

An Exploration of Gender and Teacher Wellbeing in Cambodia and Kenya: A Qualitative Study

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Science in the Duke Global Health Institute  
in the Graduate School of Duke University

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ABSTRACT

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## **Abstract**

**Background:** Teacher wellbeing is important because it impacts teachers' ability to complete their work and also impacts student wellbeing. While published literature on teacher wellbeing has increased since the early 2000's, a disproportionate amount of that work has been conducted in North America and Europe; this has limited the generalizability of what is currently understood about teacher wellbeing. Additionally, contextual factors, such as gender, are thought to be potentially influential factors on teacher wellbeing but have yet to be extensively researched. This study aims to assess the relationship between gender and teacher wellbeing in Battambang, Cambodia and Bungoma, Kenya.

**Methods:** Fifty-five teachers from Cambodia and Kenya, including both men and women, contributed to in-depth interviews. Thematic analysis was conducted on interview transcripts to assess gendered relationships and differential treatment, wellbeing facilitators, and participants' responsibilities in addition to teaching. Additionally, demographic data was collected through surveys.

**Results:** The thematic analysis revealed subtle differences in perceptions of treatment and relationships between participants who identified as men versus women, potential wellbeing facilitators for men and women, and insight into outside non-school roles and responsibilities for men and women teachers.

**Conclusions:** Based on the nuances between men and women participants' responses, findings from this study indicate that there may be an important relationship between gender and teacher wellbeing that is worth further researching. This study points to the need to further research in a few key areas including: (1) how do (if at all) gendered relationships and differential treatment make teachers feel/impact teacher wellbeing, and (2) how do (if at all) outside responsibilities in

addition to teaching impact teacher stress, fatigue, burnout, and general wellbeing. Lastly, given that there were some differences in activities and opportunities that facilitate teacher wellbeing between men and women participants, this formative research can inform gender-specific interventions addressing teacher wellbeing in Cambodia and Kenya.

## **Dedication**

For all the teachers around the world who work so hard to educate, inspire, and encourage our youth, I dedicate this work to you. To the teachers who participated in this study, thank you for your willingness to share your experiences with my research team.

For my family, thank you for your support throughout all my academic endeavors; you have instilled hard work, commitment, and passion in me that I will cherish forever.

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# **1. Introduction**

## ***1.1 Background***

Published research on wellbeing has significantly increased since the 2000s, yet the term remains difficult to define. Wellbeing can be either objective or subjective; while objective wellbeing includes the influences of external factors such as economic resources and political circumstances (Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern, & Seligman, 2011), subjective wellbeing dimensions include happiness, emotion, engagement, purpose, life satisfaction, social-emotional competence, and accomplishments. Positive mental health (i.e., subjective wellbeing) includes the presences of the following: (1) positive emotions, (2) good psychological functioning including having a sense of purpose in life, feeling positively towards others, and accepting oneself, and (3) strong social functioning in terms of a sense of belonging, feeling a part of society, and having something to offer the world (Keyes, 2005; Keyes, 2006).

Teachers are an occupational group that impact many lives. Teachers account for 94 million of the people on the planet, and an additional 69 million teachers will be needed by 2030 (UNESCO UIS, 2020). Given the large number of teachers globally, attending to their wellbeing is important. In addition, the critical role of teachers as role models and educators of even larger numbers of children amplifies the importance of their wellbeing. Research has shown that teachers' state of wellbeing impacts their effectiveness in the classroom (McCallum & Price, 2010) and that teacher wellbeing is linked to student wellbeing (Sisask and colleagues, 2014; Roffey, 2012; Salter-Jones, 2012; Tyson, Roberts & Kane, 2009). Attending to teacher wellbeing therefore also protects students' education and wellbeing.

In general, teaching is difficult and time-consuming work. A study conducted in the United Kingdom found that teachers rate their wellbeing significantly lower than individuals in other professional occupations such as health, social work, finance, and human resources (Grenville-Cleave and Boniwell, 2012). Furthermore, the attrition rate of teachers in several regions of the world, including North America, the United Kingdom, Europe, Hong Kong, and Australia, was found to be between 40-50% within the first five years of entering the field (Gallant & Riley, 2014). There are a few reasons for such high levels of attrition within the teaching profession including burnout (Goddard and Goddard 2006; Korthagen 2004; Maslach 2003; Maslach and Leiter 2008), lack of support for new teachers (Centre for Innovative Thought 2006) and working conditions (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner 2005). It is also known that teachers' wellbeing is deeply connected to the quality of the work they can produce (CESE, 2014) and therefore, maintaining their wellbeing is important to ensuring that students receive the best education possible. Together, these findings suggest that: (1) currently, teacher wellbeing is not at optimal levels in various regions of the world and (2) bolstering teacher wellbeing is key to ensuring that students receive the best quality education possible.

The wellbeing of teachers is impacted by an array of positive and negative factors, which may or may not be within the teachers' control. Some such factors include resilience, self-efficacy, social emotional competence, burnout, fatigue, exhaustion, and stress (McCallum et. al, 2018). However, contextual characteristics including gender, level of schooling, and years of teaching experience may also influence teacher wellbeing. These contextual factors have yet to be extensively researched, and the limited body of published work in this area points to the need for further studies (Bricheno et al., 2009). Gender is one such contextual factor with limited and inconclusive research regarding its relationship with, or effect on, teacher wellbeing. In one study conducted in the United Kingdom, men reported lower wellbeing than women across various

occupations, including teaching (Bricheno et al., 2009). Another study that was conducted in India which focused on the teaching profession specifically found that there was no significant effect of gender on the psychological wellbeing of teachers (Salimirad & Srimathi, 2016). Ultimately, Bricheno et. al (2009) emphasized the need for more studies exploring the influence that demographic factors, such as gender, have on teacher wellbeing.

Gender inequity persists globally; the World Economic Forum's 2021 Global Gender Gap Report, which included data from 156 countries, found that the global average gender parity score was 68%. The World Economic Forum predicts that it will take approximately 135 years to close the 32% gender gap that remains worldwide (World Economic Forum, 2021). Gender inequity takes many forms, but one common place where it presents itself is in the workplace. Gender discrimination occurs explicitly through unequal pay (Meitzen, 1986; Padavic & Reskin, 2002), disparities in promotions (Olson and Becker 1983), hiring processes (Goldin and Rouse, 2000), performance evaluations (American Bar Association, 2006), and incidents of harassment (Welsh, 1999), to name a few. In addition to these transparent inequities, research in the United States of America has found that women in corporate America also face more subtle challenges at work such as higher rates of burnout, chronic stress, and exhaustion (McKinsey & Company, 2021). In 2019, roughly 66% of primary school teachers and 54% of secondary school teachers worldwide were women (World Bank, 2020). The extent to which teachers who are women experience inequity or not depends on the systems, culture, and context of where they work. Given that over half of the world's primary and secondary teachers are women, understanding gender inequities within this occupational group and how they relate to wellbeing is important.

Currently, most of the published literature on teacher wellbeing has been conducted in North America and Europe. Of 102 studies included in a recent literature review on teacher wellbeing, only 10 were in Africa and 14 in Asia (Proeschold-Bell et. al, 2021). To our

knowledge, there are no studies published on gender and teacher wellbeing in either the Cambodian or Kenyan contexts. Furthermore, we are not aware of any gender specific interventions or programs aimed to bolster teacher wellbeing.

## ***1.2 Objectives***

The overall objective of this study is to explore the relationship, if any, between gender and teacher wellbeing in Cambodia and Kenya. The aims of this study were to: (1) describe the similarities and differences between men and women's experiences as teachers, in terms of relationships and workplace treatment; (2) determine facilitating factors associated with the wellbeing of teachers who identify as men versus women; and (3) identify and compare gender roles and responsibilities (in addition to teaching) between men and women.

## **2. Methods**

### ***2.1 Overview***

This qualitative, descriptive case study is based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 55 teachers from Kenya and Cambodia. The data in this study are a subset from a larger study, *Transforming and Sustaining: Wellbeing Practices for Teachers and Caregivers of Children* (Proeschold-Bell et. al, 2021). The purpose of this project was to explore possible connections between gender and teacher wellbeing in Cambodia and separately in Kenya. Data collection took place in Kenya from February 2021 to March 2021 and in Cambodia from March 2021 to April 2021. Findings from this study highlight key similarities and differences in teacher experiences between men and women.

Ethical approval was received by the Duke University Institutional Review Board (IRB) and IRB/regulatory agencies in all participating countries including the National Ethics Committee for Health Research (under the umbrella of Cambodia's Ministry of Health) and Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI). Written informed consent was obtained from each participating teacher.

### ***2.2 Settings and Sampling***

Cambodia and Kenya were selected as the sites for this study due to previous partnerships between Duke University and the in-country organizations ACE Africa (Kenya) and Development for Cambodian Children (DCC) (Cambodia). Data collection in Kenya took place in 3 rural and 3 urban public-school settings in Bungoma South Sub-County, Bungoma County. Schools in Kenya were selected given their previous partnerships with Duke University researchers. Data collection in Cambodia took place in a mix of public and private schools that were all within the urban location of Battambang City. The selected schools in Cambodia had no

previous partnerships with Duke University; schools were selected based on the in-country team's network and connections.

The target for sampling at each site (i.e., country) was six schools, with six teachers from each school to result in a sample of 36 teachers. The intent was to select schools that were a mix of public and private, primary and secondary, and high-resource and low-resource. The target sample size of 36 teachers per site was determined based on previous data suggesting that eight interviews per demographic characteristic have been found to yield a similar percentage of themes as more interviews per demographic characteristic (Namey, Guest, McKenna, & Chen, 2016).

### **2.2.1 School Selection**

Schools were recruited by in-country team members through convenience sampling; the site investigators had many well-established working relationships with local schools as they operate with organizations that focus on children and teachers. The inclusion criteria included only high-performing schools which was defined differently at each site depending on the cultural context (i.e., test scores, good reputation, etc.). Additionally, schools were selected based off resource setting, with the goal of including three high-resource schools and three low-resource schools at each site. Each recruited school's principal received an email including the consent form and an explanation of the study. If a school principal did not want their school or teachers to participate, the local investigators moved on to the next school on their list until the target sample of six schools from each site was fulfilled. If the principal agreed to participate, the local investigators then asked the principal to notify all the school's teachers about the study and to provide a list of all the teachers' names.



### **2.2.2 Teacher Selection**

The local research team members used purposive sampling strategies to ensure diversity within the sample, i.e., age, gender, years of teaching experience, and grade level/subject taught. The recruited teachers were free to agree to or decline participation in the study and the school principal was not informed of which teachers did or did not participate.

## **2.3 Procedures**

### **2.3.1 Interview Guide Development**

Qualitative data were collected using in-depth interviews with participants. The semi-structured interview guide (Appendix A) aimed to explore wellbeing facilitators and barriers, as well as gender dynamics in the school setting. The interview guide was developed collaboratively with research team members from the United States (Duke University), Kenya (ACE Africa), Cambodia (Development for Cambodian Children), and Qatar (WISE, Qatar Foundation). The flexible nature of semi-structured interview guides enabled the interviewers to tailor the interview to each individual respondent by rephrasing questions and asking additional probing questions.

### **2.3.2 Interviewer Training**

Both sites had a team of 2-3 interviewers, with a mix of men and women. The teams were trained on study protocol and procedure. Interviewer training occurred during weekly meetings over several weeks via Zoom and consisted of best practices with qualitative interviewing, training on probing questions, and in-depth review of the interview guide.

### **2.3.3 Interview Procedures**

In-depth interviews took place at a time convenient for the participant between February 2021 and April 2021. Interviews were conducted one-on-one with a single interviewer and participant through a mix of different methods including both in-person and over the phone given

that data collection occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ethical approval was obtained by all IRBs and local regulatory agencies to conduct interviews using the above-mentioned methods, given the uncertainty of COVID-19's impact on the study. In Cambodia, local research team members conducted the interviews in Khmer (the national language of Cambodia). In Kenya, local research team members conducted the interviews in English or Swahili, depending on the participant's preference. Interviews in Cambodia took approximately one hour while interviews in Kenya took between 1-2.5 hours; all interviews were audio recorded. Participants were compensated for their time with the equivalent of \$10 USD in the local currency.

### **2.3.4 Demographics Survey**

In order to develop an understanding of the demographic and descriptive characteristics of the study population, participants also completed a survey that included demographic questions (i.e., age, years of experience, gender, highest level of educational attainment, etc.), the Mental Health Continuum Short-Form (MHC-SF), and the Oldenberg Burnout Inventory questionnaire. Survey data was imported manually by a member of the research team into an excel file for each country. Simple descriptive statistics were run to calculate the mean, minimum, maximum, and standard deviation for each characteristic (i.e., age, gender, years of experience, etc.).

### **2.3.5 Translation and Transcription**

In-depth interviews were audio recorded and stored securely. In Cambodia, interviews were translated and transcribed by members of the local research team fluent in both Khmer and English. In Kenya, interviews were predominantly conducted in English, but a few were translated from Swahili and transcribed by members of the local research team fluent in both Swahili and English. All 33 interviews were translated and transcribed in Cambodia. In Kenya, only 22 were transcribed. Due to the extensive length of the Kenyan interviews, transcription

became time consuming. Qualitative analysis occurred simultaneously with transcription; saturation was achieved with the first 22 transcripts as no new themes emerged from the last 5 consecutive transcripts that were coded. At that point, no further transcription or coding was deemed necessary.

### **2.3.6 Data Analysis**

One member of the Duke University research team conducted data analysis on the interview transcripts. A thematic analysis approach (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012) was taken to code the transcripts. NVivo 12.6.1 (QSR, 2012) was used to code and organize the data. Once transcripts were loaded into NVivo, the transcripts were organized into four subfolders for Cambodian women, Cambodian men, Kenyan women, and Kenyan men.

First, interview transcripts were grouped by school and read together. After all interviews from a given school were read, a descriptive memo was written by one research team member. The memos addressed similarities and differences in participant responses, as well as any interesting or surprising information. The memos served to familiarize the researcher with the data.

Next, a structural codebook was developed, which contained a code for each interview guide question (i.e., 'code 1' correlated with question 1 on the interview guide). All transcripts were coded by one researcher (AN) using NVivo 12 (QSR, 2012) with the structural codes to organize all participants' responses for each question. The structural coding enabled the researcher to access a summary of what participants, and specific subgroups of participants, were saying in response to each question.

After reviewing the memos and structural code summaries, emergent themes informed the development of inductive, content codes (Appendix B). All interviews were coded by one researcher (AN) using NVivo 12 (QSR, 2012). Following every few to several interviews coded,

the coder would review coding summaries within NVivo to assess if any new codes needed to be added. After an initial round of coding, any new codes noted throughout the process were added into the codebook. All transcripts were then coded a second time, with the updated, finalized codebook.

Once the final codebook was applied to all transcripts, the researcher ran coding reports for each theme. Each coding report was then reviewed by site and gender to delineate subthemes and observe range of responses and frequencies.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Overview of the sample

The final sample included in the analysis comprised of 33 Cambodian teachers and 22 Kenyan teachers. During school recruitment, there were no school refusals in Kenya, and one school refusal in Cambodia; during participant recruitment, three teachers declined to participate in Cambodia, and one teacher declined in Kenya. Participant demographic characteristics are presented in Table 1. Results from Cambodia and Kenya were examined separately and are reported separately as well; within each theme discussed in the results section, findings from Cambodia are presented first, followed by findings from Kenya.

<b>Table 1: Participant demographics and social characteristics</b>				
Country (n)	Kenya (22)		Cambodia (33)	
Gender, n (%)	Women, 13 (59%)	Men, 9 (41%)	Women, 21 (64%)	Men, 12 (36%)
<b>Age</b>				
Mean (SD)	45 (.85)	37.6 (6.3)	39 (12.7)	47 (8.5)
Minimum	34	27	21	27
Maximum	58	48	66	55
<b>Years of Teaching Experience</b>				
Mean (SD)	20 (11.8)	6.8 (4.0)	18 (12.4)	24 (9.5)
Minimum	3	2	1	4
Maximum	36	13	42	34
<b>Years at Current School</b>				
Mean (SD)	10 (9.5)	5.1 (2.3)	10 (7.4)	16 (10.8)
Minimum	1	2	1	4
Maximum	27	8	33	30
<b>Highest Level of Education Completed, n (%)</b>				
Some of grade 1-12	0 (0%)	0 (%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Completed grade 12	0 (0%)	0 (%)	2(10%)	1 (8%)
Some university	2 (15%)	5 (56%)	2 (10%)	3 (25%)
Graduated university	2 (15%)	0 (%)	12 (57%)	8 (67%)
Beyond university	1 (8%)	0 (%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Vocational or technical training	0 (0%)	0 (%)	3 (14%)	0 (0%)

College teaching certificate (Kenya only)	8 (62%)	4 (44%)	NA	NA
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	(0%)
<b>Current Financial Stress, n (%)</b>				
Extremely stressful	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
Very stressful	6(46%)	5 (56%)	2 (10%)	1 (8%)
Moderately stressful	4 (31%)	2 (22%)	4 (19%)	5 (42%)
Slightly stressful	2 (15%)	2 (22%)	5 (24%)	1 (8%)
Not at all stressful	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (38%)	5 (42%)
<b>School Type, n (%)</b>				
Public	13 (100%)	9 (100%)	10 (48%)	8 (67%)
Private	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (52%)	4 (33%)
<b>Current School Level Taught, n (%)</b>				
Primary	13 (100%)	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Secondary	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (48%)	8 (67%)
Both	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (52%)	4 (33%)
<b>Resource Setting, n (%)</b>				
Low resource	7 (54%)	5 (56%)	10 (48%)	8 (67%)
High resource	6 (46%)	4 (44%)	11 (52%)	4 (33%)
<b>Class Size</b>				
Mean (SD)	90 (15.6)	83 (14.8)	49 (14.0)	49 (14.6)
<b>Mental Health Continuum – Short Form (possible range 0-70; higher scores indicate better positive mental health)</b>				
Mean Score (SD)	55.9 (4.7)	48.8 (11.1)	49.6 (8.7)	48.7 (9.1)
Flourishing, n (%)	13 (100%)	6 (67%)	15 (71%)	7 (58%)
Not Flourishing, n (%)	0 (0%)	3 (33%)	6 (29%)	5 (42%)
<b>Oldenburg Burnout Inventory Score (possible range 1-4; higher scores indicate more burnout)</b>				
Mean (SD)	2.8 (0.2)	2.7 (0.2)	2.8 (0.2)	2.9 (0.2)

## ***3.2 Relationships and Differential Treatment***

In the interview, participants were asked to describe their relationships with students, colleagues, and school administrators. Participants were also directly asked if they feel that they are treated differently depending on gender. The goal of these questions was to investigate similarities and differences in relationships and experiences at work between teachers who identify as men versus women. Nuances in responses are explored below.

### **3.2.1 Co-worker Relationships & Treatment**

Participants of both genders in Cambodia described differences in relationships between co-workers depending on gender. Several participants who identify as women expressed that they feel closer to colleagues of the same gender. Participants who are women also suggested that they feel closer to fellow women because they can relate to one another's problems or worries. When asked about differences in relationships with colleague of the same gender compared to those of the opposite gender, a 66-year-old Cambodian woman with 42 years of teaching experience shared:

*“Yes, it's just little bit different between women co-worker and men co-worker. I [am] close to women co-workers and we are the same gender, so I can talk to them all my worries in detail and ask them for advice. But men co-workers, I talk with them only about work and something for fixing. Example, when my roof is leaking. So, I ask them how to deal with it.”*

A few participants who identify as women also referenced Khmer culture as being the root of this difference. For example, another woman participant (34- year-old with 14 years of experience), told us:

*“...for male teachers we don't have completely so close [of a relationship] as female teachers because in our Khmer tradition, we cannot be close for men and women. If we talk or play a lot with men, we would be judged that we are not usual so we cannot have a closer relationship to the male teachers than female ones.”*

A few participants who identified as men also suggested that women colleagues prefer to interact with fellow women, rather than their men counterparts.

*“...female teachers don't want to talk with male teachers much, they need to talk with the same gender. If they have something to talk to male teachers they can talk as usual, but they just prefer to talk to the same gender more because they can share about lady thing with ladies.”*

- 45-year-old in Cambodian man with 22 years of teaching experience

Similarly in Kenya, both men and women participants noted differences in their relationships with colleagues depending on gender. Several participants who identify as women described feeling closer to fellow women than men. Various participants (women) also suggested that this difference in relationships is due to cultural norms and expectations (as participants in Cambodia also referenced).

*“I am closer to other female teachers than male counter parts because this are other people's husband so you keep a distance otherwise people will mistake you. I try to keep a distance with male co-workers, but we work well together as a team.”*

- 46-year-old Kenyan woman with 18 years of teaching experience

Numerous participants who are women also mentioned that colleagues of the same gender are more relatable and therefore, can connect on a deeper level.

A few participants who identify as men noted similar differences in relationships as their women counterparts; these men suggested that they are closer with fellow men coworkers as they are more relatable. One participant who is a man noted that their women colleagues are busier outside of school and therefore, they are unable to spend informal time together. Several



participants of both genders did note that despite lacking informal relationships with opposite-gender colleagues, they still have strong professional relationships.

*“...interaction in school and cracking jokes and doing everything, ah we are just like brothers and sisters here. [But informal interaction] is not the same. Because you’ll find that female teachers will be busy doing their household duties, but with men, we are at least free, after maybe around 3.pm on weekends...”*

- 33-year-old Kenyan man with 2 years of teaching experience

### **3.2.2 Student-Teacher Relationships & Treatment**

In Cambodia, most participant who are men felt that students did not treat teachers differently depending on gender. One teacher who identified as a man suggested that girl students are typically closer with women teachers than teachers who are men. A few participants who are women noted similarly – that girl students are more comfortable with and closer to teachers who are women. Additionally, a couple of participants who are women described differences in the way students treat teachers depending on their gender. One participant in Cambodia (31-year-old woman with 6 years of experience) reported: *“Sometimes I feel male students, when we are female teachers, are not afraid of us and they show a disrespectful attitude towards us.”*

With a few exceptions, most Cambodian participants, regardless of gender, seemed to feel that they are not treated differently by students depending on gender. One participant (39-year-old woman with 19 years of teaching experience) reported: *“...There is nothing remarkable [different]. Students respect their teachers equally regardless gender.”*

Another participant who identified as a man (41-years old with 22 years of teaching experience) stated similarly: *“We have both male and female teachers here. I see students respect all teachers the same.”*

A few participants in Cambodia, both men and women, noted that students judge teachers based on their ability and investment in their students (i.e., if the teacher is good at their job, or the teacher cares about the students, the students will like them) rather than on their gender.

Multiple participants who identify as women in Kenya expressed that they feel that students treat them differently compared to teachers who are men. Specifically, participants (women) mentioned that students fear and respect teachers who are men more than teachers who are women:

*“[I] haven’t seen that much difference [in students’ behavior] here, but I know students fear and respect male teachers more because they see them as father figures [and] disciplinarians and strong while they see woman as mothers [and] weak.”*

- 40-year-old teacher in Kenya with 11 years of experience who is a woman

Numerous participants who are women referenced cultural norms as being the root of this differential treatment. *“They [students] treat me differently because [I] am a woman who is under a man who will always be under a man, that means you are less superior.”* (55-year-old woman in Kenya with 32 years of teaching experience).

Participants who identify as men in Kenya did not mention differential treatment from students based on gender as frequently as their women counterparts did. A couple participants (men) did mention the same difference as women teachers noted – that generally, teachers who are men are more feared and respected than women teachers.

### **3.2.3 Administrator-Teacher Relationships & Treatment**

Most participants in Cambodia, did not feel that they are treated differently by school administrators based on gender.

There were a few exceptions to this that seemed worth noting. One participant who is a man noted that men are frequently invited to play football (soccer) together with the (man)

principal on the weekends. Similarly, one participant who is a woman expressed that teachers who are men go out with the (man) principal informally, while teachers who are women only interact with the principal in school. One participant who is a woman interestingly suggested that the school's (man) principal values women teachers more than men.

*"... there are only few male teachers in primary level in my school because I heard the principal said that he wants [more] female teachers than male teachers in primary level. He believes that female teachers can work better because they have more experience in taking care of little kids than men."*

- 63-year-old woman teacher in Cambodia with 40 years of experience

In Kenya, participants who identified as women noted differences in the way the principal treats men and women teachers, though these differences in treatment did not seem to bother the participants. Numerous teachers who are women expressed that their principals understand and respect that women must spend time tending to their homes, their families, and children.

*"...they [the principal] address us with equal respect and appreciate [everyone's] work.... Remember male teachers always remain behind in school as female teachers go to tender to their households. Male teacher is more flexible in terms of being send with pupils for trips."*

- 36-year-old woman with 3 years of teaching experience in Kenya

A few participants who identify as women referenced the principal assigning tasks and duties based on gender, once such response was:

*"We are given jobs according to our abilities. Women can't be given a tough job or allowed to work late at night so that becomes that will cause a challenge, as a teacher you feel like but as a woman you feel you need to rush home because your children are missing out."*

- 40-year-old woman in Kenya with 11 years of teaching experience

Additionally, a few participants who identify as women noted that their principals seem to be stricter with men than women. A few participants who are men noted similar differences as their counterparts who are women. Specifically, some of those men referenced women having more outside responsibilities and thus, principals entrust more in school roles and responsibilities to teachers who are men.

### ***3.3 Wellbeing Facilitators***

A portion of the interview focused on teachers' past and current experiences at work and the impact of those experiences on their wellbeing. Participants described activities, experiences, and opportunities that they felt promoted their wellbeing. Nuances between genders are explored below.

#### **3.3.1 Socialization**

Numerous participants who identify as women in Cambodia expressed the importance of informal social time with their colleagues and/or students. Informal social time included things like chatting in the teachers' lounge, holiday celebrations, and sharing meals. A few participants who identify as men also expressed that social interactions, such as sharing meals and teacher trips, play a positive role in promoting their wellbeing. One participant who identifies as a man reported: *"It can help [our wellbeing] because when we eat and drink together, it makes the happy environment. When we are happy, it can wash the sadness or stress away."*

Both men and women participants from Kenya noted the positive role socialization with their colleagues plays in their wellbeing; numerous participants referenced informal guiding and counselling among teachers as well as the benefits of sharing meals together.

*"...at school level we have teachers that are in guiding and counselling panel that can engage that teacher to find out what is the cause of the burnout and suggest possible*

*solutions to the case of the teacher and if the situation is above them the panel can recommend the teacher to hire professional counsellors maybe at the base level or at the zonal level.”*

- 42-year-old teacher in Kenya with 5 years of experience who is a man

### **3.3.2 Policies**

A few Cambodian participants who identify as women mentioned that sick leave, and specifically maternity leave, are important policies that contribute to teacher wellbeing. There were no participants who identify as men in Cambodia who mentioned policies that they felt positively contributed to their wellbeing.

*“According to educational policies at the district, national, or government level...They allow me to ask permission when I get sick...and have a small money package for me too, the motivation is very helpful. The teacher who gave birth, [they] can stop [working for] three or four months based on their permission and have some money for support by the Department and Ministry of Education...”*

- 35-year-old Cambodian woman with 6 years of teaching experience

In Kenya, both men and women participants noted that healthcare and welfare fund policies help maintain their wellbeing. The participants suggested that these policies enhance their financial security and alleviate stress and worry in times of sickness and hardship.

Additionally, numerous participants noted that sick leave and holiday/vacation time ensure they have time to rest and relax.

*“Ok...you are given leave [when] you want to go home. For example, ...at times they give me a leave I go home to relax and come back...You see in school here it is tedious...[I] am handling class ,8 there are 95[students], class 6 has 76, so you need also to relax, yes.”*

- 36-year-old man with 2 years of teaching experience from Kenya

### 3.3.3. Sports and Exercise

Multiple participants in Cambodia who identify as men referenced their involvement in sports and exercise as contributing factors to their wellbeing. No participants who identify as women in Cambodia mentioned sports or exercise as facilitators to their wellbeing. One participant who is a man (40 years old with 18 years of teaching experience) said: *“I try to do exercise. [At the school] there are three types of sports program football, basketball, badminton...I play football and basketball.”*

In Kenya, both men and women participants noted the positive impact exercise and sports have on their wellbeing. A few Kenyan women referenced walking and physical exercise in general, while a few men noted specific sports such as football (soccer).

Interviewer: *“Were there any practices that you did as an individual that helped your health and overall well-being?”*

Participant: *“Walking home in the evening and home exercises like sit ups, jogging, squats and also P.E (physical exercise) at home.”*

- 41-year-old teacher in Kenya who is a woman with 14 years of experience

### 3.3.4 Religion

In Cambodia, one participant who identifies as a man mentioned religious practices as contributing positively to their wellbeing. When asked what creative things the school does to promote teacher wellbeing, the participant (41-year-old with 22 years of experience) said, *“...We also have meditation class and invite monks to give some advice to teachers and students twice a year. It’s useful for all of us here because it helps us to be fresh and stay focus.”*

In Kenya, numerous men and women participants referenced church and spirituality positively impacting their wellbeing. One participant who identifies as a man (42-year-old with 5 years of experience) said: *“...On Sundays it is mandatory that I have to go to church... this helps my spiritual health to be well.”*

### **3.3. 5 Professional Development**

In Kenya, a few participants who identify as men referenced professional development opportunities as fostering their wellbeing. The participants mentioned that attending trainings and workshops aimed to enhance their teaching abilities leave them feeling refreshed and inspired to do their job as a teacher.

*“Study leave [helps teacher wellbeing]; when you're given time to go and study or develop your career, that one also gives you a sense of self satisfaction. It means, means you're, you're going away from job and from place of work, you're not working and at the same time you are given some, you're given money, I think to us is a motivation.”*

- 48-year-old Kenyan man with 8 years of experience

### **3.4 Responsibilities in Addition to Teaching**

In the interviews, participants were asked about their individual responsibilities outside of work, but some participants spontaneously offered information about their responsibilities within the school setting in addition to their primary role as a class teacher; nuances in responsibilities seemed to vary between men and women. These nuances between gender and site are explored below.

#### **3.4.1 At school responsibilities**

In Cambodia, the only additional responsibilities that teachers who identify as women mentioned were administrative tasks. Participants who identify as men in Cambodia only referenced attending workshops and trainings, and one man also noted their responsibility to mentor their colleagues.

In Kenya, similarly to Cambodia, only teachers who identify as women referenced administrative work. Both men and women participants in Kenya noted that they are sports coaches for school teams, counselors (for both students and colleagues), and members of school

boards or subject panels. Only participants who identify as men in Kenya referenced their roles as leaders or managers, attending teacher meetings, and responsibilities to clean the school grounds.

<b>Table 2: At school responsibilities by site and gender</b>				
At school responsibilities	Cambodia		Kenya	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Administrative work	X		X	
Attend workshops/trainings		X	X	
Mentor colleagues and/or students		X	X	X
Management/leadership role				X
Attend teacher meetings				X
Serve on a school board/panel			X	X
Clean school grounds/classrooms				X
Sports coach			X	X

### 3.4.2 Outside of School Responsibilities

In the interview, participants were asked a series of questions about their responsibilities outside of school. The below information categorizes participants outside responsibilities regarding additional jobs/work, private tutoring, enrollment in further education, caretaking roles, and housework.

<b>Table 3. Outside of school responsibilities by site and gender</b>		
*Spontaneously mentioned; not directly asked in interview		
Outside of school responsibilities	Cambodia, %	Kenya, %



	Women (n=21)	Men (n=11)	Women (n=13)	Men (n=9)
Tutoring/private classes	70%*	82%	38%	67%
Additional job(s)	21% <sup>+</sup>	11% <sup>^</sup>	77%	56%
Caretaker	48%	64%	100%	78%
Housework/chores	100% <sup>+</sup>	91%	100%	56%
*Further education	10%	9%	0%	0%
*Farming	5%	27%	38%	89%

\*n=20

+n=19

<sup>^</sup>n=9

In Cambodia, most outside responsibilities were relatively even split between men and women; for example, 48% of women said they were a caretaker and 50% of men said that they were a caretaker. In Kenya, some of the outside responsibilities had more striking differences between men and women; two notable differences can be found between the percentage of men and women who complete housework (56% vs. 100% respectively) and who farm (89% and 31% respectively). Many participants, both men in women, at both sites indicated that they either teacher supplemental classes, provide tutoring services, or have additional jobs. Caretaking was one responsibility that was relatively evenly split at both sites between men and women; this may be because caretaking was not explicitly defined. In Kenya, for example, many participants said they were caretakers and went on to elaborate that they identified themselves as caretakers because they were financially supporting extended family members.

## **4. Discussion**

This study aimed to explore the relationship between gender and wellbeing among teachers in Cambodia and Kenya. It is widely accepted that gender inequity in the workplace exists both explicitly through differences in pay, status, and opportunity, and more subtly through stigmatization and inappropriate commentary (Peterson and Morgan, 1995; Eagly and Carli, 2007; Blau and Devaro, 2007). These differences have been found to negatively impact women's mental and physical health, and therefore their overall wellbeing (Goldenhar et. al, 1998; Adler et al., 2000; Schmader et. al, 2008; Borrel et al. 2010). It is not well understood how this connection between gender and wellbeing affects teachers in the regions of Sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia specifically. In this study, some subtle differences were detected between men and women in three key areas: (1) relationships and treatment at work, (2) factors/facilitators that bolster wellbeing, and (3) roles and responsibilities in school and at home.

### ***4.1 Relationships and Treatment at Work***

Subtle differences were found between men and women's perceptions of their relationships with administrators, co-workers, and students. One such difference was found in Kenya; women noted that they feel that principals treat men and women differently because they understand women have more outside responsibilities such as tending to children and completing housework. However, in the context of this study, participants interestingly did not seem bothered by, but were rather grateful for, differences in expectations and treatment. This is contrary to past literature that suggests that subjective gender discrimination, such as differential treatment, can negatively impact stress levels as well as mental and physical health (Goldenhar et. al, 1998; Adler et al., 2000; Schmader et. al, 2008; Borrel et al. 2010).

The findings from this study suggest subtle differences between men and women's perceptions of how they are treated at work in two different country contexts. The absence of more substantial and striking differences between men and women's experiences at work may suggest that improvements in gender equality in the workplace are being made at these specific sites. When comparing the two countries included in this study, Cambodia was ranked 46<sup>th</sup> and Kenya 84<sup>th</sup> out of 156 countries in terms of Economic Participation and Opportunity in the World Economic Forum's 2021 Gender Parity Report; this indicates that Cambodia is closer than Kenya to achieving gender parity in economic participation and opportunity, which includes workplace equality. In this study, differences in treatment at work depending on gender were mentioned more frequently in Kenya than Cambodia, which is in line with the findings from the World Economic Forum's report.

The most common explanation participants gave for differential treatment and relationship structures were cultural norms and gender expectations; it is important to note that cultural norms are the roots of some of these differences because challenging and changing cultural norms can be difficult. Cultural norms are learned through socialization and give people a sense of identity and belonging and as a result, people tend to comply with the norms they are taught to avoid social punishment (Morris et. al, 2015). Therefore, the findings from this study, such as students behaving better for teachers who are men, and administrators assigning tasks based on preconceived ideas around gender rather than an individuals' actual capabilities, will continue to persist so long as the cultural norms promoting these behaviors and inequities exist.

## ***4.2 Wellbeing facilitators***

In participant interviews, teachers attributed the presence of certain factors to positively contributing to teacher wellbeing. Past literature supports the idea that both internal and external factors can either negatively or positively impact teacher wellbeing (McCallum & Price, 2016;

Price & McCallum, 2015) and as such, this study aimed to explore if factors perceived to positively impact wellbeing varied between men and women. While there was overlap in what men and women described as helpful for their wellbeing, more women expressed the positive role socialization plays in bolstering their wellbeing. Additionally, policies relating to healthcare and maternity leave were more frequently mentioned by women, whereas men more often referenced sports, religion and prayer, and professional development as positively contributing to their wellbeing. A recent literature review that focused on factors influencing teacher wellbeing and burnout identified the factors of organizational climate, social support, wellbeing interventions at both the individual and interpersonal levels, and work-related engagement (Proeschold-Bell et. al, 2021). While some of the main factors, such as prayer and social support, noted by men and women in this study also emerged in the literature review referenced above, a few factors detected in this study seem to be unique and novel. To our knowledge, no past literature on teacher wellbeing has investigated the positive influence sports, professional development opportunities, and health-related policies may have on teacher wellbeing.

### ***4.3 Gender Roles and Responsibilities***

This study also explored the roles and responsibilities that teachers have in addition to their work. Past research has found that women experience higher rates of burnout and stress at work compared to their male counterparts (McKinsey & Company, 2020); this project aimed to serve as a foundation for exploring if outside responsibilities might potentially contribute to or compound this difference between men and women. It was hypothesized that women would have more outside responsibilities, which may be a contributing factor to why they more frequently experience burnout, stress, and fatigue. Differences between men and women's responsibilities outside of teaching were less striking than hypothesized, but there were some interesting takeaways, nonetheless.

Various participants spontaneously referenced additional at-school responsibilities in addition to being a classroom teacher. In both Cambodia and Kenya, participants alluded to differences in at-school responsibilities being due to teachers who are men having more time to spend at work than their counterparts who are women. It was suggested at both sites that men have more at-school responsibilities because women have more at-home responsibilities. Specifically in Kenya, cultural expectations and norms came into play again; both men and women explained that housework is predominantly a woman's job.

#### ***4.4 Implications for Future Research, Practice, and Policies***

The exploratory nature of this study led to preliminary findings about gender and teacher wellbeing that can serve to inform the direction of future research. Further exploratory research is needed to support the findings from this study. There are a few key areas where research might focus in the future: (1) differences in outside roles and responsibilities between men and women, and (2) pay and benefits for teachers, including an exploration of why many teachers in Kenya and Cambodia have jobs in addition to teaching.

The findings from this study indicate that different external factors might be more relevant to either men or women. As such, the results from this study could guide the development of gender-specific programs that aim to bolster teacher wellbeing, such as a sports league for Cambodian teachers who are men, or a social club for women teachers in Cambodian schools. This study may also have various policy implications related to maternity leave, healthcare, and pay. The results pointed to the importance of policies around maternity leave and general healthcare for female teachers. Additionally, a large portion of both men and women in both country contexts indicated that they have additional jobs which may suggest that teachers need to supplement their primary salary to meet their needs; this finding may point to the need for policy review and/or revision around pay and benefits for teachers.

#### ***4.5 Limitations and Strengths***

There are various important limits to this study that should be noted. First, due to the large number of transcripts and time constraints, the analysis for this paper did not include inter-rater reliability; only one researcher conducted the coding and analysis. This may have led to some biases in the interpretation of participants' responses and the results reported in this study. Additionally, the sample of teachers in each country was selected from one province/county, limiting the generalizability of the results so they are not representative of the whole country, let alone a larger region. In the context of this study, gender was presented a binary which limited the inclusiveness of the study. Another limitation was that data collection at each site took place very quickly; there was not time to review or analyze the first few interview transcripts at each site. Ultimately, a few questions did not illicit responses about gender issues and wellbeing of the nature that they were intended to; if there had been time to do an initial review of the first few transcripts in each country, the interview guide could have been adapted to reword such questions. One such example was found in the first few questions that asked participants about how they receive respect from different groups (i.e., students, colleagues, administrators); these questions were intended to illicit responses related to the individuals' personal experiences with how, if at all, they perceive these groups show them respect. Instead, these questions seemed to generate vague and generalized responses related to how all teachers receive respect. Lastly, data collection took place during the COVID-19 pandemic and as such, school environments and teachers' daily lives likely looked different than they had previously as well as than they might in the future. In Cambodia, schools were operating online rather than in person, and in Kenya, schools were operating in person as normal. The differences and disruptions caused by the pandemic may have altered participants' responses and could potentially have had an impact on

their state of wellbeing at the time of the interviews. In the interviews, we asked participant to reflect on a time of their greatest wellbeing, and so that time often pre-dated the pandemic.

This study also possessed several strengths. The qualitative nature of this study allowed participants to provide detailed descriptions during the interview as well as answer probing follow-up questions that were unique to each individual participant. The large sample size for in-depth interviews in each country and the systematic approach to selecting teachers with diverse demographic backgrounds enhances the generalizability and validity of the results. Additionally, this study took a collaborative approach with local partners. The local research teams were involved in instrument design and led data collection, ensuring that instruments were tailored to each country context and that transcriptions and translations were accurate. Furthermore, given that our local researchers had prior relationships with the schools that were included in this study, it is likely that there was a level of rapport and trust between the interviews and interviewees. Lastly, the local research partners had an opportunity to read and provide feedback on the results reported out in this paper; after receiving feedback, the author made adjustment as the local researchers saw fit. Giving the research teams an opportunity to provide feedback ensured that participants' responses and words were interpreted accurately given the cultural contexts.

## **5. Conclusion**

Despite evidence suggesting that gender inequity in the workplace persists around the world, and that teachers face many challenges at work that can be harmful to their wellbeing, there is a lack of research conducted on the relationship between gender and teacher wellbeing. Most of the published literature to date on teacher wellbeing has been conducted in European and North American contexts, which limits the generalizability of the current evidence base and leaves unanswered questions about teacher wellbeing in other regions of the world, including Sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. The qualitative data collected during in-depth interviews revealed some potentially important relationships between gender and teacher wellbeing in Cambodia and Kenya, namely: (1) gendered relationships and differential treatment, (2) gender-specific wellbeing facilitators, and (3) gender-specific responsibilities inside and outside of participants' work as teachers. The findings from this study are preliminary and present a call-to-action for further research on gender and teacher wellbeing.



# Appendix A: Teacher Interview Guide

## Teacher Wellbeing Interview Guide: Teacher Participants

For background, here are our ultimate research questions:

1. What national and state policies and local educational structures are consistent with teachers with strong wellbeing?
2. What processes, both inside and outside of work, do teachers attribute to their wellbeing?
3. Is there a relationship between teachers' experience and their wellbeing, including less burnout?
4. What link, if any, do teachers and education administrators see between teacher wellbeing and student wellbeing and learning outcomes?
5. What teacher characteristics and behaviors do students consider motivational to their learning?
6. What interventions promote teacher and student wellbeing?

Good [time of day],

My name is [interviewer's name]. We work with the Teacher Wellbeing and BASIC research study in Kenya conducted by Duke University in the United States and ACE Africa (Kenya) in Bungoma, Kenya. May we know your name and your role at this organization?

[Participant's name], thank you for agreeing to meet with us today. We know that teachers play an extremely important role in the lives of many children, while doing a job that is often challenging. We are interested in learning ways that teachers prevent burnout and also promote their positive wellbeing. We are doing this study in several countries, including Kenya, Cambodia, and Qatar, and are intentionally hearing from educators and policymakers who are knowledgeable about the workings in schools with lots of resources and also schools with lower resources. Your school has been identified as a school that parents want their children to attend, or which has shown good performance. We would like to hear from you examples and stories that relate to when teachers feel burned out, and also particularly when they feel energized and engaged in their work with students, and your thoughts on what it is that may be helping them.

With this study's findings, we plan to gather best practices and ideas for interventions to promote teacher wellbeing. We will disseminate the findings to stakeholders interested in teacher wellbeing.

This interview will be an informal conversation, and we expect it to last about one to one and a half hours. This interview will also be audio-recorded for the purposes of our transcription only so that don't miss out important information you have given us. However, because we are very interested in learning everything we can about your institution's story, we would be very happy to speak with you. The results of this interview won't be used to identify good versus bad schools or teachers but will be used to understand what might be done to support teachers for their own wellbeing.

You do not have to participate in this interview, and if you do you can refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time. Please tell us if you get tired so that we can stop and take a break

before continuing with the interview. You can withdraw from the research at any point without having to give reasons and with no repercussions.

Do you have any questions you would like to ask us about the interview?

May we begin the interview now?

- 1. This interview is about your well-being. Everyone thinks about well-being a little differently. I'd like to start by hearing your thoughts on well-being. What does well-being mean to you?**

**Thank you for those thoughts. I now have a number of questions about your well-being while you've been a teacher.**

- 2. First, I'd like you to think about a time when you felt safe, included, and successful as a teacher, and when you felt like your students were engaged. Take a minute to remember that time. Tell me about it.** (Note to interviewers: If this doesn't result in rich responses and stories, consider using a garden analogy: We'd like you to think of your teaching journey as a garden or farm. In this analogy, years that were really good might have crops, trees, flowers, or offer a variety of food. You can get creative in thinking about this. We hope it will be helpful to think in terms of a garden, because it will be more descriptive than saying things were "OK" or "fine." So, let's give it a try, and if it becomes too hard, you can tell me.)

2a. When was that?

2b. How many years in your life had you been a teacher?

2c. What school were you at?

2d. What age students were you teaching?

2e. What were you teaching?

2f. How did you feel during that time?

2g. Imagining back to that time, what was it like during that time?

2h. What at the school helped you thrive?

2i. Did you do anything as a teacher to promote positive interactions between students? If so, please describe anything you did that you think was especially helpful to promote positive student-student interaction.

2j. Did your school have any programs (community-building orientations, small social student groups like advisee groups) to promote positive interactions between students? If so,

please describe any that you think were especially helpful for positive student-student interaction.

**3. Can you tell me a story from that time – maybe a story that would help me understand why you felt included, safe, or successful?**

**4. Were you close to anyone at the school, in terms of other teachers or administrators? Who were they and what was your relationship like?**

**5. Was your school leadership supportive to you? Can you give an example?**

**6. Now I'm going to ask you some specific things that may have helped your well-being in those good years.**

6a. Were there any programs or opportunities for teachers to learn to be better teachers?

6b. Were there any programs or opportunities for teachers, for teachers' health, or for teachers' mental health and well-being in place? (Example: professional development trainings, mental health counseling, etc.)

6c. Were there any school routines or practices that you think helped your well-being? (Examples: lunch with other teachers, meditation together, time with students)

6d. Was there anything about the school culture, climate, or environment that helped your wellbeing? (Examples: the school promoted feelings of belonging and connectedness, encouraged relationship building between teachers, provided teachers with equal support and treatment, gave teachers a certain level of autonomy and control over their activities and lesson planning)

6e. Was there time for teachers to interact informally with each other, such as socially or in a relaxed manner? How often did teachers interact informally with each other?

6f. Was there time for teachers to interact with students in a way that was fun, relaxed, or conversational? How often did these fun, relaxed, or conversational times occur?

6g. Were there any school policies that helped your wellbeing? (Examples: time off, a certain number of breaks, adequate and fair pay, having teachers help each other, other kinds of organizational support like monthly check-ins with administrative staff – interviewer note: don't list more than one unless clarification is asked for, to avoid leading the participant)

6h. Were there any practices that you did as an individual that helped your health and overall well-being? These might be practices you did at home. (Examples: walk every morning, not working on the weekend)

- 6i. At this time of good well-being, were you having any difficulty meeting your basic needs, like adequate accommodations, transport to and from work, access to clean water?

**Thank you for reflecting on this time that was good for you. For some participants, that time will be before the current time. If it was any time before now, I'd like to ask you about your current school. Please answer the next questions reflecting on your experience in the past school year.** (Note to interviewer: If the participant already responded above about the current time, you can skip this section of questions; skip to question 13.)

- 7. Right now, what is it like being a teacher?**
- 8. Can you tell me a story of something that happened recently at school that would give me a sense of what it's like for you?**
- 9. What do you think is going well in your current school that makes your well-being better?**
- 10. How does your current school support your mental health and well-being?**
- 11. What school policies are helpful to your mental health and well-being?**
- 12. What other educational policies, for example at the district, national, or government level, that are helpful to your mental health and well-being?**
- 13. Are there any programs or opportunities at your school that are intended to help your mental health and well-being?**
  - a. What are they?
  - b. Do you think they are helpful?
  - c. If you like them, what do you like about them?
- 14. What is the most creative thing your current school does that helps teachers' well-being?**
- 15. How satisfied are you with the current opportunities to interact in a relaxed or informal way with other teachers?** (You can skip this question if the current time period is also the successful time period.) Potential probes: Do you get enough informal time? Do you feel like you know and feel positively toward several teachers?
- 16. What in your current situation as a teacher hurts your well-being?**
- 17. Do you think your own wellbeing affects your students?**

- a. If so, in what ways?
- b. Can you give an example?
- c. Do you think your wellbeing affects your students' wellbeing? If so, in what ways?
- d. Do you think your wellbeing affects your students' learning? If so, in what ways?

**18. What kinds of teachers do you think motivate students to learn?**

**19. What do you think teachers do that motivates students to learn?**

- a. Do you do anything specific to motivate student learning?
- b. Can you give an example?

**20. Do you think the amount of teaching experience you have affects your well-being as a teacher?**

**21. What do people in (name of city, e.g., Bungoma) in general think of teachers? That is, what is the public / cultural perception of teachers?**

**22. How do students show (if at all) that they respect you in terms of how they behave in your class?** (Probes: In terms of what they do? In terms of what they say?)

**23. How does the principal (school director, school administrator, etc.) show (if at all) that they respect you in terms of what they say?**

- a. In terms of what they do?
- b. In terms of how they interact with you?

**24. How do your co-workers show (if at all) that they respect you?**

(Probes: In terms of what they say? In terms of what they do? In terms of how they interact with you?)

**25. Do your women co-workers interact with you the same way men co-workers do?**

- a. If there is a difference, how so?

**26. How do you think you're treated differently, if at all, by the principal (school administration) because you're a woman (or a man)?**

**27. How do you think you're treated differently, if at all, by the students because you're a woman (or a man)? That is, what do students do; what behaviors do they do differently to you because you're a woman (or a man)?**

**28. Do you think students perceive teachers who are men and women differently or the same? That is, even if the students don't behavior differently towards teachers who are men versus women, do you think they have different perceptions of men and women teachers?**

- a. Describe the differences (if any).

**29. What are your responsibilities outside of teaching?**

- a. Do you teach private classes/lessons?
- b. Do you have another job? If so, what is it? How many hours a week do you spend at that job?
- c. Do you take care of any family members? If so, who do you take care of?
- d. How much housework do you do? Could you estimate how many hours per week you spend on things like cooking, cleaning, and washing clothes?

## Appendix B: Emergent Codes Codebook

Table B.1: Emergent Codes Codebook		
Parent Code	Child Code	Definition
01. Respect - Fem		Any content related to how female teachers (perceivably) receive respect at school
	01a. Student	Any content related to how female teachers (perceivably) receive respect from their students at school
	01b. Coworker	Any content related to how female teachers (perceivably) receive respect from their coworkers/colleagues at school
	01c. Admin	Any content related to how female teachers (perceivably) receive respect from their school administrators/principals at school
02. Respect - Male		Any content related to how male teachers (perceivably) receive respect at school
	02a. Student	Any content related to how male teachers (perceivably) receive respect from their students at school
	02b. Coworker	Any content related to how male teachers (perceivably) receive respect from their coworkers/colleagues at school
	02c. Admin	Any content related to how male teachers (perceivably) receive respect from school administrators/principals at school
03. Gender Roles - Fem		Any content describing gender roles/perceptions about females
04. Gender Roles - Male		Any content describing gender roles/perceptions about males
05. Differential Treatment		Any content in which the participant expresses that men and woman are treated differently at work (school) based on gender
06. Equal Treatment		Any content in which participants describe equal/non-variant treatment between men and women teachers
07. Student Perceptions		Any content in which the participant describes the students' perceptions of teachers based on gender
	07a. Females	Any content in which the participant describes the students' perceptions about female teachers
	07b. Males	Any content in which the participant describes the students' perceptions about male teachers
08. In-school Responsibilities		Any content in which the participant describes their responsibilities at the school/at work outside of teaching
09. Outside Responsibilities		Any content in which the participants describe their responsibilities outside of their teaching job

	09a. Jobs	Any content in which the participant describes having additional/outside jobs
	09b. Private Classes	Any content in which the participant describes their involvement in teaching private classes, tutoring, etc.
	09c. Further Edu.	Any content in which the participant describes taking classes, pursuing another degree, being a student, etc.
	09d. Caretaking	Any content in which the participant describes being responsible for taking care of children, family members, etc.
	09e. Chores	Any content in which the participant describes being responsible for household chores
	09f. Other	Any content in which the participant mentions responsibility for something other than one of the categories listed above that adds to their workload outside of their job as a teacher
10. Wellbeing Activities		Any content in which participants describe activities that they engage in to promote their mental and/or physical health, or associate with flourishing wellbeing
	10a. Female	Any content in which female teachers describe activities that they partake in that promotes their wellbeing
	10b. Male	Any content in which male teachers describe activities that they partake in that promotes their wellbeing



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