20and%20Now.pdf (visited on15 June 2016)

elementary high schools: particular attention is given to singing and playing on the organ. They are instructed in regard to the best methods of teaching; and for the sake of practice in this branch, model schools are attached to all these seminaries, in which the pupils, under the superintendence of the teachers, give daily instruction (Fegan 20 -21).

This excerpt was taken from Stowe´s book *"The Prussian System of Public Instruction and its Applicability to the United States"*, which details the Prussian school system that was considered successful and the possibility of its application to the United States education. His dedication to the betterment of education in the United States led to the growth of importance of schools and teachers as the facilitators of knowledge. As mentioned in the previous chapter, he argued that education must be available to every child and that teachers need to be educated sufficiently for proper teaching because teachers are important. "In context, he replaced the common held belief that teaching should merely be part time work, by saying it was the most essential of jobs. No one would argue against the importance of soldiers during a war, and Stowe argued a similar stance should be taken for teachers. His message was clear: teachers were absolutely necessary for the health of a society" (23).

In Croatia, the first school for women teachers was opened in 1848 in a Monastery of the Sisters of Mercy in Zagreb. Until then, to become a teacher, a woman needed to pass a teacher exam in front a principal and a male teacher of the so called "Normalne škole"[21]in Zagreb. As it is in the United States, the position of a teacher is highly desirable for a woman because it corresponds to her nature. It also gave women teachers an opportunity for economic independence until she got married. From 1871 to 1875, there were 154 new women teachers in Zagreb. With the number of women teachers growing, the number of men teachers was slowly on a decline. In 1877, over 99 per cent of women passed the final exam for a teacher while only 76 per cent of the men did. In 1888, the new Law stated how the education for teachers must last for four years with two additional years working as a teacher (teacher in training). Only after completing all the requirements could a woman pass the teacher exam. The reason not many men passed this exam and pursued this career was because they had other options. Up until then, women could not enroll into colleges while men had different opportunities. Since women were limited in their choice of work, teaching was one of the few available choices. Certification of teachers in Croatia was not as severe as it was in the United

[21]"Normal School"

States. Men who were already teachers did not leave the profession but the number of women increased.

It is unclear whether certification of teachers influenced the feminization of teaching or is it the formalization of schools that led to it. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration that there are problems with teaching becoming a proper profession and if we assume that feminization is responsible for the difficulties in achieving precisely that, getting certified teachers regardless of their gender will help bridge that gap and lead to the professionalization of teaching, equal pay and a raise in the status of teaching.

3. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession

The 19th century was the beginning of the US and Croatian education system that we know today. With the formalization of schools, education became recognized in the eyes of the public. More children enrolled because education meant better paying jobs and higher social status. However, teaching was not attractive to men, especially since it offered less money and the conditions which needed to be fulfilled to become a teacher were too much for them. Women didn´t need that much money if they were married since the husband provided for the family, and for a single woman, the teaching income was enough. In essence, formalization, certification of teachers, and the small pay, drove men away from this profession. Teachers in general were employed in a profession that offered smaller pay than in other occupations. Whether this was because women became teachers or because the profession itself held no importance, is open to interpretation.

Given that the feminization of education became such an important issue, it is essential to determine the advantages and drawbacks of feminization with regard to the educational system. It is essential to establish whether there is a positive influence of women teachers in the classroom or is it just all negative.

3.1. Advantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession

When we say advantages, we mean that feminization of education in the US and Croatia had a positive impact on education. It is difficult to number the positive aspects since everything that is positive can also have some negative connotations depending on the gender of a teacher in this particular case.

Since the characteristics of women became of the essence for a teacher, it allowed them to enter the teaching profession. Up until then, education was mostly reserved for men both as students and as teachers. Therefore, this particular occurrence gave them an opportunity for further education and betterment.

Also, since education sought women as teachers it gave them the prospect of providing for themselves and not to be dependent on their fathers or husbands.

The arrival of women into the teaching sphere brought some changes to the teaching itself. Women had different teaching styles than the traditional male teachers. They introduced novelty into the classrooms precisely because of their special characteristics such as gentleness, emotionality and motherhood.

3.1.1. The Opportunity for Education of Women Teachers

Feminization presented women with prospects for a better education. As mentioned several times in the previous chapters, from its very beginnings the teaching profession in the US and Croatia has opened doors for middle and lower class women to enter the public sphere. It has offered women the opportunity to provide for themselves and to be independent although the salaries were never high and were even less than what male teachers were receiving. Although schools were not considered important educational institutions, they still offered a job to women who had limited options. However, there were some conditions before a woman could enter teaching. Many teachers lacked a formal education and were not qualified to teach. After schools were formalized, teachers needed to be educated and qualified for the teaching profession. In the 1880s and 1890s, specialized centers for education of future teachers were formed in the US and Croatia. These centers were co-

educational. Nevertheless, for a woman, the task of being educated was even harder than for a man.

> ″Typically, urban female pupil teachers aged from 14 or 15 years to 18, who attended half-time at a center and half-time at a practice school, were responsible for: the management of their time; travel to and from the center, school and home, often by means of public transport in the cities; private study; planning school work and teaching activities to be executed in the practical dimension of their experience in school; and an increasingly sophisticated and organized social life with their peers. (Robinson 2)

Managing studying and teaching coupled with household responsibilities was not an easy task. Some feared that mixed centers would have a bad influence on both sexes and that parents would hesitate to send their daughters into such an environment. ″In her evidence before the 1898 Departmental Committee Miss Rolleston, a London center teacher, was unable to recall any excitable or emotional behavior amongst the pupil teachers owing to the mixed nature of their instruction″ (3). Nevertheless, female pupils had strict rules that they had to obey or they would not be allowed to continue with their education. Many even resigned because they could not balance home and work.

Another one of those conditions was that only unmarried women could be teachers. After their marriage, a woman would have to resign and tend to her husband. In Croatia, in 1888, Baron Khuen Hedervary implemented a new system that stated that no married woman could be a teacher. If she decides to marry, she will resign her position as a teacher. Teaching was allowed to women in order to give them an opportunity to sustain themselves until they find a suitable husband after which she will no longer need to provide for herself since that was her husband's responsibility (Vrcelj, Mušanović 78).

It is curious how it was not expected of a man in either of the two cultures to leave his job and take care of the home in case of some accident befalling the woman in a household. Society demanded certain patterns of behavior and both men and women complied even if it meant for a woman to resign from her job.

3.1.2. The Linking of Different Teaching Styles, the Influence on Learners and Teacher Expectations

As the feminization of teaching progressed and women teachers began to outnumber men in both the US and Croatia, it is possible that they left their own mark on the style of teaching. Despite being observed and limited with the appearance of the curriculum, each teacher's individual approach was something no one could control. It can be said that men and women are different, not only in regard to physical aspects but in their psychological identity as well. Since they are different as people, not only in gender, it is possible to claim that men and women have different behavior and different approaches to life. Specifically, for the purposes of this paper, their approach in teaching will be in focus. ″...the research conducted by Hershberg (2008) and others doing similar studies on the ″growth model″ of student performance is the role the teacher plays in this process. Hershberg reported that students who have an inadequate teacher for three consecutive years could suffer irrevocable damage to their ability to learn″ (Schwendenman 7). Many researches (e.g. Rosenthal and Jacobson) conducted studies in order to confirm or deny the influence of the male/female teacher on the students of various ages. One of their conclusions was that the most influence a teacher has is on the children between the ages of 1 to 9. ″ Students do what the adults want, and if they believe the teacher thinks they are smart or capable of work, children will work not to disappoint the teacher″ (8). Although many tried to confirm or refute Rosenthal and Jacobson´s research results, most (Brophy, Good, Cooper and Blakely) agreed on the fact that the expectations of a teacher can influence the achievements of students. The question which rises here is whether teachers have the same expectations of both boys and girls and whether the teacher´s gender influences these expectations.

″Societal expectations may ascribe certain traits such as gentleness and compassion as stereotypically feminine and independent and analytical as stereotypically masculine. Some view these stereotypes as narrow. Such a narrow view of human characteristics is flawed because humans are constantly faced with situations that require characteristics attributed to the other gender″ (17). Since society determines the gender roles, the influence of a teacher is imperative since he or she will pass them on.

There were those (e.g. Snugg) who saw women teachers and feminization as one of the causes of the decline of the educational system in the United States. Because women were so fundamentally different from men, weaker and frail, it was believed they would not

perform well in the classroom. Bringing their feminine qualities to the classroom would lead to feminized learners. This is referred to as ´feminine pedagogy´ or rather ´soft pedagogy´. Whether this has anything to do with either teachers or any kind of negative impact on learners is open to debate. However, with some certainty we can claim how there are many different approaches to teaching and behaving in a classroom. For example, in a research done by the University of Columbia about the *"Gender Issues in the College Classroom"*[22] they claim how the gender bias is still present in the college classroom. They have observed the behavior of their instructors and both male and female students. The researchers have concluded that the instructors: "call on male students more frequently than female students, are more likely to use male students' names when calling upon students and in attributing ideas advanced in discussion, ask male students more abstract questions and female students more factual questions, are less likely to elaborate upon points made by female students." Also, female students are: "less likely to raise their hands immediately in response to initial questions than male students, less likely to blurt out answers or demand the teacher's attention, less likely to receive peer´s approval if they "break rules", less likely to receive feedback, whether praise, help, or criticism, less likely to have their comments credited, developed, adopted, or even remembered by the group, more likely to be interrupted when they speak or to have other students answer questions directed to them."

Gender stereotypes are still present in the classroom. Can we claim that today´s personalities of both male and female teachers are cleared from these stereotypes? It is hard to maintain freedom from stereotypes since both men and women were so long conditioned by them. Women are still regarded as the fairer sex, mild and maternal while men are strong providers. "By the time students are finished with school, students have learned what characteristics are associated with being a boy or a girl. Schools are sites of strong socialization of gender roles" (20). Schwendenman mentions a research done by Erden and Wolfgang on "the pre-kindergarten and first grade teachers' beliefs about appropriate disciplinary practices" (22). The teachers used two different methods of disciplining children; "girls through reason while disciplining boys through a cause and effect method" (22). There is an apparent difference in the teacher´s behavior towards boys and girls. It is clear that not every child reacts the same to particular methods, however to clearly differentiate them based on their gender might be considered fundamentally wrong. Again, it is necessary to implement more gender equal methods in the classroom. Through research and studies, it is

[22] http://www.columbia.edu/cu/tat/pdfs/gender.pdf(visited on September 2015)

concluded that teachers pay more attention to boys than girls. Schwendenman reports of Fox´s research where she concluded that ″when women are not taken seriously as students, they may be less likely to aspire to enter the fields of math and science upon graduation″ (25). The way a teacher behaves in a classroom affects the students so it is necessary that the behavior is equal toward both genders. ″In education, there have been many studies about learning styles, single gender programs and instructional techniques geared at addressing learners. The one consistent component in all research remains the teacher″ (118). If the teacher encourages students to aspire beyond the limitations of their genders, then that is a proper teacher. If he or she attempts to lead girls toward feminine career and boys toward masculine ones, then that teacher continues to implement gender stereotypes.

These debates led to introduction of the model of critically reflexive practitioner. To summarize, it speaks of critical reflection on what our own perception, values and action do to others. ″Freire (1972) suggested that a critical pedagogy is one that transforms reality and unites critical thinking and dialogue to develop a more humanistic approach to learning—one that puts a self-conscious being able to think critically about the impact of his or her actions firmly at the center of learning″ (Cunliffe 409 – 410)[23]. Why is this important? Well, if our aim is to eliminate any type of gender stereotypes and discrimination, both teachers and students need to learn how their actions influence others. In order to stop gender stereotypes and any form of negative influence on the students which will reflect in their achievements, the gender itself and the both feminine and masculine predetermined qualities must be removed from classrooms.

3.2. Disadvantages of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession

As we have seen, the mentioned data from the US and Croatia indicates that, in addition to the positive aspects to feminization of education, there are also negative ones. The profession lost its standing because of women teachers, it has become underpaid in comparison to other professions with higher status and although women prevail in education, certain levels of education and the fields of study are still dominated by men. The following subchapters will deal with the negative aspects contributed to the feminization of teaching.

[23] http://racma.edu.au/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=225 (visited on 14 June 2016)

The status of any profession may contribute to one´s decision to follow through with it. If the profession has a low status, it is less likely a person, whether male or female, would decide to pursue it for a career. The status of the teaching profession has always been in question and even more now that the profession has become feminized. Whether there is a direct link between the feminization and the low status of the profession, we will examine in the following subchapter.

Furthermore, because of the low status, teaching is a seriously underpaid profession in comparison to others. In addition, inside the profession itself, women teachers are paid even less than men. Although the profession is feminized with women dominating primary and secondary education, men still occupy higher education and administrative jobs. This is linked directly to the amount of pay they receive.

Whether all this has contributed to the public view of the feminization of teaching as having a negative impact on both education and children, we will address in the following subchapters.

3.2.1. Status of the Profession

The feminization of teaching has led to many debates in the US and Croatia on the status of the teaching profession. Today education is considered the key to success but it was not always so. Teaching was not considered important and not many children attended schools. When women started teaching, the profession lost even what little status it had.

One of the direct causes of feminization of the teaching profession was the formalization of schools. This formalization made the educational system important and necessary for every child. As the education of teachers grew in reputation, the profession itself became relevant and professionalized. Many (e.g. Stowe, Barnard) dealt with the need for better educated teachers, increase in pay and the reform of teaching. As a result of the reform of education, the enrollment of children grew, teachers became certified and school compulsory.

The status of the teaching profession represents an important question. Ingersoll and Perda claim that ″professions are high status, high prestige occupations. In other words, they are

respected and envied″ (Ingersoll, Perda 115). Additionally, they also write that ″teaching, like many of the other female dominated occupations, is rated in the middle. Teaching is less prestigious than law, medicine and engineering, but it is more prestigious than most blue-collar work, such as truck drivers, and pink-collar work, such as secretaries″ (115). Teaching was not considered as a profession but rather as a secondary source of money. Once the education profession became recognized, teaching was bound to become a profession like law or medicine. Ingersoll and Perda also wrote that ″since early in the 20th century, educators have repeatedly sought to promote the view that elementary and secondary teaching is a highly complex kind of work, requiring specialized knowledge and skill and deserving of the same status and standing as traditional professions, like law and medicine″ (106). Even so, the road to recognition was still not complete. Although teachers were no longer those seeking to earn extra money, the knowledge and qualifications that the teachers needed to possess were rudimentary. With this in mind, teaching could not be equal to other professions that required extensive certification in order to be employed. It is important to realize that the pay teacher´s received corresponded with the public´s perception of schools. As long as the pay was not enough to support a family, there was no point to focus solely on it. If another job was necessary to cover one´s basic needs, there was no need to try harder and obtain any kind of certification. Fegan quotes an anonymous writer who stated that ″…few parents perceive the bad effects of giving low wages to teachers…It prevents young men from obtaining proper qualifications – it makes teachers indifferent and unfaithful in their employment – it makes them dislike their business, and anxious for some other occupation – it puts men in our schools who are lazy and ignorant – it makes teaching a temporary business for a few idle months, and teaching a profession low and disreputable″ (Fegan 45 – 46). With the need for qualifications which every teacher needed to have, men left the profession and women took over. As a result of men leaving and women entering the profession, it became feminized and a new problem arose. As a result of so many women as teachers, teaching again could not be considered a proper profession. Again, the gender stereotypes and the view of society about the women´s worth played an important role in the status of the profession.

In a research done in Croatia by Marušić and Jugović in 2011 on a sample of 188 students of the Teaching faculty in both Zagreb and Rijeka in which they attempted to learn why students choose this profession and what they expect from this profession. They point out some previous researches (Bielby) regarding this topic stated how future teachers chose this profession because of the opportunity to work with children, chance to contribute to society,

job security, compatibility with family life. The reasons why they might give up this profession were work load, small pay, trouble with discipline and the negative image about the profession itself. We will only concentrate on the results of this research by Marušić and Jugović regarding the image of the teaching profession. Their conclusion is that future teachers have a good impression about the teaching profession, they consider it high in status, and that teachers are valued in the society in Croatia. Another research done by Šašić, Klarin and Grbin in 2013 confirms the conclusion from the previously mentioned one. Students choose this profession because they want to work with children, affect their future and because they value teaching itself. Most do not care about the benefits like longer holidays, the status of the profession and the pay.

The difference between Croatia and the United States is that Croatians choose this profession from more altruistic motives and the status of the profession matters little while for the Americans (those in the United States) the status is very important if they choose a profession. And as we have pointed out, the reason for the low status of the teaching profession is that it is a profession dominated by women.

3.2.2. Underpaid Profession

If we assume and accept the previously stated fact that feminization of teaching has contributed to the low status of the teaching profession, we can also find data as evidential support that teaching as a profession was and still is underpaid in comparison to other occupations. If we look at the statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), the differences in pay in various occupations are indicators of the low importance of education in the United States. In 2014, the data issued by the BLS show that annual pay for education is $52,210 that is among the lowest paying occupations in the United States. Other occupations like management occupations have annual pay $112,490, engineers receive $93,630, computer and information research scientists $113,190, software developers $106,050, business and financial operations occupations $72,410, while life, physical, and social science technicians receive even less than those in education which is about $46,480.[24]

[24] http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm#15-0000 (visited on 23 May 2016)

Since the United States is comprised of many smaller states not all states pay the same. For example, the District of Columbia offers annual pay of $68,840 in education while Connecticut offers only $60,050. However, in Croatia, the situation is a little different and more uniform. The data is taken from the Croatian Bureau for Statistics and it shows net monthly pay in 2011 for various occupations. Net monthly pay[25] in agriculture was 5.441,00 HRK, in manufacturing 4.749,00 HRK, in construction 4.522,00 HRK, in information and communications 7.665,00 HRK, in health and social services 6.170,00 HRK. For education, the net monthly pay was 5.482,00 HRK. As it is visible from this data, the pay is mostly equal for many occupations. But, the difference we are mostly interested is the disproportion in pay between men and women. The Bureau for Statistics issued in 2011 the net monthly pay for both men and women. If we look at the occupations we have previously listed, this disproportion becomes evident. In Agriculture, the net monthly pay for men was 4.864,00 HRK and for women 4.184,00 HRK, in manufacturing, men received 4.973,00 HRK and women 3.936,00 HRK, in information and communications, men earned 7.316,00 HRK and women only 6.509,00 HRK, in health and social services, the offered monthly pay of 7.296,00 HRK went to men and 5.711,00 HRK to women. Education itself offers men the monthly pay of 6.220,00 HRK and women only 5.331,00. Surprisingly, construction offered men a monthly pay of 4.327,00 HRK and women 4.798,00 HRK.

3.2.3. The Employment at the Level of Education

The number of men and women in primary, secondary and higher education can be seen as another consequence of feminization of the teaching profession in the US and Croatia. Although women prevailed in education, they are still only dominant in primary and secondary education. Higher education and administrative positions are still in the domain of men. Women and Men in Croatia 2015[26] is a survey done and published by the Croatia Bureau of Statistics, which presented the number of primary and secondary school teachers working full time, at the end of 2013/2014. If the data is compared, the ratio between men and women who decide to become teachers is uneven. More women became teachers in primary and secondary schools in comparison to those who decided to go into higher education that will also be visible in this survey. In primary education, a total of 24 075 people are employed

[25] http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/ljetopis/2012/sljh2012.pdf (visited on 23 April 2016)
[26] http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/menandwomen/men_and_women_2015.pdf(visited on 23 April 2016)

with 85, 7 per cent being women and only 14,3 per cent men. In secondary education, 12 106 people are employed and 66,4 per cent are women and 33,6 per cent are men. The list of academic staff in institutions of higher education working full time is compared for the years 1990/1991 and 2013/2014. In 1990/1991, in higher education only 35,4 per cent were women and 64,6 per cent were men. In 2013/2014 those numbers were evened out with 49 per cent women employed in higher education and 51 per cent men. However, this does not mean men and women were equal in higher education. Since every school offers a diversity of positions ranging from assistant staff to full professors, this data also shows how many women get higher positions and how many the lower. Again, the discrepancy between male and female positions is evident. As full professors only 31,8 per cent of women are employed and men surpass them with 68,2 per cent. As associate professors there are 46 per cent women and 54 per cent men, as assistant professors women occupy 48,5 per cent and men 51,5 per cent, and as assistants 57,4 per cent women are employed and men only 42,6 per cent.

Could this be a result of gender stereotypes in education? As the numbers show, women are mostly employed in primary and secondary education. Furthermore, women seem to be oriented to certain fields of study inside education itself.

3.3. Which is More True?

As it was stated in previous chapters, the feminization of the teaching profession in the US and Croatia has been a subject of many debates. The formalization of schools and the convergence of teaching into a profession changed the entire educational system and more women became teachers. Although gender stereotypes actually supported women becoming teachers, it limited the evolution of teaching as a profession. Teaching was not considered a proper profession because women dominated it. However, women brought a new approach into the profession, a different way of teaching that reflected differently on children. Women teachers were questioned on whether they can achieve the same results for all students, boys and girls. The lack of male role models and the different approach to teaching contributed to the feminization to be viewed as a problem.

As it was mentioned before, the number of women teachers is far greater at the primary level than in higher education. The number of female teachers, in both the United

States and Croatia, decreases with the level of education. In primary education, women prevail as teachers with 87 per cent for the United States and 92 per cent for Croatia. However, in higher education, numbers are on a decrease with only 47 per cent of women teachers for the United States and 44 per cent for Croatia. Even with the dominance over the entire profession, why do women prevail at the primary level? And what is more important, does it have any influence on the learner´s achievements? A study was conducted by Burušić, Babarović and Serić in 2011 on the sample of all 844 Croatian primary schools. Learners were at the age of 10 and 14 and the research was done on 94, 428 children. Learner´s achievements were assessed in all school subjects with school marks and standardized knowledge tests. The obtained results showed that girls are better than boys with respect to the achieved grades, but the results are similar when looking at standardized tests. ″The teachers' gender effect measured by knowledge of their pupils reveal the superiority of female teachers, but only on standardized achievement tests. The interaction effects of teachers' and pupils' gender on school achievement are generally insignificant″ (Burušić, Babarović, Serić 1). Nevertheless, this still remains a popular research topic since the results are never 100 per cent correct or true. There are always a number of variables that need to be taken into account. The student scores can depend solely on the competence of a teacher. Another study, this one conducted in the United States, by Antecol, Eren and Ozbeklik in 2012 on a sample of primary schools, brought another set of results. Their experiment was randomized but conducted on only one school subject: math. The researchers wanted to see if there is a correlation between the achievement in math and the gender of the teacher. This experiment was conducted at 17 schools in 6 states in the United States. Their conclusion at the end of their research was that ″female students who were assigned to a female teacher without a strong math background suffered from lower math test scores at the end of the academic year. This negative effect however not only seems to disappear but it becomes (marginally) positive for female students who were assigned to a female teacher with a strong math background. Finally, we do not find any effect of having a female teacher on male students' test scores (math or reading) or female students' reading test scores″ (Antecol, Eren, Ozbelik 4). This data, compared with the findings in the Croatian research concludes that the gender of a teacher is irrelevant and that his or her background or rather yet, competence and education, is what influences learner´s achievements.

Then again, due to so many women as teachers the profession itself gained very little status if we compare it to other professions. As pointed out in this chapter, the consequences of the feminization of the teaching profession has contributed to the low status of the teaching

profession (although it is not the only cause) which in turn led to the profession to be underpaid in comparison to other professions. If we are to directly link feminization to low status and low pay, it is visible that gender stereotypes might be considered a cause. Other professions were more renowned because men were dominant while teaching, that became a solely woman´s profession, never achieved the same status. Because women were deemed less respectable in the eyes of the society, the profession itself became less respectable. and this also reflected on the pay. Today, pay is the relevant equivalent of the status of a job. Many decide against the teaching profession because, as it was stated in the previous chapters, teaching is still underpaid in both Croatia and the United States. This poses a very serious problem because as Ban Ki-moon (2012) has said, ″globally, we need an additional 2 million teachers to achieve universal primary education by 2015. The shortage of teachers, combined with absenteeism and the lack of qualifications, is a major barrier to learning. We need a strong cohort of both female and male teachers who are paid well and respected in their communities″ (Ban Ki - moon 18). During the years, education became available to everyone and the teachers became a sought after commodity. However, low pay and feminization still keep men away. If men were to decide to teach, they focus on getting jobs in higher education and limit themselves to previously mentioned male fields of study. The initiatives to encourage women to broaden their chosen areas are well thought out, but perhaps the same should be done with men in order to incite them to enter the so-called female fields of study. This should apply not only on the particular male/female fields but also on the level of education they teach. If the data are correct, men go into higher education and administrative jobs because the pay is better as is the status of such a position. If the pay were to be equalized between every level, primary, secondary and higher, it will motivate men to enter primary and secondary levels and women to teach other areas of study.

Feminization of education has both its positive and negative sides, as do all things. It all depends on the person who observes them. But we can agree that teachers are important because they are the bringers of knowledge to all future generations. And they need to be appreciated appropriately for that. The gender of a teacher is not important but his or her competence to teach properly. As Androulla Vassiliou, the European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism, Youth and Sport said: ″Not only because good teachers make one's student days challenging, motivating and rewarding; but because quality higher education teaching is absolutely crucial in enabling our higher education institutions to produce the critically-thinking, creative, adaptable graduates who will shape our future.″

Looking at this chapter, disadvantages are more compelling than the advantages of the feminization of education. It should not be so. This profession employs more women but that does not minimize its importance. Historically, women became teachers due to a series of causes, such as formalization, men leaving, acceptance of lower pay, the appropriate qualifications, etc. However, the reasons do not matter because teaching itself should hold much more prominence than the gender of its teachers. Quality education should be the goal and equal opportunities for all.

Conclusion

This paper deals with a particular occurrence inside the teaching profession: the feminization of the teaching profession in the US and Croatia. As it has been mentioned, there is more than just one cause for this occurrence. The most frequent consensus considers formalization of education as the main contributor especially since without the formalization, teaching would not have become a profession. Since the importance of schools improved, more children enrolled and the need for teachers increased. Furthermore, teachers needed to become more efficient in transferring knowledge to young children and this has led to different forms of certifications. The process of formalization of education in both Croatia and the United States was similar and it headed towards the similar outcomes such as more schools, children and teachers. However, when it comes to certification of teachers both present and new ones, the situation was slightly different. In the United States, there was a strong emphasis on teacher´s proper education with many historians and researches encouraging better and longer training of teachers. In Croatia, this path was a bit slower and not so central. Since Croatia had other more difficult problems (such as funding and money), certification of teachers was low on priorities.

As women increasingly overran the profession, feminization consequently raised the question whether it would be a positive or negative influence on education and the children. Feminization of teaching enabled women to pursue better education. Since both in the United States and Croatia, women had few rights and were limited in their education and employment, feminization allowed them to enter colleges previously reserved solely for men. Furthermore, feminization brought changes to the classroom itself. Women teachers were different than men and their teaching style also differentiated than the usual style men practiced.

The low status of women led to the low status of the teaching profession in both the US and Croatia. In turn, this led to the profession being underpaid in comparison to other professions, particularly with regard to women teachers. Moreover, although the teaching profession became feminized, women teachers were limited to primary and secondary education while men continued to dominate higher education. Even the women who have attained higher positions are limited to certain fields of study.

Today, in both Croatia and the United States, there are abundantly more women than men in the teaching profession. In primary education, women prevail as teachers with 87 per

cent in the United States and 92 per cent in Croatia. However, in higher education, the numbers are on a decrease with only 47 per cent women teachers in the United States and 44 per cent in Croatia.

To conclude, we can say that the teaching profession is feminized in both Croatia and the United States. Women are prevalent in primary and secondary education. Higher education is, for lack of a better word, more equal because the number of men and women is more equal. However, the positions inside higher education remain disproportionate with men occupying higher positions such as full professors while women prevail as assistants. The most disheartening aspect of teaching as a profession is that not only is it underpaid in comparison to other professions but also inside the teaching profession, women are still paid less than men are.

Feminization of the teaching profession has occurred and it is important to use it to further education system. As this paper pointed out, the negative side effects of this occurrence exist and are well known, however with the acceptance of women as equally competent for this profession, those negative aspects could be eliminated since they are mostly linked to the position of women in a society. There is much to be gained from the feminization, mostly to improve on the education itself and create a perfect learning environment.

Sažetak

Ovaj rad istražuje rod i obrazovanje u Hrvatskoj i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Cilj ovog rada je skrenuti pozornost na feminizaciju učiteljske profesije s naglaskom na glavne razloge koji su doveli do ove pojave. Ovaj rad se usredotočuje na tradicionalne rodne stereotipe koji su utjecali na učiteljsku profesiju kroz svoju rodnu pristranost i doveli do feminizacije učiteljske profesije. Rodna diskriminacija je očita u nastavnoj hijerarhiji, razlici u plaći i određenim muškim područjima.

Dodatno, ovaj rad istražuje I posljedice feminizacije učiteljske profesije. Tvrdnja da je učiteljska profesija feminizirana je poduprijeta korištenjem statističkih podataka preuzetih s Zavoda za statistiku iz Hrvatske i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Važno je primijetiti da unatoč tome što je feminizacije profesije u porastu i u Hrvatskoj i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, što je očito u brojkama koje pokazuju da je vise žena zaposleno kao učiteljice nego muškarci, žene su svejedno plaćene manje za isti posao. Nadalje, usprkos feminizaciji, visoko obrazovanje i bolji administrativni poslovi su još uvijek pod dominacijom muškaraca.

Ključni pojmovi:

feminizacija, učiteljska profesija, rodni stereotipovi, žene učitelji

Works Cited

Antecol, Heather, Ozkan Eren, and Serkan Ozbeklik. *The Effect of Teacher Gender on Student Achievement in Primary School: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment.* Bonn, Germany. 2012. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Banaszak, Shannon. *Women in the Workforce: Before 1900.Web.*12 Dec. 2015

Borovac, Edina Aranjoš, and Vesna Cerančević. *Men and Women in Croatia.* Zagreb: Croatian Bureau for Statistics, 2015. Print.

Boyle, Elizabeth. *The Feminization of Teaching in America*.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* The United States of America: Rutledge, Chapman & Hall, 1990. Print.

Burušić Josip, Toni Babarović and Maja Serić. *Differences in Elementary School Achievement between Girls and Boys: Does the Teacher Gender play a Role?.* Zagreb, Hrvatska. 2011. Web. 15 Jan. 2016.

Cindrić, Mijo. *Profesija učitelj u svijetu i Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Perona s p.o., 1995. Print.

Clarke, Edward. *Sex in Education or, A Fair Chance for Girls*. Cornell University, 2006. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Corsi – Bunker, Antonella. Guide to the Education System in the United States. University of Minnesota, n.d. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Cunliffe, Ann L. ″On becoming a Critically Reflexive Practitioner.″ *Journal of Management Education* 28.4 (2004): 407 – 426. Web.1 Sep. 2015.

Dasgupta, Nilanjana and Shaki Asgari. ″Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic gender stereotyping″. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40 (2004): 642 – 658. Web. 1 Sep. 2015.

De Welde, Kristine, Sandra Laursen, and Heather Thiry. *Women in Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM)*. Florida Gulf Coast University, University of Colorado.n.d. Web. 1 Sep. 2015.

Dee, Thomas S. *How a Teacher's Gender Affects Boys and Girls.* San Francisco. 2006. Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Eisenmann, Linda. *The Impact of Historical Expectations on Women's Higher Education.* U.S.A., College of Arts and Sciences, John Carroll University, 2006.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Etzkowitz, Henry Carol Kemelgor, and Brian Uzzi. *Athena Unbound: The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology.* Cambridge. 2000. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.

Fegan, Matthew. *Gender Divide: Re-Examining the Feminization of Teaching in The Nineteenth Century with Emphasis on the Displaced Male Teacher.* Senior. Independent Study Theses. The College of Wooster Libraries, 2012. Web.21 Sep. 2015.

Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Teaching Center. *Gender Issues in the College Classroom*. Columbia University.n.p., n.d. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Griffiths, Morweena. ″The Feminization of Teaching and the Practice of Teaching: Threat or Opportunity? ″*Educational Theory* 56.4 (2006): 387 – 405. Web. 6 Feb. 2016.

Hargreaves, Linda, Mark Cunningham, Anders Hansen, Donald McIntyre, Caroline Oliver. *The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession in England: Views from inside and outside the Profession.* University of Cambridge Faculty of Education and Department of Media and Communication, University of Leicester.2006. Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Hill, Catherine. *The Simple Truth about the Gender Pay Gap*. Washington. 2016. Web. 1 June 2016.

Ingersoll, Richard M., David Perda. ″The Status of Teaching as a Profession.″ *Schools and Society: a Sociological Approach to Education.* Ed. Ballantine, Jeanne, Joan Spade. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press, 2008. 106-118. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Ingersoll, Richard M., Lisa Merrill, and Daniel Stuckey. *Seven Trends: The Transformation of the Teaching Force, updated April 2014. CPRE Report (#RR-80).* Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education, University of Pennsylvania, 2014.Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Jackson, Sarah M., Amy Hillard, and Tamera R. Schneider. ″Using Implicit Bias Training to Improve Attitudes toward Women in STEM.″ *Social Psychology of Education* 17 (2014): 419 – 438. Web. 15 Mar. 2016.

Jacobi, Juliane. ″Modernization Through Education? On the History of Women in the Teaching Profession.″ *European Education* 32.4 (2000-2001): 55 – 78. Web. 15 Mar. 2016.

Kuzijev, Jelena, and TomislavTopolovčan. Uloga odabira učiteljske profesije I samopoštovanja u sagorijevanju učitelja u osnovnoj školi. *Andragoški glasnik* 17.2 (2013): 125-144. Web. 1 June 2016.

Labaree, David F. ″Career Ladders and the Early Public High – School Teacher. A study of Inequality and Opportunity.″ *American Teachers: histories of a profession at work.* Ed. Donald Warren. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989. 157 – 189. Print.

Lučić, Kata. ″Odgojiteljska profesija u suvremenoj odgojno – obrazovnoj ustanovi.″ *Odgojne znanosti* 9.1 (2007): 135 – 150. Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Luetić, Tihana. ″Pa mora i to biti! Sveučilištarka i prva Domagojka, Božena Kralj.″ *Croatica Christiana Periodica*38: 127 – 143. Print.

Lynch, Kathleen, Maggie Feeley. *Gender and Education (and Employment).Gendered imperatives and their implications for women and men lessons from research for policy makers.* Dublin, 2009.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Marušić, Iris, Ivana Jugović, and Tea Pavin Ivanec. ″Primjena teorije vrijednosti I očekivanja u kontekstu odabira učiteljske profesije.″ *Psihologijske teme*20.2 (2011): 299 – 318. Web. 4 April 2016.

McAleese, Mary, Agneta Bladh, Vincent Berger, Christian Bode, Jan Muehlfeit, Tea Petrin, Alessandro Schiesaro and Loukas Tsoukalis. *High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education.* Begium, 2013.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Mendeš, Branimir. ″Početci institucijskog predškolskog odgoja u Hrvatskoj I njegova temeljna obilježja.″*Školski vjesnik: časopis za pedagoška I školska pitanja* 64.2 *(*2015): 227 – 250. Web. 3 Jan. 2016.

Moon, Ban – Ki. *Education First. An Initiative of the United Nations Secretary – General.* New York, 2012.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

NACCCE report. *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education*. n.p., 1999. 23 Dec. 2015.

NCES. *State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary/Secondary Education*. U.S. Department of Education.2014. Web.1 Sep. 2015.

OECD. *Education at a Glance 2013: OECD Indicators*. OECD Publishing, 2013. Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Outlaw, Mary E., Mary Clement and Florence Clement. *Then and Now: Developing Highly Qualified Teachers.* Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Robinson, Wendy. ″The ″Problem″ of the Female Pupil Teacher: Constructions, Conflict, and Control, 1860 -1910.″ *Cambridge Journal of Education* 27.3 (1997): 365 – 377. Web.1 June 2016.

Schwendenman, Diane. *Gender Role Expectations of Classroom Teachers*. Ohio: The University of Dayton.2012. Web. 1 June 2016.

Šašić Šimić, Slavica, Mira Klarin, and Kristina Grbin. ″Motivacija za učiteljski poziv, zadovoljstvo studijem i zadovoljstvo izborom zanimanja.″ *Magistra Iadertina* 8.1 (2013): 7 – 27. Web.19 Jan. 2016.

UNESCO. *Understanding education quality*. EFA Global Monitoring Report: 2005. Web. 23 Dec. 2015.

Tyack, David B., Myra H. Strober. *Women and Men in the Schools: A History´of the Sexual Structuring of Educational Employment.*California, 1981.Web.23 Dec. 2015.

Vrcelj, Sofija, Marko Mušanović. *Kome još (ne)treba feministička pedagogija?*. Rijeka: Hrvatsko futurističko društvo, 2011. Print.

Zinn, Howard. *A People´s History of the United States, 1492 – Present.* n.p.1999.Web. 23 Sept. 2015.

Župan, Dinko.*Mentalni korzet.Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868 – 1918).*Vinkovci: Tisak Zebra, 2013. Print.

---. ″Utjecaji Mažuraničeve reforme školstva na pučko školstvo u Slavoniji (1875 – 1885).″ *Scrinia Slavonica* 2 (2002): 227 – 292. Print.

---. ″Dobre kućanice.″ *Scrinia Slavonica* 9 (2009): 232 – 256. Print.