

**SEXIST VS NON-SEXIST EDUCATION :
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EDUCATION
OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN FEMALES**

BY

MARIMUTU PONNUSAMY

**Submitted to the Faculty of Education in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Education in the Department of Sociology
of Education at the University of Zululand,
Kwa-Dlangezwa.**

SUPERVISOR : PROF O.E.H.M. NXUMALO

DATE SUBMITTED : 31 JANUARY 1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of this study has been enhanced by a number of people who willingly offered themselves to co-operate during the research.

I am particularly indebted to the following:

- . Professor O.E.H.M. Nxumalo for his substantial scholarly guidance, constructive criticism and unfailing enthusiasm and encouragement.
- . Dr P.N.G. Beard, my friend and confidant, for his patience, care and warm words of encouragement and for reading the manuscript.
- . The parents, the principals and teachers and the students of the Indian Schools in Tongaat, who participated in the study, for their time and invaluable inputs.
- . The Executive Director, Department of Education and Culture, ex-House of Delegates, for permission to conduct the research in the Tongaat Indian Schools controlled by his department and providing the statistical data pertaining to Indian Education.
- . Ms Jaya Chetty of Pinetown for typing the text of this thesis.
- . Mr G Naidoo, Principal of Phoenix Teachers Centre and his staff who assisted in the printing of the questionnaires and interview schedules.
- . My dear family : wife Valerie and children Nora, Lesley and Vanessa for their concern and loving care, their patience and unfailing support and their acceptance of the need for privacy during the writing of this thesis.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I do hereby declare that the whole of this thesis represents my own work in conception and execution and all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of references.

SIGNED : 

M.PONNUSAMY

160 BELVEDERE DRIVE

BELVEDERE

TONGAAT

4400

31 JANUARY 1995

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to measure the extent to which sexism and/or non-sexism is practised in Indian Schools, controlled by the HOD's Department of Education and Culture and then consider its implications for the education of the South African Indian females.

Three methods of research-survey, questionnaires and interviews - were used to gather data from a population of 414 persons, comprising parents, educators and students. The researcher intended to establish how these people perceive the influence and impact of sexism/non-sexism on the education of the Indian girls. The data were analysed and interpreted by the 'Triangulation Technique' to enhance the accuracy and the authenticity of the findings.

The literature review revealed that sexism in education is universal. Most societies under-invest in their females' education; and although there has recently been equal access to education there has not been equal opportunities to both the sexes. Little information on sexism in Indian education was available.

In the historical review of the education of the Indian females, three distinct periods of governmental control were identified - Natal Colonial Government (1860-1910), Union Government (1910-1961) and Republican Government since 1961. In each period the parents and the government had discriminated against the Indian girls and under-invested in their education.

Theoretical perspectives on sexism and the practices of sexism and/or non-sexism obtaining elsewhere in the world were presented. This exposition focused on the construction of gender, sex-role stereotyping how

the school perpetuates these gender differences, and how education is planned and dispensed to empower the males and disempower the females. Comparisons with the Indian situation in South Africa revealed a close resemblance in the way sexism works.

This research demonstrated a confirmation of the sexist practices. The main findings revealed that : the HOD's Department of Education and Culture is sexist; the schools do not overtly practise sexism but the status quo reveals sexism; the differentiated curricula are designed to covertly empower the males over the females in the workplace and the wider society; the Indian parents and the government still under-invest in the girls' education; although the Indian parents now value the education of their daughters, they could still sacrifice it in favour of their sons; sexual harassment occurs at schools and the school population is not fully aware of the institutionalised sexism in Indian education.

Emerging from these findings are the following recommendations:

- . integrate schools on non-sexist lines
- . desist from sex-role stereotyping and allocating work according to sex at schools
- . conscientize and transform the school population
- . adopt open curricula at schools
- . empower women teachers
- . use non-sexist language and literature at schools
- . deal effectively with teenage pregnancy
- . encourage women to engage in wage labour
- . include parents in restructuring education.

S A M E V A T T I N G

Die doel van hierdie studie was om die mate van seksisme en/of nie-seksisme wat in Indiër Skole onder die Raad van Afgevaardigdes se Departement van Opvoeding en Kultuur te meet en dan om die implikasies daarvan op die opvoeding van die Suid-Afrikaanse Indiër vroumens te oorweeg.

Drie metodes, naamlik navorsingsopnames, vraagbriewe en onderhoude, is gebruik om data in te samel van 'n populasie van 414 persone wat uit ouers, opvoedkundiges en studente bestaan het. Die navorser was van plan om vas te stel hoe hierdie mense die invloed van seksisme/nie-seksisme op die opvoeding van die Indiër vroumens te aanskou. Die data is d.m.v. die 'Triangulation Technique' ontleed en vertolk om die akkuraatheid en betroubaarheid van die bevindinge te verhoog.

Die literatuur oorsig het onthul dat seksisme in die opvoeding universeel is. Die meeste gemeenskappe 'onder belê' in die opvoeding van die vroumens en alhoewel daar onlangs gelyke toegang tot opvoeding is, was daar nie gelyke geleenthede vir albei geslagte nie. Min informasie oor seksisme in Indiër opvoeding is beskikbaar.

In die historiese oorsig van die Indier vroumens, is drie duidelike periodes van regeringbeheer geïdentifiseer - Natalse Koloniale Regering (1860-1910), Unie - Regering (1910-1961) en Republieke Regering sedert 1961. In elke periode het die ouers en die regering teen die Indier vroumens gediskrimineer en in hulle opvoeding 'onder belê'.

Teoretiese perspektiewe oor seksisme en die praktyke van seksisme en/of nie-seksisme in onder dele van die wêreld is voorgelê. Hierdie blootlegging het op die konstruksie van geslag, seksrolle stereotipering, hoe die skool hierdie geslagsverskille verewig, en hoe opvoeding beplan en uitgevoer is om die mansmens te magtig en die vroumens te ontmagtig gefokus. Vergelykings met die Indiër situasie in Suid-Afrika het 'n noue gelykenis in die manier hoe seksisme werk, blootgestel.

Hierdie navorsing het 'n bevestiging van die seksiese praktyke gedemonstreer. Die hoofbevindinge het blootgestel het : die Raad van Afgevaardigdes se Departement van Opvoeding en Kultuur seksies is; die skole praktiseer nie seksisme openlik nie maar die status quo verrai seksisme;

die gedifferensieerde kurrikula ontwerp is om onderlangs die mansmens bo die vroumens in die werkplek en die wyer gemeenskap te magtig; die Indiër ouers en die regering nog in die vroumens se opvoeding 'onder belê', alhoewel die Indiër ouers nou die opvoeding van hulle dogters waardeer, hulle dit nog sal opoffer ten gunste van hulle seuns; seksistiese teistering in skole plaasvind; en die skool populasie is nie ten volle bewus van die vasgestelde seksisme in Indiër opvoeding nie.

Wat van hierdie bevindinge voor die dag gekom het, is daar die volgende oorbeveel:

- . integreer die skole op nie-seksistiese lyne
- . hou op met seksrolle stereotipering in werkallokasie volgens sekse op skole
- . transformeer en maak die skoolpopulasie bewus.
- . neem oop kurrikula aan op skole
- . gebruik nie-seksistiese taal en literatuur op skole
- . hanteer tienenswongerskap meer doeltreffend
- . moedig vroue aan om betrokke te raak in loonarbeid
- . sluit ouers in met die konstruksrueding van opvoeding

die gedifferensieerde kurrikula ontwerp is om onderlangs die mansmens bo die vroumens in die werkplek en die wyer gemeenskap te magtig; die Indiër ouers en die regering nog in die vroumens se opvoeding 'onder belê', alhoewel die Indiër ouers nou die opvoeding van hulle dogters waardeer, hulle dit nog sal opoffer ten gunste van hulle seuns; seksistiese teistering in skole plaasvind; en die skool populasie is nie ten volle bewus van die vasgestelde seksisme in Indiër opvoeding nie.

Wat van hierdie bevindinge voor die dag gekom het, is daar die volgende oorbeveel:

- . integreer die skole op nie-seksistiese lyne
- . hou op met seksrolle stereotipering in werkallokasie volgens sekse op skole
- . transformeer en maak die skoolpopulasie bewus.
- . neem oop kurrikula aan op skole
- . gebruik nie-seksistiese taal en literatuur op skole
- . hanteer tienenswongerskap meer doeltreffend
- . moedig vroue aan om betrokke te raak in loonarbeid
- . sluit ouers in met die konstruksrueding van opvoeding

die gedifferensieerde kurrikula ontwerp is om onderlangs die mansmens bo die vroumens in die werkplek en die wyer gemeenskap te magtig; die Indiër ouers en die regering nog in die vroumens se opvoeding 'onder belê', alhoewel die Indiër ouers nou die opvoeding van hulle dogters waardeer, hulle dit nog sal opoffer ten gunste van hulle seuns; seksistiese teistering in skole plaasvind; en die skool populasie is nie ten volle bewus van die vasgestelde seksisme in Indiër opvoeding nie.

Wat van hierdie bevindinge voor die dag gekom het, is daar die volgende oorbeveel:

- . integreer die skole op nie-seksistiese lyne
- . hou op met seksrolle stereotipering in werkallokasie volgens sekse op skole
- . transformeer en maak die skoolpopulasie bewus.
- . neem oop kurrikula aan op skole
- . gebruik nie-seksistiese taal en literatuur op skole
- . hanteer tienerwongerskap meer doeltreffend
- . moedig vroue aan om betrokke te raak in loonarbeid
- . sluit ouers in met die konstruksrueding van opvoeding

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Map, Tables and Graphs	xiii-xvi
--------------------------------	----------

CHAPTER 1

	<u>Introduction to and the Aims of the Study</u>	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The Purpose of the Study	1
1.3	Statement of the Problem	3
1.4	The Significance of the Study	4
1.5	Methodology	5
1.6	Motivation for the Study	5
1.6.1	Sexism	5
1.6.2	Delimitation	6
1.6.3	Subjects	7
1.7	Limitations of the Study	7
1.7.1	Lack of Awareness	7
1.7.2	Reticence	8
1.7.3	Lack of Honesty	8
1.7.4	Exaggerations	9
1.7.5	Restrictions of the Study	9
1.7.6	How the Limitations were dealt with	9

1.8	Outline of the Study	10
1.9	Appendices	12
1.9.1	Questionnaire Schedules	12
1.9.2	Survey Schedule	12
1.9.3	Interview Schedules	12
1.9.4	Letters	13
1.10	Definition of Some Terms Used	13
1.11	Abbreviations Used in the Text	15

CHAPTER 2

	<u>History of the Education of Indian Girls</u>	16
2.1	Introduction	16
2.2	<u>The Factors Influencing the Education of Indian Girls In South Africa</u>	16
2.2.1	Social Factors	17
2.2.2	Cultural Factors	18
2.2.3	Economic Factors	19
2.3	<u>Policies That Affected The Education of Indian Girls</u>	20
2.4	<u>The Growth of Indian Education With Special Reference to Girls Since 1860</u>	26
2.4.1	The Primary School Education	26
2.4.2	Secondary School Education	30
2.4.3	Tertiary Education	34
2.4.3.1	Teacher Training	34
2.4.3.2	Nursing	37
2.4.3.3	Commercial and Technical Education	38
2.4.3.4	University Education	39

2.5	<u>The Curricula</u>	41
2.5.1	Primary School	41
2.5.2	Secondary School	43
2.5.3	Tertiary Institutions	45
2.6	Conclusion	47

CHAPTER 3

	<u>REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</u>	49
3.1	Introduction	49
3.2	The Theories of Gender and Feminism	49
3.3	Gender Development	52
3.3.1	Sex-role Stereotyping	52
3.3.2	Clothes and Toys	53
3.3.3	Sex-appropriate Behaviour and Deviance	54
3.3.4	Sexual Division of Labour	55
3.3.5	Sexist Language	58
3.4	Discrimination or Inequality in Education	60
3.4.1	The Schools	60
3.4.2	The Curricula	61
3.4.3	Co-education or Single-sex Schools	64
3.4.4	Higher and Tertiary Education/Careers Education	66
3.4.5	The Teachers and the Taught	68
3.4.6	Sexuality and Sexual Harassment	73
3.5	Intervention	76
3.5.1	Political, Social and Legal Changes	76
3.5.2	The Family and Sexual Division of Labour	77
3.5.3	Sexist Language	78
3.5.4	Discrimination or Inequality in Education	79
3.5.4.1	The School	79

3.5.4.2	The Curricula	80
3.5.4.3	Co-education or Single-sex Schools	82
3.5.4.4	Higher and Tertiary Education/Careers Education	84
3.5.4.5	The Teachers and the Taught	86
3.5.4.6	Sexuality and Sexual Harassment	89
3.6	Conclusion	90

CHAPTER 4

	<u>Education and Sexism</u>	91
4.1.	Introduction	91
4.2.	The Characteristics of Sexism	92
4.3.	Identity Formation	92
4.3.1	The Distinction between sex and gender	92
4.3.2	Theories of Gender Division	93
4.3.3	Gender Identity	95
4.4	Male/Female Dichotomy	97
4.4.1	The Segregation of the Sexes	97
4.4.2	Gender - Appropriate Behaviour	97
4.4.3	Deviance	99
4.4.4	Sex-role Stereotyping	99
4.4.5	Sexist Language	101
4.4.6	Success and Failure	103
4.4.7	Toys	104
4.4.8	Clothes and Dress	105
4.4.9	The Sexual Division of Labour	106
4.5.	The School	108
4.5.1	The Pre-primary School	109
4.5.2	The Primary School	110
4.5.3	The Secondary School	111
4.5.4	Single-sex Schools vs Co-educational Schools	112

4.5.5	Private Schools vs State Schools	113
4.6	The Curricula	114
4.6.1	Preamble	114
4.6.2	The School Curricula	115
4.6.2.1	The Pre-primary School Curriculum	115
4.6.2.2	The Primary School Curriculum	116
4.6.2.3	The Secondary School Curriculum	117
4.6.3	Sexist Language in the Classroom	118
4.6.4	Sexism in Text Books	120
4.7	Tertiary Education	121
4.8	Careers Education	121
4.9	Allocation of Resources	123
4.10.	The Teachers and the Taught	124
4.10.1	The Staffing of Schools	124
4.10.2	The School Hierarchy	125
4.10.3	The Conditions of Service of Teachers	126
4.10.4	Male teacher - Female Teacher Relationships	127
4.10.5	Teacher - Pupil Relationships	128
4.10.6	Male Pupil - Female Pupil Relationships	131
4.10.7	Sexual Harassment	132
4.11	Conclusion	133

CHAPTER 5

	<u>METHODOLOGY</u>	134
5.1	Situation	134
5.2	The Subjects	136
5.3	The Selection of Subjects	137
5.3.1	The Parents	137
5.3.2	The Principals	139
5.3.3	The Teachers	141
5.3.4	The Students	143
5.4	Methods of Collecting Data	145
5.4.1	Introduction	145
5.4.2	The Questionnaire Schedules	146
5.4.3	The Survey Schedule	149
5.4.4	The Interview Schedules	151
5.4.5	Pilot Study	154
5.4.6	Executing the Questionnaires and Survey and Conducting the Interviews	156
5.4.6.1	Questionnaires and Survey	156
5.4.6.2	Interviews with Parents, Teachers and Students	158
5.5	Conclusion	162

CHAPTER 6

	<u>ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</u>	163
6.1	Preamble	163
6.2	Presentation of Findings and Their Interpretation	164
6.2.1	Survey	164
6.2.1.1	Staff Disposition	164
6.2.1.2	Qualifications of Teachers	165
6.2.1.3	Category Classification	167
6.2.1.4	Form Teachers	168
6.2.1.5	Staff Deployment	169
6.2.1.6	Subject Allocation	170
6.2.1.7	Pupil Enrolment	171
6.2.1.8	Subject Choices	172
6.2.1.9	Prefects	173
6.2.1.10	PTA/PTSA Membership	174
6.2.1.11	Caretakers and Cleaners	174
6.2.1.12	Principals' Secretaries/Clerks	175
6.2.1.13	Summary	176
6.2.2	The Principals' Questionnaire	177
6.2.2.1	Background	177
6.2.2.2	Attitude to School/Education	177
6.2.2.3	Summary	188
6.2.3	Interviews with Parents	189

6.2.3.1	Background	189
6.2.3.2	Attitude to Education	189
6.2.3.3	Summary	199
6.2.4	Teachers' Questionnaire and Interviews	200
6.2.4.1	Background	200
6.2.4.2	Attitude Toward Education	200
6.2.4.3	Summary	229
6.2.5	Students' Questionnaires and Interviews	231
6.2.5.1	The Senior Secondary Students	231
6.2.5.1.1	Background	231
6.2.5.1.2	Attitude to School/Education/Career	232
6.2.5.1.3	Summary	252
6.2.5.2	The Junior Secondary Students	254
6.2.5.2.1	Background	254
6.2.5.2.2	Attitude to School/Education	255
6.2.5.2.3	Summary	255

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

		258
7.1	Introduction	258
7.2	Conclusions	258
7.2.1	The Purpose of the Study	258
7.2.2	Statement of the Problem	259
7.2.3	The Situation	259
7.2.4	The History of the Education of Indian Girls	259
7.2.5	Education and Sexism	261
7.2.6	Review of Related Literature	263
7.2.7	Methodology	264
7.2.8	Analysis and Interpretation	266
7.3	Recommendations	268
7.3.1	Desegregation of Schools	268
7.3.2	Non-sexist School Curricula	269
7.3.3	Women in Wage Labour	269
7.3.4	Empowerment of Female Teachers	270
7.3.5	Permanent Status for Married Women Teachers	270
7.3.6	Staffing of Schools on Non-sexist lines	271
7.3.7	Non-sexist Language and Literature	271
7.3.8	Male/Female Dichotomies and Sex-role Stereotyping	272
7.3.9	Sexual Division of Labour	273
7.3.10	Teenage Pregnancy	273
7.3.11	Liaison between Primary and Secondary Schools	274
7.4	Suggestions for Further Research	274

MAPS, TABLE AND GRAPHS

5.1	Map of Kwa-Zulu Natal showing position of Tongaat	134
-----	---	-----

TABLES

2.1	School Phases	28
2.2	1936 Enrolment	31
2.3	Drop-out Rate Among Indian Students : 1986-1989	34
6.2.1.1	Gender-bias in Promotion Posts	164
6.2.1.2	Qualifications of Teachers	166
6.2.1.3	Teachers' Category Classification	167
6.2.1.4	Allocation of Form Classes	168
6.2.1.5	Staff Deployment	169
6.2.1.6	Subject Allocation	170
6.2.1.8	Students' Subject Choices	172
6.2.1.9	School Prefects	173
6.2.1.10	PTA/PTSA Membership	174
6.2.1.11	School Cleaners and Caretakers	175
6.2.1.12	School Secretaries/Clerks	176
6.2.2.2.1	Teacher Preferences	177
6.2.2.2.2	Gender Bias in Allocation of Duties	178
6.2.2.2.3	Gender Bias in Allocation of Form Classes	179
6.2.2.2.4	Gender Bias in the Evaluation of Teachers	179
6.2.2.2.5	Gender Bias in Evaluation of Administrators	180
6.2.2.2.6	HOD's Discrimination against Women	181
6.2.2.2.7	Equal Qualifications, Equal Benefits	181

6.2.2.2.8	Girls' Status in Maths and Science	182
6.2.2.2.9	Sex Barrier to Jobs	182
6.2.2.2.10	Sex-typed Roles	183
6.2.2.2.11	Students' Performance in Schools	184
6.2.2.2.12	Sex Differentiated Curriculum	185
6.2.2.2.13	HOD's Under-investment in Girls	185
6.2.2.2.14	Female Drop-out Rate	186
6.2.2.2.15	Gendered Curricular Routes	187
6.2.4.2.1	Female Domination in Junior Classes	201
6.2.4.2.2	Male Domination of Senior Classes	201
6.2.4.2.3	Sex Bias in Allocation of Form Classes and Subjects	202
6.2.4.2.4	Maths and Science : 'Male' Subjects	203
6.2.4.2.5	'Male' Jobs not Girl-Friendly	204
6.2.4.2.6	Male Empowerment	205
6.2.4.2.7	Subject Differentiation	206
6.2.4.2.8	Std 10 Exam : A Good Yardstick	207
6.2.4.2.9	Women's Technical Competence	207
6.2.4.2.10	A Woman's Place	208
6.2.4.2.11	Teachers' Predictions for Girls	209
6.2.4.2.12	Students' Performance at School	210
6.2.4.2.13	Adults Make Male Leaders and Female Followers	211
6.2.4.2.14	Reasons for Female Drop-out Rate	212
6.2.4.2.15	'Female' Subjects	213
6.2.4.2.16	Status of 'Female' Technical Subjects	214

6.2.4.2.17	Male Aversion to 'Female' Technical Subjects	215
6.2.4.2.18	Female Aversion to 'Male' Technical Subjects	217
6.2.4.2.19	Sex-differentiated Curricula	218
6.2.4.2.20	Student Domination in the Classroom	219
6.2.4.2.21	Evaluation of Answers	220
6.2.4.2.22	Status of PS and SS Teachers	221
6.2.5.1.2.1	Sex Segregation at Schools	233
6.2.5.1.2.2	Sex-role Stereotyping by Schools	234
6.2.5.1.2.3	'Female' Subjects for 'Female' Jobs	234
6.2.5.1.2.4	Deviance	235
6.2.5.1.2.5	Schools make Male Leaders and Female Followers	236
6.2.5.1.2.6	Sexist Language in favour of Males	237
6.2.5.1.2.7	Sexist Language in favour of Females	238
6.2.5.1.2.8	Literature with Male Protagonists	239
6.2.5.1.2.9	Literature with Female Protagonists	239
6.2.5.1.2.10	Talkative Students	240
6.2.5.1.2.11	Teachers' Evaluation of Answers	241
6.2.5.1.2.12	Languages and Humanities Preferences	242
6.2.5.1.2.13	Maths and Science Preferences	243
6.2.5.2.14	Trivialisation of Females' Efforts	244
6.2.5.2.15	Female Students' Reaction to Male Dominance	245
6.2.5.2.16	Post-Matric Options	247

GRAPHS

Fig 6.2.1.7(a) Pupil Enrolment - Primary Schools in
Tongaat

171A

Fig 6.2.1.7(b) Pupil Enrolment - Secondary Schools in
Tongaat

171A

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO AND THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

According to Pillay (1972), Naidoo (1967), Maasdorp (1969) and De Bruyn (1985) the education of Indian girls was beset with many problems from the time the Indian Immigrants settled in Natal. The education of their girls was affected by the traditional dependence of the females on males, the conservative attitudes of the parents and early marriage, the economic deprivation of the Indians, the empowerment of the males at the expense of the females, and the parents' lack of education. These factors, singly or collectively, contributed to the Indian girls' lack of education until the mid - 1960's.

1.2 The Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study was to see how the traditional prejudices prevalent in the Indian community are reinforced in schools, to the extent that these prejudices are what society requires, legitimises and perpetuates. Further, to see if, on the contrary, the growth of western education in the last twenty-five years has made an impact on gender development in Indian schools.

In this study, the researcher has researched issues in education the feminists are raising and makes recommendations which will impact on the need for a more non-sexist educational menu for developing children. The main aims and objectives of the study were

1. to determine how gender is developed in Indian schools in terms of psychological - cultural - sociological behaviour, eg. boys should be aggressive, assertive, adventurous etc. and girls should be non-aggressive, passive, servile domesticated etc.
2. to see what the perceptions of the girls are of a non-sexist education in terms of equal opportunities, access to a free curriculum, greater allocation of resources etc.
3. to determine whether traditional female sex-role stereotyping in the home is still reinforced or contradicted at school.
4. to determine whether there are sex cleavages between male teachers and boys and female teachers and girls.
5. to see what the parents' perceptions are of a non-sexist education for their children.
6. to suggest possible guidelines for a non-sexist curriculum and a less sexist form of language to be used in schools.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

At present Indian Education is no less sexist than the other education systems in the country, but the difference is that Indian education has not begun addressing any of the feminist issues beyond maternity leave and parity in salaries. In fact, Indian education has not become fully aware of the philosophy of feminism/non-sexism and the broader issues of the feminists'/non-sexists' demands.

The Indian community at large is still patriarchal. It appears that the Indian females are no less sexist than the males. They believe and accept that males and females are 'separate species', to use Byrne's (1978) words, and that the male/female dichotomy is natural and unavoidable. It seems then that Indian women are the instruments of their own oppression, in that they succumb to the oppression of their men. Tradition and social conditioning make the girls accept the status quo at schools. In the home they are schooled into sexist ways by their mothers and at school these notions seem to be reinforced by equally sexist female teachers and/or male teachers. At school, the reinforcement of traditional values and further social conditioning are both handed out and received by pupils in conscious and unconscious ways. We can state the above problem as a question : 'How can we replace sexism in education in Indian schools with a system that is non-sexist?'

The above declarative question sharpens the focus of the problem and suggests the following sub-problems as some of the issues which ought to be addressed by researchers and educationists:

1. Gender Development
2. A look at Primary School Education
3. A look at Secondary School Education
4. The Hidden Curriculum
5. Sexual Division of Labour
6. Sexist Language
7. Problems of Self-Image and Esteem
8. Marriage and careers

1.4 The Significance of the Study

In a society in which feminism/non-sexism is burgeoning it becomes incumbent on educators to take the lead and impart non-sexist or liberalising ideas at schools, from where these ideas could be disseminated into the larger community.

The knowledge that would be created through this research could be made available to enhance their experiences and thereby improve their expertise as teachers. Educators would be able to reflect on feminist/non-sexist issues, thereby enhancing the principles and practice of teaching in a non-sexist classroom. The question of non-sexist education in Indian schools is still relatively unresearched and the researcher proposes to undertake the research to correct this imbalance to some extent.

The importance of the research lies in the resolution of the problems as stated in the aims of the research, implicitly or explicitly. This study, when conducted to its logical conclusion, would be a revelation to the Indian parents, pupils and teachers, and to the South African schools to a greater or smaller measure.

1.5 Methodology

The researcher proposes to gather data from the subjects using the interview, the survey and the questionnaire methods. The quantitative and qualitative data, gathered thus, would be analysed using the 'triangulation' technique (vide chapter 5).

The thesis as a whole will be of an analytically descriptive type.

1.6 Motivation for the Study

There were several factors which motivated and encouraged the researcher to embark on this study. Some of the motivational factors are presented hereunder.

1.6.1 Sexism

The researcher focused his study on sexism in education for the following reasons:

- . the researcher, who is a practising teacher, observes discriminatory practices at school and is at pains to be part of a system that dispenses a sexist education to males and females;

- . the researcher, who is a father to two daughters, feels strongly that his daughters should be treated on an equal footing with boys in every respect;
- . the researcher, who is married to a school teacher, has an insight into the unfair discrimination that is meted out to his wife, like all other female teachers at work, by the school administration and the educational authorities.

1.6.2 Delimitation

The researcher found that Tongaat was a fertile locality to conduct his study for the following reasons:

- . the high density of the Indian population (64% of the total population of Tongaat, Greenway, 1993) was representative of the Indians in the country;
- . since the Indians in Tongaat are the direct descendants of the Immigrants who pioneered this town, the Indian population is steeped in Indian traditions and customs, it was possible to delve into the attitudes and values of the students, teachers and parents;
- . there are 14 schools - 10 primary and 4 secondary - forming a huge population from which the subjects were selected;
- . the urban conditions in Tongaat made the schools and the homes easily accessible to the researcher.

1.6.3 Subjects

Since this research is a study in the field of sociology of education with its main concerns being people's attitudes, beliefs, traditions, customs and values and their ideals and aspirations, the researcher chose to involve parents, pupils and teachers as subjects for his study. In addition to the suitability of the Indian population for study discussed in 1.5.2, the researcher found that the 'parents' group' chosen was especially suitable for study since the Indian inhabitants of Tongaat range from professionals to unskilled workers. The researcher selected a cross-section of parents - professionals, business-people, and skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers - for study.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The researcher encountered many obstacles or problems in the conduct of his studies. The following were some of the major ones.

1.7.1 Lack of Awareness

- . Some educators were not fully aware of the wave of feminism/non-sexism that is sweeping through the country presently.
- . Some educators did not have an insight into the implications of the link between the curricula offered at schools and the job market.

- . Most educators in the primary schools were not fully aware of the type of work that is being done at secondary schools.

1.7.2 Reticence

- . Some educators chose not to answer questions or comment on issues which disfavoured other educators, especially those of the opposite sex.
- . Female teachers were too patient or too guarded about vocalising what they felt. (This was, probably, because the researcher is a male).

1.7.3 Lack of Honesty

- . Some educators, especially the females, appeared to have anticipated what the researcher 'would want to hear' and therefore gave responses to 'appease' him.
- . Some parents and teachers appeared to have 'preached' non-sexism but practised sexism in the home and in the classroom.
- . Some male teachers appeared to have been too non-committal or said things to appease, especially when it came to talking about their female colleagues.

1.7.4 Exaggerations

- . Some female teachers, apparently with the anger seething in them because of male oppression, were vociferous when they were interviewed, rendering themselves irrational at times.
- . Male and female students became emotional and irrational at times when their classroom interactions with fellow students or teachers were discussed in the interviews. The students attacked the students of the opposite sex or some of their teachers with vengeance.

1.7.5 Restrictions of the Study

The implications of sexist and/or non-sexist education for the Indian females was explored only in so far as the female teachers and school girls were concerned. No attempt was made to study women in the wider Indian community as this would have been beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, the effects of our education on the life-role, life-chances and the success/failure of the Indian females would appear distorted or one-sided.

1.7.6 How the Limitations were dealt with

The researcher made every attempt to deal with the limitations presented above, achieving reasonable success. For example, when interviewees were reticent, he tactfully rephrased his questions to elicit responses; the researcher noted instances of dishonesty and exaggeration and questioned the interviewees

around what they said to establish truth and a measure of modesty. The question of the lack of awareness of sexism is dealt with in the recommendations section of this text.

1.8 Outline of the Study

. Chapter 2

In this chapter, an overview of the history of the Indian girls' education – how the attitudes and the economic deprivation of the Indian immigrants undermined the girls' education; the role of the mission schools in ameliorating the girls' lot; the educational 'liberation of the Indian girls' through the Indian Education Act (Act No 61 of 1965) – is presented.

. Chapter 3

This chapter concentrates on the theoretical perspectives of sexism and sexist education. The thrust is on how gender is constructed in the home, in the community and in the school, with emphasis on how the school aids and abets or contradicts this gender development. The underlying theme is the universal discrimination in education.

. Chapter 4

In this chapter, relevant literature on sexist/non-sexist/feminist issues and education is reviewed.

. **Chapter 5**

In this chapter, the research method is described in terms of the situation, the subjects, the methods of collecting data (questionnaires, surveys and interviews), the pilot study, executing the different methods, and the analysis of the data.

. **Chapter 6**

This chapter concentrates on the analysis and the interpretation of the data collected and the summaries derived therefrom.

. **Chapter 7**

This chapter contains the major conclusions that were derived from the research as well as a number of recommendations based on the findings. The suggestions for further studies are intended to indicate areas where insufficient information was found or where the research revealed salient issues which might be the subject of further investigation. The purpose is to provide future researchers, with some indications of 'fertile' areas for further research.

1.9 Appendices

Samples of documents used in data gathering have been included as follows:

1.9.1 Questionnaire Schedules

- A1: Questionnaire distributed to Std 5 pupils in selected primary schools in Tongaat.**
- A2: Questionnaire distributed to selected senior secondary students in two secondary schools in Tongaat.**
- A3: Questionnaire distributed to selected teachers in primary and secondary schools in Tongaat.**
- A4: Questionnaire distributed to the principals of the 14 schools in Tongaat.**

1.9.2 Survey Schedule

- B: Survey distributed to the principals of the primary and secondary schools in Tongaat.**

1.9.3 Interview Schedules

- C1: Guide for interviewing a sample of parents of primary and secondary school pupils/students in Tongaat.**

C2: Guide for interviewing a sample of Std 5 pupils in selected primary/secondary schools in Tongaat.

C3: Guide for interviewing a sample of secondary school students in selected schools in Tongaat.

C4: Guide for interviewing a sample of teachers in primary and secondary schools in Tongaat.

1.9.4 Letters

D1: Letter to parents asking for permission to interview the pupils/students.

D2: Returns from the parents.

1.10 Definition of Some Terms used

- . sexual division of labour : this term refers to the allocation of work on the basis of sex, that is work is divided into 'male' jobs and 'female' jobs.
- . sex-role stereotyping : this term refers to the socialization of children into believing that by nature males and females have different roles to fulfil in life and therefore the practice of male roles and female roles has to be nurtured.
- . hidden curriculum : this term is the name given to that which pupils learn in schools which is not deliberately taught as part of the official curriculum (eg. disciplinary procedures, teacher attitudes etc) (Blount, 1990).

- . culture : the training, improvement, and the refinement of mind, morals or taste. Enlightenment or civilisation. The sum total of the attainments and activities of any specific period, race or people, including their implements, handicrafts, agriculture, economics music, art, religious beliefs, traditions language and story (Webster Comprehensive Dictionary 1992:314).
- . values : one's principles or standards; one's judgement of what is valuable or important in life (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990:1357).

Something regarded as desirable, worthy, or right as a belief, standard, or precept (Webster Comprehensive Dictionary, 1992:1387).

- . sexist language : this term refers to language which has connotations that favour the male (or female) disposition at the expense of the female (or male).
- . technology : is an all inclusive term to mean technical subjects such as Technical Drawing, Woodwork, Housecraft, Domestic Science, and Computer etc.
- . Sexism: Sexism carries the same basic meaning for all feminists but all use it as a shorthand way of describing prejudice against women. A sexist man may be described as a male chauvinist, 'A man who takes up a position, either consciously or instinctively, of domination (and egotism) over and against women by virtue merely of his status as a man' (Bouchier,D.,1983:63).

Sexism is popularly described in terms of male attitudes and behaviour. I will argue that all members of a sexist culture, women as well as men, operate on the conscious or unconscious assumption that whatever is "masculine" is intrinsically better than anything "feminine" (Bardwick, J.M., 1980:15).

Sexism is the act of regarding and/or treating women and girls as inferior on the grounds of their sex (Weiner, G., 1990:46).

1.11. Abbreviations Used in the Text

- 1.10.1 A - agree
- 1.10.2 App - appendix/appendices
- 1.10.3 D - disagree
- 1.10.4 HOD - House of Delegates/Head of Department
- 1.10.5 JP - Junior Primary
- 1.10.6 JS - Junior Secondary
- 1.10.7 PS - Primary School
- 1.10.8 PTA - Parent/Teacher Association
- 1.10.9 PTSA - Parent/Teacher/Student Association
- 1.10.10 SA - Strong agree
- 1.10.11 SD - Strong disagree
- 1.10.12 SS - Senior Secondary
- 1.10.13 U - Uncertain/unsure

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN GIRLS

2.1 Introduction

The Indians were brought as indentured labourers to relieve the labour shortage in the Natal sugar industry. Between 1860 and 1911, a total of 107 529 indentured immigrants arrived in Natal. In addition, some traders, mainly Moslems, also known as Passenger Indians, arrived. In 1911, the total Indian population of South Africa was 152 094, of which 96 072 were males and 56 022 were females (Brijlall, 1989:26).

2.2 The Factors Influencing The Education of Indian Girls in South Africa

The education of Indian girls in South Africa has been influenced largely by social, economic and cultural factors. There is no evidence of the education of Indian females becoming a political issue until the late 1980's; even so it has been only marginally politicised.

2.2.1 Social Factors

The social position of the Indian women in South Africa has been a tradition the early immigrants inherited in India and brought with them. To understand and appreciate the attitude of the Indian parents towards the education of their daughters we need to look at the status of women in India. According to Rambiritch (1955:45), throughout the Vedic Age women held a very high place both in the home and in society. Men and women enjoyed equal opportunities in the pursuits of their social, intellectual and spiritual ideals. In fact, women feature prominently in the Vedic literature, wherein heroines like Sita and Shakuntala are immortalised. Women had equal place with men in religious life right into the Jaina-Buddhistic Age (500 B.C. - 400 A.D). This pattern was, however, changed by the Moghul invasion of India in the sixteenth century. This change was accelerated by the European domination of India in the last century.

The position of women deteriorated to one of complete subordination to men. This period saw the women coming under the complete protection of the men. In their childhood they were protected by their fathers, in their married life by their husbands and in their old age by their sons. They were never without protection of one kind or another and they never enjoyed any measure of independence.

At the onset of puberty the girls were withdrawn from school and given a family-based education under the tutelage of their mothers. Adolescence for the girls was a period when they had

to assume added responsibilities which were directed towards making them competent wives. Their dress, speech, manners and habits were regulated so that they did not become subjects of local gossip which might have proved detrimental in the choice of a suitable husband. The mothers tutored their daughters through anecdotes and reminiscences on the subject of marriage - what to expect when they left their natal homes for their husbands' homes. They were given training in cooking, washing, sewing, care of the home and other domestic duties they were likely to encounter in married life. Although the mothers never discussed intimate subjects like those dealing with sex, they, however, instructed their daughters on personal hygiene.

2.2.2 Cultural Factors

Indoctrination in religion begins quite early as the Hindus are deeply religious. Where there is an absence of systematic religious instruction, faith in God is firmly fixed in the child's mind in several ways-prayer, lighting of the lamp, singing of devotional songs, reading and reciting of the scriptures etc. Girls as future mothers, had to observe strict discipline when it came to performing the rituals which dominate Hindu life.

According to Hindu ideals marriage was and, in some cases, still is obligatory. This rule dates back to the great Epic Age (Rambiritch, 1955:49). The women were not allowed to choose their own husbands; the choice was the right of the elders, especially, the fathers, unless education or economic status changed the rule; early marriage was common, with the result

that old maidenhood was rare; and early marriage was especially desirable as there was the menace of the Moghuls who abducted the Indian girls.

Early marriage and motherhood at sixteen or seventeen meant that the schooling of the girls terminated before twelve or thirteen years of age. Considering the fact that the girls entered school quite late in their childhood, they could hardly have acquired the rudiments of primary education. Furthermore, the early immigrants did not value the education of girls. Most parents, moreover, did not favour sending girls to co-educational schools or allow their girls to be taught by male teachers lest this led to a scandal and thereby jeopardise their daughters' chances of finding suitable husbands.

2.2.3 Economic Factors

Affordability was one of the most important factors that inhibited the school attendance of the Indian girls. Education in the early years was neither free nor compulsory. The parents had to pay school fees of up to 2 shillings per month and buy the books. Some families had as many as 6 children and as the parents' wages were ten shillings per month, it was impossible to send all the children to school. In the circumstances, the parents discriminated against the girls in favour of the boys (Rambiritch, 1955: 54-55). Boys were seen as potential future wage-earners and there was no benefit to be derived from educating girls, who, in any event, would marry and go away. Therefore, girls had to mind the house while their mothers engaged in wage labour

outside to supplement the family income. There was a contradiction in practice as women were engaged in labour while society espoused that they would ultimately only mind the house.

However, according to Maasdorp (1969:25), some families did not allow women to go out to work as this was a poor reflection on the menfolk of those families. The role differentiation between the men and the women in the Indian home was very strict. The Indian men did not involve themselves in household chores and the women were not expected to work outside the home. In other words, the women's sphere was private and domesticated whereas the men's sphere was outside, public and worldly. It was this attitude, in the main, that has spawned a situation in which we have had 347 320 economically inactive Indian women as against 55 820 economically active ones in South Africa in 1980 (Arkin, 1989:61).

A review of the background of the Indian immigrants provides us with the insight into their problems. It is not difficult to understand why the education of the girls of immigrants suffered such serious setbacks.

2.3 Policies That Affected The Education of Indian Girls

Although various laws governing emigration from India were detailed with regard to protection and care of the immigrants in Natal, there was no specific condition or reference to the provision of education for the children of the immigrants. Neither was there an undertaking by the employers in the contract

entered into by the employers and employees in Natal to provide education for the children of the employees (Lazarus, 1966:17). There is no evidence of any initiative on the part of the immigrants or the cane farmers to start schools for the Indian children. Part of the reason could be the fact that children were also employed on the sugar estates and the contract of service stipulating the wages of the labourers indicated that both women and children would be paid half the wages earned by the males. The planters, in fact, discouraged the education of the Indian youth as they were more useful on the plantation as labourers. Immigrants whose children worked on the sugar fields received a better treatment than those who sent their children to school (Rambiritch, 1959:201). This elevation in status in the face of their poverty made the immigrants to keep their children on the fields, thus depriving them of an education.

The Christian missionaries, especially the Wesleyan missionaries, who pioneered Indian Education ameliorated the lot of the Indian children. In 1867, Rev. Ralph Stott established a day school for the children of the plantation Indians and an evening school for the older scholars. An early report on Stott's school says it was made of boys only, the immigrants "refusing to have their girls taught to read" (Singh, 1987:4). In 1869, Stott's school gained government recognition when it received a grant-in-aid of twenty-five pounds from the Natal Colonial Government. This was the start of the state-aided school system.

In 1872 there were 4 schools for Indian children in Durban. There were an estimated 930 children of school going age but only 88 - 73 boys and 15 girls - were in school (Lazarus, 1966:19). In 1868, the Superintendent of Education reported that the Indian parents would not allow their girls to learn at all. He cited the economic problems and the apathy of parents with regard to education of girls as the major obstacles. In addition, the immigrants feared that the mission schools would indoctrinate their children and convert them to the Christian faith. Therefore, the mission schools were not well supported initially.

In 1879 the Natal Government set up the Indian Immigration School Board which was created to undertake the responsibility of promoting and administering the education of Indian children. This was actually the foundation of educational segregation. By 1894 three board schools were established in Durban, Tongaat and Umgeni (Lazarus, 1966:22). In 1885, of the total population in 25 schools of 1 480 pupils, only 223 were girls. The Inspector, Mr F Colepeper, found that parental prejudice was the main cause for this state of affairs. He appealed to the Board to get White women to teach the girls but nothing was done.

In 1877, the Church of South Africa's Indian Mission was inaugurated and it soon took the lead in establishing schools for Indians. This period of expansion in Indian education coincided with advent of Rev. Booth who showed great initiative in the promotion of education for girls (Singh, 1987:6). The Church of South Africa started a separate school with two English women teachers to offer classes for Indian women and girls. Another

such school was started by the Wesleyan Mission. In 1886 the total enrolment for girls was 274 as against 1 428 for boys. In 1889 Rev. Swabey started one in Pietermaritzburg.

In 1889, the first qualified Indian woman teacher, Ms S.P. Vedamuthu, was brought from India by the St Aidian's Mission to teach in a girls' school (Singh, 1987:7). In 1891 there were 9 White women teachers teaching in girls' school. There was less parental opposition to the education of girls and needlework was taught at schools. At the Sydenham school, Reading, Arithmetic, Writing, Singing and Sewing were taught. Therefore, the enrolment of girls improved and in 1892 two more girls' schools had to be opened to accommodate the 432 girls. However, the drop-out rate was still very high because of early marriage. For example, in 1891 there was a great disparity in the male-female ratio (1:0.66) in the Indian community. Since the males outnumbered the females, there was a shortage of brides for the young men. The parents eager to marry off their daughters withdrew them from school at an early age, causing the enrolment to drop markedly (Rambiritch, 1955:59-60).

With the formation of the Union of South Africa, the control of Higher Education was vested in the central Government and the control of all other education was the responsibility of the administrations of the 4 provinces. Four distinct education systems - Whites, Black, Indian and Coloured - emerged. The Natal Provincial Administration was in reality the old Natal Government and Indian education was visited upon by the same setbacks as before the Union. According to Rambiritch (1955:

68-70), there was no appreciable improvement in the pupil enrolment in the period 1910-1918. In 1910, in 36 schools there were 437 girls and in 1918, in 46 schools there were 937 girls. What is more startling is that in 1911, out of a female population of 52 943 only 466 girls were in school. Another revealing feature in the girl's schooling is the drop-out rate. In 1921, 594 girls were enrolled in sub-std 1 (class one) and in 1926 only 51 of them remained in school to do Std. 4. Of the other 543, a few might have been retarded but the majority of them would certainly have left school.

Real advancement in Indian education may be said to date from the famous Cape Town agreement in 1927. At this conference, Mr Strinivasa Sastri, the Agent-General for the Government of India in South Africa and Mr Kailas Kichlu, an Indian educationist sent by the Indian Government, argued for the cause of Indian education not on "its legalistic interpretations but on the moral aspect" (Lazarus, 1966:21). The Union Government agreed in principle that the provision of education and other facilities for the Indians would keep pace with other communities. In 1928, a Commission of Inquiry into the education for Indians was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr J Dyson, assisted by two Indian educationists, Mr Kailas Kichlu and Miss C. Gordon. The Commission found that in the Transvaal education was free. This was satisfactory. But the facilities at schools in Natal were inadequate; especially the State-aided schools were poorly housed and the teachers' status and salaries were unsatisfactory. According to Rambiritch (1955:73), the Commission observed that the Indian community expressed a definite desire for the

education of girls. As a result of the report, certain reforms were introduced in 1930. The Government-aided system for Indian education was extended, the grants-in-aid were revised and the whole subsidy allocation was used for education purposes. To encourage girls to attend school, a policy of segregated schools was adopted. Already, in 1928, of the 7 primary schools established, one was a girls' school. At this stage, too, hospitals were prepared to consider employing Indian girls who passed Std. 4 as nurses. The enrolment of girls at schools increased from 437 in 1910 to 4 674 in 1937. The Commission recommended, however, that religious and vernacular classes, controversial issues in a diverse society, should be conducted outside school hours and at parents' cost.

In 1961, the department of Indian Affairs was established to promote the interests of the Indian community. The Indian Education Act (Act No. 61 of 1965) saw to the transfer of the control of Indian education to the Division of Education in this Department. Education for the Indian child became free in 1965 and compulsory since 1973. Since then Indian schools were opened in Natal, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London. These factors resulted in the Indian girls remaining longer at school.

2.4 The Growth Of Indian Education With Special Reference To Girls Since 1860.

2.4.1 Primary School Education

Prior to the Union Act of 1909, primary school life for the Indian child ended at Std. 4, which was considered the literacy level. The White colonists did not favour Indian children to remain at school for long as this affected the labour market. In 1935 there were 5 exclusive boys' schools, 3 exclusive girls' schools and 83 co-educational schools to cater for the primary education of the Indian children. Of the total school population of Indian children only 26% were girls (Rambiritch, 1955:70). Primary school education ended at Std. 6. At this level most of the Indian children had reached adolescence and the girls who had reached puberty were withdrawn from school; hence, the decline in the number of girls in the higher standards in the primary school.

In 1937, an Education Commission appointed under F.N. Broome, recommended separate schools for Indian girls and boys. In larger centres separate schools were to be opened or existing schools had to be reorganised. As a result, in 1940, two more girls' schools, Dartnell Crescent Girls' School and Temple Girls' School were opened in Durban. There was progress in the enrolment of girls, as it increased from 8 072 in 1940 to 28 337 in 1954. In this year, too, there were 7 girls' schools and as there was an inadequate number of female teachers to teach in these schools, the Education Department initiated a system of bursaries in 1948 to enable girls to take up teaching after

completing primary school education. Soon the Indian parents' prejudice against girls' education broke down and in 1943 girls comprised 1/3 of the total population (Rambiritch, 1955:85-6).

At the Natal Indian Judicial Commission in 1944, the Natal Indian Congress observed that the school commencing age for the Indian Child was too high, the median age between the White child and the Indian child was 2 years. In other words, the Indian child was retarded by 2 years. Rambiritch (1955:87) cites this as the major factor for the shortness of the school life of the Indian children, particularly the girls. Between 1939 and 1943 the drop-out rate was too high and 85% of the girls did not even reach the minimum literacy level. The Natal Indian Congress believed that separate schools for girls would improve the enrolment. With the opening of more exclusive girls' schools the enrolment improved steadily.

After completing Std. 6, the pupils had to attend a secondary school to proceed with post primary education. Most girls dropped out after Std. 6 and some dropped out even before this. Maasdorp (1969:27) observed that in the Mount Edgecombe area most girls dropped out either at the end of Std. 4 or Std. 6. But in the 1950's and 1960's more and more girls remained at school up to Std. 6. The reason could be the attainment of the Std. 6 certificate which was required to gain access to the job market. Prior to 1973, the year in which differentiation in education and compulsory schooling were introduced in Indian education, the Indian pupils received 3 certificates in their scholastic career, namely, the Primary School Certificate (Std.6), the Junior

Certificate (Std 8) and the Senior Certificate (Std. 10). But, now with the introduction of the differentiation and compulsory education the pupils receive only one certificate at the end of Std. 10. So, the Indian girls have to remain in school up to Std. 10 if they want to attain a certificate.

The differentiated education system provides for the four phases of schooling, each of three years duration, as indicated in the following table:

TABLE 2.1

School Phases

PHASE	AGE IN YEARS	CLASS/STD
1. Junior Primary	6-8	Cl i, Cl ii, & Std 1
2. Senior Primary	9-11	Std 2, 3 & 4
3. Junior Secondary	12-14	Std 5, 6 & 7
4. Senior Secondary	15-17	Std 8, 9 & 10

(Naidoo, 1985:113)

Theoretically, Indian education is divided into 4 phases, which entails the creation of 4 different types of schools to cater for each phase. In practice, however, the pupils are accommodated in 2 types of schools, the primary (Cl i, to Std 5) and the secondary (Std 6 to Std 10).

There was no system of compulsory education for Indians in South Africa in the early days. However, there was a measure of free tuition and an indirect form of some compulsion in the case of some pupils. For example, the Department of Social Welfare made it compulsory for every maintenance grant-receiving child to attend school and only those who lived too far away from schools were excused. From 1942 there was a progressive remission of school fees and in 1955 education was made partly free up to Std. 10, with books being provided for indigent pupils. However, it was found that the lack of accommodation and suitable personnel to teach girls were hindrances to the implementation of compulsory education. The Education Commission of 1937 recommended that where accommodation and other facilities were available, education should be made compulsory up to Std. 4, or from 7 to 14 years in respect of age (Rambiritch, 1955:108).

Since the take-over, in 1966, of the control of Indian education by the central Government, the long term aim of the department was the introduction of compulsory education. A major development in Indian Education was the introduction of compulsory education in 1973. In terms of Regulation 63 of 1973, any child who was enrolled after 1973 had to remain at school until the end of the year in which he/she reached the age of 15 years. Subsequently in 1979, education was declared compulsory for all Indian children in the 7 to 15 year age group (Naidoo, 1985:111-112).

2.4.2 Secondary School Education

A Higher Grade Indian School established in 1899 catered for secondary education. Other schools of a private nature were established by individuals like Messers H.L. Paul and J.L. Papert but these institutions were short-lived. Naidoo (1967:2) says that the total number of pupils doing post-primary work in 1927 was 67, only 0.6% of the total school population and of this number there were only 7 girls.

In 1930, Sastri College was opened. All the boys from Carlisle Street Government School were transferred to Sastri College and the girls from Mitchell Crescent Indian Girls' School were transferred to Carlisle Street Government School and this school was renamed Mitchell Crescent Indian Girls' School. The girls' enrolment was poor and, as a result, primary classes were accommodated. In 1931, only 1 girl was admitted to Std. 9 and in 1932, 2 were admitted (Naidoo, 1967:16). Even in 1932 there was not enough response from Indian girls with regard to secondary education, with the result that there were only 40 girls at Mitchell Crescent Indian Girls' School. The main reason advanced for the poor support was that the school was situated in an unsuitable locality. Signs of improvement in enrolment were, however, noted in 1933, after a Domestic Science kitchen was added to the Mitchell Crescent Girls' School to popularise it. In addition, in 1934 the Natal Provincial Administration agreed to reduce the fees for girls in Government schools.

The Education Commission in 1937 observed that the non-attendance of girls was not so alarming as the drop-out rate and that the shortness of their school life meant that they had not acquired even the rudiments of primary education leave alone secondary education. The Indian parents had not learnt the value of the education of women, in particular the Moslems, who objected to girls' attendance at co-educational schools staffed by male teachers. This drop-out rate from primary school impacted on the enrolment at secondary schools. The Commission observed that in 1936 the ratio of boys to girls in the secondary schools was 7:1 as the following table indicates:

TABLE 2.2

1936 ENROLMENT

<u>STD</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
7	183	26
8	112	23
9	40	1
10	29	2

(Rambiritch, 1955:119)

The commission recommended that separate schools in larger areas be created and a modified system of free and compulsory education be implemented. Commenting on education of Indian girls the Commission stated that: fees were reduced to encourage

Since 1966 the Division of Education, in the Department of Indian Affairs, had embarked on a vigorous school building programme to provide adequate accommodation. As a result of this, by March 1984, the number of Indian secondary schools in South Africa were as follow: 110 State Schools, 5 state-aided schools and 2 Schools of Industry (one for boys and one for girls at Newcastle) (Singh, 1985:9).

Apartheid education, for all its evil, had some positive effects on the education of Indian girls. Under the separate development policy of the South African government many 'dormitory' Indian suburbs sprang up near the major cities and towns in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal. Part of the settlement programme was the establishment of schools in these townships. School accommodation was not, henceforth, a problem in the enrolment of girls. Furthermore, the clannish life-style of the Indians, particularly, in Durban where the Tamils lived in clans in places like Clairwood and Bayside, the Telegus in Stella Hill and Puntan's Hill and the Hindi-speaking people in Clare Estate, changed. This clannishness made the Indians very conservative and the members adhered strictly to the dictates of the clan. One of the rules of the clans was the early withdrawal from schools and the early marriage of the girls. With the establishment of the residential suburbs, the people were resettled not according to clannish cleavages but in terms of affordability. The clannishness among Indians broke down, their conservative life-style underwent a quiet revolution from the 1960's to the 1980's, with the result that girls stayed on longer at school (Samuel, 1991).

In 1989, the total school population in South African Indian Schools was 239 116 (122 595 boys and 116 521 girls), a difference of 6 074 between male and female enrolments. However, the accompanying table shows that in 1989 the girls' drop-out rate was lower than the boys', overall. In fact 2,8% more girls stayed on at school in 1989 – quite a departure from previous years.

Table 2.3 Showing the Drop-Out Rate Among Indian Students From 1986-1989

	Std 6		St 7		Std 8		Std 9		Std 10	
	Boys:Girls		Boys:Girls		Boys:Girls		Boys:Girls		Boys:Girls	
1986	100	100	93.6	92.5						
1987	100	100	94.9	95.4	94.4	90.1				
1988	100	100	94.4	94.8	92.7	91.0	81.7	80.3		
1989	100	100	92.9	94.5	92.4	91.7	79.3	80.9	67.3	70.1

adapted from S.A. Statistics, 1990:5.25.

2.4.3 Tertiary Education

2.4.3.1 Teacher Training

To encourage girls to attend school they needed to be taught by female teachers in the early days as parents were averse to the idea of girls being taught by males. There was a grave shortage of female teachers. As early as 1904, the St Aidan's Provincial Training College was opened by Lady Bale. Girls with Std 4 education were trained as teachers qualifying with the Indian Teachers Junior and Senior Certificates. In 1932, 75 Indian women and 372 men were trained as teachers at this institution. In 1900, the

Natal Education Department introduced part-time teacher training programmes for Indian teachers leading to the Natal Indian Teachers' Junior and Senior Certificates. The minimum entrance qualification was Std. 4. But this department made no provision for the training of the teachers who were desirous of improving their qualifications (Singh, 1985:10).

The formal process of teacher training began at Sastri College in 1931. Teachers were trained on a full time basis at the pre-matriculation level leading to the T5 and T4 examinations. Six graduates imported from India and three local non-graduates, a vice principal and a principal staffed this college. In 1935, 6 girls enrolled at this college but between 1935 and 1938 only 9 enrolled. The Education Commission of 1937 observed that there still was objection to females being taught side by side with males and this led to the establishment of separate training facilities for the girls at Durban Indian Girls' School. To encourage girls to train as teachers the Natal Education Department offered bursaries to trainees, with the result that the number of women trainees increased from 29 in 1941 to 75 in 1951 (Rambiritch, 1955:178).

In 1951, the Springfield College of Education opened as a co-educational institution with 107 males and 25 females. The courses offered at this institution were the M+2 (Natal Teachers Higher Diploma) and the J.C. +2 (Natal Teachers Lower Diploma). The minimum entrance qualification was

Std. 8. Later the courses were changed to the N.T.D. (Natal Teachers Diploma) for which the entrance qualification was Std. 10 and the N.T.S.C. (Natal Teachers Senior Certificate) and the minimum entrance qualification for this was Std. 8. With time the N.T.S.C. course became more the domain of the girls until it was phased out in the mid-sixties. Today the minimum entrance qualification is the Senior Certificate for both sexes and the duration of the course is 4 years leading to the M+4 qualification, the Higher Education Diploma and the Further Education Diplomas. Training is given in a wide ranging area - Languages, Humanities, the Sciences, Mathematics, Industrial Arts, Physical Education. These courses are new and they prepare the students with an academic depth of a second year university level. These diplomas equip teachers to teach the Junior Secondary, Senior Primary and Junior Primary pupils. The Junior Primary courses are taken by females only at the moment and about 95% of the Junior Primary teachers are women country-wide.

At the moment, teacher education is shared by three institutions: Springfield College of Education in Durban, Transvaal College of Education in Laudium and the University of Durban-Westville. The colleges of education at Springfield and Laudium are autonomous institutions. Although the entire funding is provided by the House of Delegates, they have their own College Councils or Senates which approve the admission of students after they have been selected by the Selection Committee. The University

of Durban-Westville prepares graduates as teachers. In the 1960's and 1970's it prepared non-graduate teachers for the senior primary and junior secondary phases but these courses had since been discontinued. In 1974, the University instituted a Bachelor of Pedagogics degree, resulting from a 4-year course. Female enrolment at the colleges of education is more or less the same as that of the male enrolment.

2.4.3.2 Nursing

Around 1932, hospitals were prepared to employ Indian girls who passed Std. 5 as nurses. In the 1940 there was a great demand for nurses. To encourage girls to take up nursing the Natal Indian Teachers society initiated a bursary scheme in 1947. Full-time training of nurses was done at Edendale N.P.A. Hospital, McCord Zulu Hospital and St. Aidan's Mission Hospital. Girls with an education below Std. 8 level were trained as nurse-aides.

Today nursing is still predominantly a female occupation. It has now become a highly professionalised occupation. The minimum qualification for entrance into training hospitals is Std. 10. At the end of the training period of 4 years the nurses are equipped with nursing certificates (nursing diplomas). Universities like the University of South Africa, University of Natal, and University of Durban-Westville are

offering courses in nursing which lead to the attainment of nursing diplomas and degrees. Indian women are taking full advantage of this.

2.4.3.3. Commercial and Technical Education

Because of traditional values and early marriages, etc. the Indian females did not seek employment on a large scale. Since the girls were not expected to join the labour force, vocational education had no appeal for them. However, according to Rose (1977:63), technical education does have a longer history than academic education for Indian girls. Part-time classes in commercial and technical subjects have been available to the Indian community for more than 70 years, having begun in 1929.

Under the auspices of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, the Natal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Workers' Union, commercial and technical classes leading up to Std. 6 were started in Durban. In 1930 the Indian Technical Education Committee took charge of the work. In 1931 this Committee received official recognition and a grant of R300-00 to pay part-time teachers from the Central Government (Singh, 1985:11). Evening classes providing instruction in mainly commercial subjects were established at Sastri College. Special classes offering instruction in needlework, dressmaking and cookery were inaugurated at the then Albert Street Coloured School. Admission was open to Indian and Coloured women teachers.

The Hugo Commission appointed to enquire into university and technical education for Indians, recognised a definite need for technical education. The M L Sultan Technikon was built at a cost of R100 000. In 1946 this institution was declared a place of higher learning. The main building was completed in 1956 and in terms of the Advanced Technical Education Act (No. 12 of 1968) this institution attained, in March 1969, the status of a School for Advanced Technical education. Today it consists of three main divisions : a technical high school ; a technical college and a college for advanced technical education. The full-time enrolment in 1977 was 1531, with a much larger part-time figure (5 520 in June 1976). Of the part-time students 2 367 were women - a notable growth in a conservative community (Rose, 1977:63).

In a new development, the Department of Education and Culture in the House of delegates has established technical secondary schools in Phoenix, Stanger and Clairwood offering a wide range of subjects of technical orientation. The girls' enrolment at these institutions is, presently, low.

2.4.3.4 University Education

Rambiritch (1955:198) says that as early as 1928 Prof. J.W. Bews foresaw the need for university education for the black races. Before the opening of the Sastri College in 1930, the Indian community did not make any

representations, not even at the Cape Town Agreement in 1928, for the provision of university education because the number of students who passed Std. 10 was very small. It was only in 1934 that Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, an Agent General for India, made an appeal to the Council of the Natal University College to admit Indian students. A committee appointed to study the request recommended that Indians be admitted to the university. The governing council of the University, however, was opposed to Whites studying together with other races but it was prepared to extend the facilities to them by providing separate part-time classes. In 1936 university classes for Blacks were inaugurated at Sastri College with Dr Mabel Palmer as the organiser. At first, courses leading up to the B.A. degree only were provided. The majority of the students who enrolled were teachers in the employ of the Natal Education Department. Of the 11 who enrolled, 1 was an Indian female. But in 1952 this number increased to 23 (Rambiritch, 1955:200).

The Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) provided for the establishment of separate university colleges for the Black groups in South Africa. In terms of this act, a university was established in 1961 at Salisbury Island, Durban. A number of Indian educationists joined the staff of this college. In 1971 this institution became an autonomous university. The university was moved to Westville - becoming the University of Durban-Westville in 1973. The enrolment at the University in 1961 was 114, of

which 11 were women but by 1976, the enrolment increased to 3 300, of which nearly 30% were women students (Rose, 1977:63). Presently the male-female ratio in student enrolment at this university is more or less even. In 1988, the total number of diplomas and degrees awarded to Indian students by all universities was 2 561. Of the total of 953 diplomas, 352 were awarded to males and 601 to females (South African Statistics, 1990:5.43).

2.5 The Curricula

There is a close relationship between the curricula offered at schools and the jobs available on the job market. Most schools offer sexist curricula which unavoidably result in domesticating the females and empowering males on the job market. The schools adapt the official curricula to suit local needs.

2.5.1 Primary School

The organisation and curricula in Indian schools, in the absence of tradition and precedent in the early days, were based on and, in some respects, identical to those in White schools. The curriculum has undergone change in three distinct phases. In phase 1, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic were offered. Girls were fortunate because, in addition, Singing and Sewing were offered to attract them

to attend school. The phase 2 curriculum comprised Main Language, History, Geography, Hygiene, Object Subjects, Art, Physical Training, Scripture and Craft.

After the Education Commission of 1946, education was transferred from Mission Schools to local School Boards which implemented the phase 3 curriculum. Under this system the Missions' influence on religious education waned. The School Board was not in a position to prescribe a religious education because of the diversity of beliefs in Indian schools. Moral instruction was offered instead. Afrikaans was offered in the Pietermaritzburg area but the availability of suitable teachers was a problem. Object studies was replaced by Nature Study and Physical Education was replaced by Health Education and General Science was introduced in Std. 6. Girls' requirements were satisfied by the introduction of music, needlework, and craft. Music, however, was restricted to schools where teachers were available. Domestic Science was not, and still is not, offered at primary schools because of the lack of suitable kitchens.

Presently the primary school curriculum comprises English (as main language), Afrikaans (as second language), Mathematics, General Science, History, Geography, Health Education, Physical Education, Right Living, Guidance, Culture, Handwork, Needlework, Music and Indian Languages. For promotion purposes examinations are written in English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, General Science,

History and Geography. The other subjects are offered on a non-examination basis. Girls and boys are compelled to offer all subjects except Needlework, Handwork, Culture and the Indian Languages. Needlework and Handwork are divided along sexist lines, with girls taking Needlework and the boys Handwork. Pupils, dictated by the wishes of their parents, can elect to take Culture or one of the Indian languages - Tamil, Hindi, Telegu, Urdu and Gujerati, depending on the availability of teachers. In cases where teachers are not available to teach the Indian Languages the children are offered Culture. It might be interesting to note that about 99% of Christian pupils opt to take Culture. Needlework and Handwork provide groundwork for disciplines like Housecraft, Handicraft, Industrial Art and Technical Drawing which are offered at the secondary phase as examination subjects. Boys in Std. 5 classes attached to primary schools have to offer technical Drawing as a non-examination subject. Training in Indian languages prepares pupils for the secondary schools, some of which offer some of the languages for the Senior Certificate examination (as laid down in HOD's Principals' Handbook, 1982).

2.5.2 Secondary School

In the early days the curriculum comprised English, Afrikaans, Latin, Physical Science, Biology, Mathematics, History, Geography for the Natal Senior Certificate Examination. In girls' schools Housecraft was included. In

the Junior Certificate course Physical Science was omitted and Arithmetic was included instead. Short-hand and Typing were offered at some schools and Housecraft was included for girls. In addition to the above Domestic Science, Music, Physical Education, Citizenship, Needlework and Sewing were included. Religious Education was not included in the curriculum because of the objection from the Natal Indian Congress in the early days.

Presently our education system is a differentiated system in which the pupils are offered different subject packages in the different phases. Up to the Junior Secondary phase the curriculum is fairly broad and general. For example, in Std. 6 and Std. 7 the core curriculum is English, Afrikaans, History, Mathematics, Geography and General Science. The pupils are free to choose 3 subjects from the following: Art, Music, Technical Drawing, Industrial Arts, Accounting, Business Economics, Housecraft and Typing. The purpose of this broad based curriculum is to give the pupils an opportunity to explore their interest and abilities and choose 4 subjects from the core curriculum in addition to English and Afrikaans which are compulsory, for the Senior Secondary phase. The 4 subjects are not new ones but derivations from the subjects taken in the Junior Secondary phase, for example, Industrial Arts branches off into Metalwork, Woodwork and Technical Drawing; General Science into Biology and Physical Science etc (as laid down in HOD's Principals' Handbook, 1982).

There are 5 different directions and a pupil may take any one direction in the Senior Secondary phase. The directions are humanities, sciences, home economics, commerce and technical. Boys usually move in a technical or a commercial direction and girls towards home economics and humanities. An interesting change is noticed in the preference for the sciences by females; whereas previously the sciences were a male domain, inroads are now being made increasingly into this field by females.

The different subjects packages are not drawn up for a particular sex. However, certain packages have become sexist because either males or females opt for these packages. There are a number of factors involved in making sexist choices. Some of them are the sexist upbringing, sexist job markets, tradition, religion, culture and education (South African Statistics, 1990:5.26; HOD Principals' Handbook, 1982).

2.5.3 Tertiary Institutions

At the teacher training institutions the curriculum resembles the curricula of the primary and secondary schools. In addition to the academic subjects, trainees have to offer subjects of a professional orientation, for example, Practice Teaching, Psychology of Education (or Empirical Education), Sociology of Education, Principle and Organisation etc. Presently, teacher training is given in a wide-ranging area - humanities, sciences, commerce,

mathematics, junior primary education. What is noteworthy is that most of the women trainees opt for the junior primary education course, as it boosts their status and promotion opportunities as practising teachers.

In 1936, when Dr Mabel Palmer established university classes for Blacks in Durban as an extension of the facilities provided at the University of Natal, the curriculum was as that for Whites - comprising English, Sociology, Education, Geography and Psychology (Rambiritch, 1955:200).

In 1971 with the development of a permanent campus - the University of Durban-Westville - the faculty system was developed. It now has faculties of arts, science, law, commerce, administration, education etc. embracing more than 50 departments. Among its many special faculties the university offers studies in Indian languages and Arabic - a very valuable key to historical studies of Africa (Rose, 1977:63). The possibility of establishing a medical school for Indians at the University was explored in 1970's. Presently courses in Pharmacy and Dentistry are being offered.

When the M.L. Sultan Technikon opened in the 1940's the college provided a wide range of courses in the departments of Commerce, Teacher Training, Domestic Science and Housecraft and in Arts and Crafts. A number of girls took these courses. The majority of these came from the lower and middle income groups. The most popular course

among Indian women was Dressmaking with the result that in 1949 a total of 186 female pupils took the course. Domestic Science classes also proved very successful. Very soon the Indian girls emerged from their 'zenana' and served in the commercial fields as saleswomen, secretaries, short-hand typists and office clerks.

The technical colleges now offer diplomas in commerce, in such subjects as electronic data processing and system analysis, work study and business management. In technology they offer national diplomas in such subjects as heavy current electrical engineering, telecommunication and television engineering. The colleges also have apprentice schools and divisions of home economics as well as hotel management and catering. Most of the women students elect courses which enable them to become typists, secretaries, dressmakers, hairdressers, beauticians etc. and engineering, electronics, computers etc are the domain of the males.

2.6

Conclusion

The history of the education of the Indian girls reveals that the Indian females have come a long way in the field of education. In some areas they are on a par with the males but in others they are not. Although there is equal access to education for both sexes there certainly isn't equal opportunities for females. In the broader scheme of things, equal access does not necessarily mean equal opportunities.

It, therefore, behoves us to impress upon the government of education and organised labour, for example, to correct these discrepancies in an effort to equal the life-chances of the females to those of the males.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Since 1975, the International Women's Year, education has become a subject for feminist writers, the pioneers being educationists like Eileen Byrne and Rosemary Deem. In the intervening years much feminist writing on education-books, journals, reviews etc. - has found its place on university shelves. The writings of some of the authors will be discussed under the following broad headings for clarity and convenience:

1. The Theories of Gender and Feminism
2. Gender Development
3. The Discrimination in and through Education
4. Intervention

3.2 The Theories of Gender and Feminism

In part of their book :Gender Under Scrutiny: New Inquiries in Education, Weiner, G et al (eds) (1987) deal with the main theories of gender differences, contributions made by four theorists - Freud, Sayers, Carrigan and Phoenix. Freud's theory of gender on masculinity and femininity, and the Oedipus Complex and Contraction Complex present some interesting insights. The theory of masculinity and femininity are based on

the sexual aspects of the male and females. The male has one sexual organ, the penis whereas the female has two - the clitoris (analogous to the male organ) and the vagina, (the female organ) which becomes active at puberty. The absence of the penis in the female is related to the Castration Complex. The girls themselves feel inferior to males because their organs are inconspicuous compared to the male organs. They blame their mothers for the castration. Boys, on the other hand, with their conspicuous male organs, feel girls are castrated and they are, therefore, inferior to them. The Oedipus Complex is characterised by jealousy and love/hatred for the parents of the opposite sex. Being deprived of a conspicuous sexual organ the girls turn to their fathers to identify with males (the masculinity complex). Sayers (1987) provides a critical introduction to perspectives guiding much of the research in psychology while Carrigan (1987) makes an assessment of the sociology of masculinity. Phoenix's (1987) article discusses gender development in Black families. Power relations between men and women, its material basis within the economy and other social divisions, is explored. The relations within masculinity and femininity as well as between the male and female are discussed. Carrigan (1987) describes the emergence of theories of male homosexuality and the assumptions about heterosexuality within gender theories. The impact of different theoretical perspectives on gender differences in framing research is explored by comparing the articles within each section of the book. Although the works of these theorists have little impact on educational research, they, nevertheless, provide the researcher with important insights into the theories of gender.

Arnot and Weiner (1987), on the other hand, relate the theories of gender and feminism more closely to education. In the first part of their book, Byrne (1978), Eisenstein (1983), Barrett (1980) and Carby (1982) present some of the major theoretical perspectives on gender inequality, namely, the liberal feminist, radical feminist, the Marxist or socialist feminist and Black feminist perspectives, respectively. Byrne prioritises the questions of equal access to and the choices of women in education and training; Eisenstein concentrates on the question of power - the relations of power between men and women and the influence of patriarchy; Barrett examines the role of education in the reproduction of class relations, arguing that women have a dual relationship to class structure - involving the direct exploitation of women as wage labourers by capital and the other as a dependent on the mediated wage of a male breadwinner; Carby discusses the double oppression Black women suffer - of racism and sexism. In the second part, Arnot and Weiner explain gender differentiation in terms of individual achievement orientations, the process that determines subject choices, sex norms in intelligence testing and the social construction of science as a "male" subject. In subsequent chapters, Walkerdine (1986) offers some insights into male/female power relations in terms of sex, power and pedagogy, Lee (1986) discusses the power hierarchy in schools in terms of sexual relations, Arnot (1987) provides an insight into tensions and concentrations embodied within central government's responses to gender equality and Williams (1986) analyses education policies in terms of race and gender.

There is no literature to be found on the theoretical perspectives on gender in Indian education to support or oppose the views of the western writers. Only Rambiritch (1955) states but does not develop the theme that in the Vedic Age, Indian men and women enjoyed equality in their pursuits of their social, intellectual and spiritual ideals (vide chapter 2). The other writers like Pillay (1967), Lazarus (1967), Singh (1966, 1985), Naidoo (1989) and Arkin (1989) point out that the discrimination against the Indian females is rooted in cultural, social and economic factors.

3.3 Gender Development

3.3.1 Sex-role Stereotyping

Delamont (1980) argues that for a variety of reasons schools and other educational institutions today are enforcing a set of sex and gender roles which are more rigid than those current in the wider society. The enforcement of these roles affects staff and pupils, yet it is very rarely a conscious policy. There are taken-for-granted norms about male and female roles in schools which are hard to show in action, and even harder to eradicate. Delamont's viewpoint is confirmed by writers like Jonsdottir (1990) and Loftus (1974). It is agreed that the school enforces sex-roles more rigidly than other agents in the wider society.

Phoenix (1987) adds another dimension to sex-role stereotyping in her article: "Theories of Gender and Black Families". She asserts that as sex-role stereotyping has political implications

and it can provide a view of how different groups are perceived in a society , it is useful to consider how women and men are commonly stereotyped. Women are stereotyped as being the complementary opposite of men. They are supposed to be nurturant, passive, weak and non-competitive whereas men are supposed to be aggressive, active, powerful and competitive - qualities which have frequently been used to justify male dominance of society. This is allegedly the content that girls and boys learn in the process of becoming gendered. Like the Black women described by Phoenix (1987), Indian women's roles in life seem to have been stereotyped by the notions that Black women have more 'male' characteristics and are stronger than white women. It seems, therefore, that Indian women were brought to Natal, first, to service the Indian male labourers and, then, to provide cheap labour on the sugar plantations (Meer,1980). According to Rambiritch (1955), Pillay (1967) and Beall (1982), the Indian girls were trained to mind the house for working mothers. In contrast, boys either attended school or worked on the sugar plantations.

3.3.2 Clothes and Toys

Sharpe (1976), French (1990) and Delamont (1980), describe how clothes and toys are used to dichotomise male-female relationships and roles. Boys' toys are exciting and technical and girls have a selection of far less exciting, which really stimulate a rehearsal of the preparation for the traditional role of women. Boys' clothes are designed to allow for free movement while girls clothes are restrictive. French (1990) and Delamont (1980)

found that boys have a wider range of sports clothes than girls. Writers such as Sharpe (1976), French (1990) and Delamont (1980) concur that the manufacturers of toys and clothes represent the least challenged agents of sexism in society. In fact, there is ample evidence that these agents are well cued up on the notions of what kind of clothes and toys are appropriate for each sex. But, this argument can be challenged as Mitchell (1971), points out that the American students had protested against the manipulation of the consumer markets in the 1960's. The protesters (the hippies) asserted that what the individual feels is valid and not the social manipulation. Since then, we have had the emergence of unisex clothes on the market.

3.3.3 Sex-appropriate Behaviour and Deviance

There is abundant evidence that very many of the human behaviours are not 'given' but 'made'. French (1990) says that much of the role creation takes place in the school; it is in the classroom and the playground that girls learn to be girls and boys learn to be boys. Delamont (1980) presents an informed sociological analysis of this complex process which starts in the early years of schooling and continues through its end. With the aid of illuminating examples from schools she shows how boys come to perform the noisier, dirtier, more aggressive and active roles whilst girls come to act in quieter, cleaner, more pacific and passive ways.

Work is organised in such a manner that it empowers males and it disempowers females. Males get all the highly-skilled, well-paid jobs and females get all the other jobs. This male empowerment, claim writers like Game and Pringle and Byrne (1978), is rooted in patriarchy.

Political, domestic and economic life is dominated by networks of powerful men. Brittan (1989) looks at the way in which biologists, psychologists and social scientists have attempted to explain patriarchy in terms of simplistic models of human nature and social relationships. He highlights the central question whether masculinity is a social construct or actually rooted in revolutionary imperatives. Brittan argues that the ideology of patriarchy, 'the masculine ideology' is a limiting mode of thought and practice predicated upon heterosexuality. He then considers what the real impact of feminism upon the world's male power brokers has been and whether in the last decades of the twentieth century the balance of power between the sexes is changing. Some insights into this problem are given by Pollert (1981).

Ann Pollert's book : Girls, Wives, Factory Lives, (1981), is about women workers in Britain. It is about the work they do and the way they feel about it, about the attitudes they bring into the factory from home, school and the wider society, and about the experiences they take home at the end of the day. Pollert focuses on what is distinctive about women selling generalised, unskilled labour power, bringing us to the importance of the family, women's role in reproduction, and its relationship to

social production. She surveys some common male-and management-held stereotypes of women as workers, then examines how the men and women are bound by these stereotypes and what is apparent about the women is their contradictory partial acceptance and partial rejection of these images. She also focuses on the preparation of young working class girls for the future, and the ambiguous footing it puts them on in the new world of wage labour. We see their oppression as women who become abused and exploited workers - easily manipulated as cheap labour. With older women, many already married and with children, the myth that 'work' is temporary or only peripheral to their 'real' lives, paradoxically continues - until it is too late to go back. The chapter on Married Women and the Family Burden explores what it means in a practical sense to be half in the 'woman's world' of home and half in the 'man's world' of wage labour.

The experiences of the British women and Indian women in South Africa have resemblance. Several South African writers review the work situation of the Indian females. Beall (1982), Singh (1985) and Meer (1980) describe Indian women as labourers in colonial Natal. These women received a half of what their husbands earned for the same jobs. Pillay (1972) draws a distinction between domestic labour and wage labour. She says that there was a clear demarcation as women received a home-based vernacular/religious education which trained them for housewifery and not job-hunters in competition with men. De Bruyn (1985), Chetty (1983) and Arkin (1989) say that the Indian women entered the industry in early 1900's. However,

these women got all the lowly paid jobs and the girls who dropped out of school after Std 4 or Std 6 were quickly absorbed into the industry, especially clothing. This practice continues.

3.3.5 Sexist Language

In their book: Language and Sex, (1975), Thorne and Henley have included various articles on how language is used for men to dominate women. The fact is that male dominance - built into the economic, family, political and legal structures in society - is central to language and speech. In the article : "Difference and Dominance : An overview of Language, Gender and Society", Thorne and Henley (1975) describe the role-oriented speech styles of males and females and show how the male form is used to dominate and the female form is presented as inferior. Kramer (1975) in her article : "Women's Speech: Separate but Unequal?" discusses the speech patterns of males and females and she echoes Thorne and Henley's conclusion that society values the 'dominant' male form more than the 'inferior' female form. Shultz (1975) in her article; ' The Semantic Derogation of Women', discusses the use of derogation words which are used to describe women and to show male superiority (discussed in chapter 3).

The theme how language is used to empower males and dominate females is developed in Rockhill's (1987) article : "Gender, Language and the Politics of Literacy", in the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Volume 8, No2, 1987. The ways in which literacy has been conceptualised as power are

critiqued and contrasted with the experience of Hispanic immigrant women in America. The politics of language is seen as central to the politics of literacy, both of which are looked from the standpoint of how women 'live' them in their everyday lives.

Rockhill's (1987) study points to gender differences in everyday literacy practices, as well as the integral relationship between the sexual oppression of women and literacy. The most striking feature of Rockhill's (1987) study is that women tend to use and to depend more upon the written word, whereas men acquire and use more spoken English. This seems to have much to do with the silencing of women, their confinement to the domestic sphere. The men who were interviewed feel at ease in the 'public' in a way that women do not. Men meet people of different occupations, traders and businesses in the public places and their opportunity to learn the language is wide. Women do not go out of the house and there are no public places for them to congregate unless it is at work or at school. The work available to women is an extension of their work at home and it does not provide them with the scope for them to learn English in the same way men can.

It is agreed that literacy is integral to the power dynamics between men and women. The acquisition of a more dynamic language by males enables them to function in a 'public' domain where they enjoy the larger proportion of social, political and economic benefits compared to women. Women's language acquisition which is restricted enables them to function more in a private domain, eg the house, where their life-roles are restricted

and their life-chances are stunted. On the other hand, females, according to writers like Sharpe (1976) and French (1990), appear to acquire language comparable to or even surpassing that of males because they spend more time reading as they are more house-bound in their childhood. In addition, women acquire language related to home-building and house-keeping, which is generally foreign to males.

3.4. Discrimination or Inequality in Education

3.4.1 The Schools

Feminist writers state implicitly or explicitly that the schools transmit and/or reinforce sexism and sex-role stereotypes far more rigidly than the home or the wider society does.

French's (1990) book covers schooling from preschool through to secondary education. She examines many issues, particularly those of single-sex vs co-educational schooling, gender development in terms of clothes, toys, play and general attitudes towards children, subject options, classroom interaction of pupils and teachers, sexual harassment, sexual differential treatment, etc and comes to the conclusion that females are discriminated against in co-education schools but single-sex schools are not the alternative.

Evans (1988) bases his assumption on a research designed to demonstrate the link between the social structural features of society, especially gender, and the social processes which

surround and comprise schools. The main objectives of the research were to see the ways in which the social structural division of gender was evident in schools and the ways in which it was negotiated and reconstructed by the people involved. It was important to study the adults connected with the schools and the children in the classrooms. Part I of the book deals with the adults' world of schooling. It shows how gender relationships affect adult lives and how adults bring these relationships to bear on their involvement with schools. Part II presents the children's world of schooling as having various interconnections with the adults' world. In particular it focuses on the school curriculum and the classroom life to explain the practice and reconstruction of gender division in schooling. The notion of a gender agenda is used to link the existing gender division in the adult world with those set for children to understand, interpret and negotiate in their emerging social worlds.

French (1990) and Kenway (1990) also assess and agree on the importance and the desirability of parental involvement in improving the condition of female students in the schools. Since parents entrench, reinforce and perpetuate sexism in the home, it is considered an excellent idea to get them involved in the study and the transformation of sexist practices at schools.

3.4.2 The Curricula

Despite the growing number of studies of gender in education, the topic of gender in higher education had often been ignored. Some feminist/non-sexist writers have attempted to redress this

imbalance. Rury (1991), for example, traces the feminization of the Secondary schools in America since 1870. First, the women broke with the past by participating in curricula which trained them for non-manual jobs. However, this interest waned after 1900 as vocationalism took precedence. Although domestic service and manufacturing work had never required secondary school training, Rury says that the feminization of the teaching and clerical work forces increased women's interest in high school training. This led to the creation of differentiated curricula designed to prepare students for commerce, trade, and manual options, with home economics the clear preference for women. This development has impacted on the education of Indian girls in South Africa since the 1930's. Dwyer (1965) and Naidoo (1989) review the development of differentiated education for the Indian children. Since 1973, when compulsory education for Indian children was introduced, males and females follow different curricular routes which lead to different occupations to a large extent. In the early days, the Natal Government used differentiated education to encourage girls to attend school. In their review of the history of Indian girls' education Rambiritch (1955) and Naidoo (1967) discovered that the enrolment of girls actually increased when sewing and singing were introduced in a school in Sydenham and a Domestic Science kitchen was opened at Durban Indian Girls' High School in the 1930's.

Thomas (1990), Burton (1986), Whyte (1986) and Harding (1991) provide insights into how and why certain subjects come to be tagged 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects. Thomas (1990) focuses on the arts/science divide, taking two

representative subjects - Physics and English - she looks at the way each is constructed by lecturers and students, and the relationship between these constructions and the social construction of gender. She argues that students choose which subjects to study on the basis of certain qualities these subjects are seen to hold, and that these qualities have close connections with beliefs about 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. Most students develop a subject loyalty, reinforced by studying the discipline in higher education, but this subject loyalty can be challenged or reinforced by students' sense of gender identity.

Burton (1986) and Whyte (1986) found similar reasons for girls' under-achievement in Maths and Science respectively. They say that factors such as sex-role stereotyping, teacher and parental attitudes and expectations and the social context of the school which makes the Sciences, Maths and Technology the domain of males impact on the girls' under-achievement in these subjects. Harding (1991) concentrates her argument on the sciences. She claims that all knowledge is a social and cultural product; that science displays a male bias, which is evident in the paucity of women scientists. She challenges scientists to make science value-free and female-friendly. Scholarship on Indian girls' under-achievement in Maths, Sciences and Technology is lacking. From evidence it is noted that the position in Indian education closely resembles what is described by the above writers. It is conceded that researched scholarship is this aspect in Indian education is needed.

3.4.3 Co-education or Single-sex Schools

The theme of fiscally motivated attempts to render schools co-educational are taken up by Deem (1984). She argues that after the Second World War, politicians advocated co-educational schools to make education cost-effective. Her intention in the book is to reconsider the issues and the concerns of co-education in practice as well as in theory from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. The book focuses on the implications of co-educating boys and girls but at the same time it is written from a variety of perspectives - economic, cognitive, feminist, sexist, egalitarian etc. Contributors to her book like Brehony, Shaw and Arnot condemn co-educational schools and advocate single-sex schools for the benefit of female students arguing that girls are "invisible" in co-education schools.

Riordan (1990) views the girls' underachievement in mixed schools in another way. He reviews the position of girls in single-sex and co-educational schools in the United States and arrives at the conclusion that girls' academic performance in all-girls' schools is consistently better than it is in co-educational schools. He argues that the girls' education in co-educational schools can be damaged by the adolescent subculture that values athletics, physical attractiveness and heterosexual popularity at the expense of academic achievement.

Somewhat in contradiction to Riordan's claims, Bekker (1992) presents a different picture of the single-sex school. She rejects single-sex schools. She concedes that there are benefits in attending single-sex school, for there the girls are encouraged to have self-confidence and develop their talents, as she had experienced them. But, she says, from personal experience, that while they achieved academic merit in a single sex school they were stunted socially as a result of growing up in an artificial, boy-free environment. She advocates mixed schools for girls, where they would mingle with boys, develop socially and emerge better equipped for the real world.

More balanced views on the significance of single-sex and mixed schools are expressed by Lasser (1987) and Deem (1984). Lasser (1987) reviews education as a whole in terms of the success of education, women's access to education, the success of joint education of the sexes and the issues facing administrators and educators to provide equal education for men and women. She concludes expressing a need for innovation within the contemporary co-educational institutions. Deem (1984) also wants a more integrated, egalitarian form of schooling.

Bekker corroborates Lassers and Deem's argument for co-education schools. She highlights the success of a Durban Indian attorney, Loshini Pillay, who attended Durban Indian Girls' High School, the first single-sex secondary school for Indian girls, from which many successful Indian women graduated. Rambiritch (1955), Ramphall (1955), Naidoo (1967) and Singh (1985) review the origin and development of single-sex schools

for Indian girls in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. All of these writers cite the conservative attitudes of the Indian parents for the establishment of these schools. Like their western counterparts, the Indian parents wanted their daughters to be free of male influence, be it school boys or male teachers. The main objective of parents was their daughters' chastity. As a result of parental objection to mixed school for their girls, several single-sex schools were established in the larger centres. The girls' school attendance improved tremendously but at a cost. With time, however, co-education schools proved more beneficial to the Indian community. Single-sex schools are now not a major issue in Indian education.

There is consensus that girls and boys should be educated together. What is crucial is not whether schools should be mixed or single-sex but the way children are educated should be changed-strategies should be worked out to provide equal education for both sexes. It is felt that single-sex schools and private schools need to be reviewed in the reconstruction of education in South Africa so that the resources could be better utilised for the upliftment of the disadvantaged communities.

3.4.4 Higher and Tertiary Education/Careers Education

Women have been excluded from higher education for centuries. From the time of Aristotle various reasons were advanced for this exclusion. In the late nineteenth century it was feared that educating women would diminish their reproductive powers (Lie, 1990).

Powles (1987), Lie (1990), Moore (1991) and Deem (1980) review the status of women in higher, tertiary and career education and find reasons for women's under-representativeness in these areas. Powles (1987) studied the movement of students from primary to secondary schooling, from secondary schooling to higher or tertiary education and the movement within the tertiary institutions themselves. She found that in every movement there was potential for disadvantage, which was greater for girls than for boys. Powles also found that the drop-out rate is higher for girls and that more females than males defer their studies. Powles believes that for women, factors such as family, economic and/or freer life-style outweigh the benefits of higher education. Another suggestion is that the goals and aspirations differ for men and women.

Moore (1991) discusses disadvantage of another kind, which women in tertiary education experience. She reviews the access to Aberdeen University for women. She found that although women students had the support of university professors, they had limited access to this university compared to Edinburgh and Glasgow. Moore cites discrimination on the grounds of class as the main reason. Women who entered Aberdeen found difficulty in overcoming barriers created by conventions of middle-class society and by the 'corporate' forms of student life which had developed in the years of male monopoly.

Lie (1990) reviews the discrimination against women in higher/tertiary and careers education from the perspective of women in academic careers. She found that women, for example

in Israel, Norway and the USA, held posts in the lower grades of the hierarchy in the tertiary institution; even so their positions were only temporary. Ironically, she found that married women academics were more productive than single women, but their family commitments jeopardised their chances of promotion. The American Black women suffer 'double jeopardy', both of racism and sexism.

The problems of class, racism and sexism have also affected higher learning for South African Indian females. Rambiritch (1955), Naidoo (1967), Naidoo (1989), Rose (1977) and Singh (1985) highlight the problems related to tertiary education for Indians. Rambiritch (1955) reviews the racist policy of the South African government in barring Blacks from White Universities, the establishment of separate part-time university for Indians in 1936 and the M.L. Sultan Technikon as a place of higher learning. Naidoo (1976) traces the development of secondary education for Indian children. Singh (1985), Naidoo (1989) and Rose (1977) review the development of secondary education, the M L Sultan Technikon and the events leading to the opening the University of Durban-Westville in 1971 and its development to the present time.

3.4.5 The Teachers and the Taught

There is consensus that there is less research on student-student and teacher-teacher interactions than there is on teacher-student interactions. Wilkinson and Marrett (1985) try to correct some of the imbalances.

The contributors focus on the interactional influences that may be related to differential classroom experiences for females and males. Broadly, they look at the teacher-students and the peer interactions in the classroom. Fennema and Patterson (1985) explain why males surpass females in high-level cognitive skills: that individuals develop these skills when they participate in autonomous learning behaviours and that males are given more opportunities than females to participate. They say that in-school experiences include the nature of the contact between the student and the classroom teachers. Boys are given more attention - not necessarily of instructional contacts but often negative, managerial, disciplinary ones. Teachers do not appear to cause the gender different attitudes, perceptions and achievement, instead they help maintain the differences. This argument is supported by French (1990) and Delamont (1989).

Brophy (1985) explains the under-participation and under-achievement of girls in the secondary schools, in subjects like Mathematics and Science. He indicates that to fully understand this, one has to look at factors such as age of students, nature of the subject matter etc. He argues that gender differences in Mathematics performance might stem from differences in experiences within the mathematics classroom. Brophy's discussion centres on the possibility that student characteristics and expectations as well as teacher attributes may shape the teacher-student interaction. Brophy's argument is corroborated by Thomas (1990).

Delamont (1989) says that students, when given an opportunity to associate with one another, usually choose associates from their own sex. The tendency of children to affiliate with their same-sex counterparts may result from and reflect gender differences in behaviour. Girls engage in more constructive and less dramatic play than boys. When asked whose aid they would enlist in academic work, students would select those nearest to them but when asked whom they would choose as play mates they usually selected same sex students. The argument that appears in literature is that cross-sex interactions take place more frequently in academic settings than in social ones.

The condition of women teachers in the South African context are reflected in the writings of a number of people whose concerns are feminist issues. The consensus among these writers is that discrimination against women is all pervasive. Gericke (1983) looked at the conditions of service of women teachers in his study. He studied the status of women in South African situation, focusing on developments in education, particularly as they affect women, employment of women in industry and commerce and the training of teachers with special reference to the role of women.

Five hundred married women teachers were studied in Natal and the Orange Free State. The main findings indicate that the professional or career life of the married women is relatively short; married women do interrupt their careers; married women are absent from school more often than men but not as often as

single women; married women are dedicated to teaching and there is a generally held belief amongst them that equal pay and permanent appointments will improve their status.

South African Women teachers' issues are taken up in recent times by the women themselves in teachers' organisation like the Teachers Association of South Africa (Tasa) and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu). Articles written by four Black women-Cooper, A.R., Gasas, F.X, Dickens, S and Poonsamy, R were published under the title : Perspectives on Women Teachers in the Teachers Journal, Teachers' Association of South Africa, Volume 25, No3, 1985. These articles present a sociological perspective of the condition of women teachers.

All these women describe the multi-faceted roles of women teachers - home-makers, cradle-rockers and nation-builders. Cooper and Poonsamy discuss the under-representativeness of women in the policy and decision-making functions at school in spite their responsibility of educating tomorrow's leaders. Gasas and Dickens deal with the empowerment of women teachers. Gasas says that although there is a larger number of women teachers the world-over and they are more involved in teaching as teachers and mothers they lack motivation to prove themselves. Dickens concedes that opportunities have been opened for women but this appears to be only on the lips of men and not in their minds. Both women call on women teachers to assert themselves to remove the limitations placed against them.

Recently, women teachers' issues are being taken up by women activists, particularly Black women teachers on a national level. Various themes are presented - towards de-exploitation of women, women's emancipation, contextualising the Sadtu debate on gender issues, the situation of women in teachers' organisations and education, empowerment of women etc. These articles and extracts in Sadtu News Reviews are invaluable as updates on women teachers' issues in South African education.

Whyte J et al in their book : Girl Friendly Schooling, (1985), also consider the position of women teachers in terms of qualifications and promotional opportunities. This book starts by challenging two myths about school girls: that they are not doing well at school and that their futures will be dominated by unpaid roles as wives and mothers. The third section contains a rebuttal of some parallel and equally pervasive myths about women teachers. Women are as well qualified on entry to the profession as men and apply in equal numbers for secondment to take further qualifications. The supposition that the lower status of women in teaching can be ascribed to their domestic responsibilities appears to be a prejudice on the part of male decision-makers.

Whyte asserts that women are penalised for having children in contrast to men who receive promotion on the ground that they have children to support. Davidson (1985) argues that women are not unambitious for promotion and responsibility but that their aspirations are depressed by the discrimination, direct or indirect, which they encounter. Kant's (1985) comprehensive

review of the process by which tribunals arrive at their judgements on sex discrimination shows how pervasively myths about women and the double standards applied to the two sexes are undermining the intended force of legislature and dimming the prospects for removal of barriers to female opportunity.

Indian women teachers like Cooper (1985) started mobilising in 1980's to bring to the fore the issues, relating to Black women teachers in South Africa. Since then this movement has gained momentum as more and more articulate women are expressing themselves. However, little has changed thus far mainly because the 'tribunals', whom Whyte (1985) speaks of, are men dealing with women's issues. This, most certainly, is a retarding factor. It is hoped that this situation would change as the 'tribunals' in the new government structures dealing with women's issues are now mainly women.

3.4.6 Sexuality and Sexual Harassment

Herbert in her book : Talking of Silence : the Sexual Harassment of Schoolgirls, (1989) while acknowledging that boys may be sexual abuse victims, explores only the sexual abuse of girls as this is so common. The first part explores the school's machinery for dealing with incidents of sexual abuse and harassment, her own perceptions and prejudices and those of the staff and pupils. It was clear that where a girl was not part of a strong friendship network, her peers were all too willing to blame her and exonerate the boy. The staff response was also often unsympathetic and disbelieving. Even women teachers took on

the standard interpretations of institutionalised disbelief. Herbert also had to confront her own prejudices as to how an abused female should behave and undertake her own re-education in conjunction with the teenagers with whom she was working.

Mahony (1985) concerns herself with school-based violence and the ways in which it is normalised. The commonest way of normalising a situation which has been made by sexuality to undermine the teacher's power is for the girls to say "I don't think he meant it". Like Walkerdine (1981), Mahony discovered in her research that men as definers of the discourse remind both female pupils and teachers "that their identity is primarily sexual, not professional" (p169). Thus harassment acts as a mechanism of control and constraint within a co-education setting. Girls are silenced in order that they do not bring attention to themselves. This impairs their experience and quality of their education.

Prendergast's chapter, *Girls' Experiences of Menstruation in School* in Holley's (ed). Girls and Sexuality (1989) describes the institutional collusion or institutionalising disregard for female pupils who menstruate. She discovered in her research that there was a lack of basic sanitary provision, privacy and informed understanding at schools, which materially affect the quality of pupils' lives at school. Girls were constrained by fear of being "found out" as menstruating by boy-pupils; they did not receive understanding care from teachers when they were under par or in pain; they underwent teasing and vindictive harassment from boys. Schools fail to curb these behaviours and give thought to practical provision.

Measor, contributes a chapter: 'Are you coming to see some dirty films today?' - Sex education and Adolescent Sexuality to Holly's (1989) book. She records a sense of the girls' embarrassment and violation that "the boys knew every single fact about girls, but we never knew a thing about boys" (p41). The sex education materials were focused on girls and women, on their sexual development, role in reproduction and upon their menstrual cycles. This curricular display and scrutiny of girls and women has close link with boys' sense of being able to intrude into girls' physical space; to harass girls and in extreme cases to sexually assault them.

Gill describes her life as a white lesbian teacher in a boys' school in Holly's (1989) book. The spinster teacher was stigmatised as an unnatural and a potentially corrupting influence on her charges, possibly leading them away from heterosexuality and so becoming unbiddable.

It is confirmed that girls and women are targeted at Indian schools and in the workplace because of their sexuality. Every kind of joke about female sexuality, especially matters concerning their menstruation and pregnancy, is made by males. In spite of the provision of separate toilet and improved sanitary facilities, which have reduced the males' intrusion into the females' privacy, the females still remain vulnerable to 'inquisitive' males.

3.5 Intervention

3.5.1 Political, Social and Legal Changes

Various sections of the media carry articles and news reports on the politicisation of women's issues and the changes taking places thereof.

Burt, Errington, Mcdaniel and Baines (1988) report about the political and social changes in the women's position in Canada. Errington says that the Report of the Royal Commission of 1970 was responsible for the Canadian women's political recognition. Mcdaniel's chapter describes recent changes in the family as it becomes a 'more egalitarian, more flexible, caring and giving' institution. Burt examines laws which have both constrained and liberated women and charts the gap between the reality of Canadian women's lives and the view that legislators have of women's roles. The gap, while narrower than it was a century ago, is likely to remain until women compose half the legislators, she argues. Baines has a similar conclusion about practitioners of law. Baines expects judges to continue to have a limited vision in the application of equality provisions under the Charter. She identifies one of the major problems of today : how do you apply treatment of people who are not already equal?

The Bill of Rights adopted by the Government of National Unity guarantees sexual equality in every facet of South African life - education, law, labour, economy etc. It is felt that institutionalised sexism would be addressed before social

attitudes could change, as the government has the power to effect this change. However, the transformation of individuals will take a long time.

3.5.2 The Family and Sexual Division of Labour

Deem (1980) says schooling for women's work in which reproduction of gender categories, class, sexual division of labour and the relation of patriarchy play an important part must be changed to create a non-sexist workforce. Unionising seems to be strong as a means of intervention on the lines of Cosatu in South Africa. This organisation makes available literature on unionism, labour laws and labour relations to South Africans.

Pollert (1981) also makes the point that unionising is an intervention in the exploitation of female labour which turns to the struggles of the women. Assertions of dignity and defiance are made in the face of being tied to a machine but male oppression gains the upper hand in a system of discipline and control. This is mediated largely by patriarchal, sexual relations. Factory politics is also sexual politics and while the girls resist and fight back, it is largely in terms of collusion again, with male-created and male-perpetuated roles of femininity. Unionization has its limits as unions are controlled by men and women are faced with dilemma of facing 'two masters' - the husband at home, and the trade unionist at work.

Deem (1980) and Pollert (1981) do not offer strong strategies for intervention in women's labour. The problems present in unionization, for example, need to be addressed. Trade unions need to be feminized so that the bargaining power of the women can be improved. Labour as a whole needs to be reorganised so that women are allowed to participate on an equal footing with men. In South Africa Cosatu seems to have the correct approach.

3.5.3 Sexist Language

In her paper entitled 'Gender, Language and the Politics of Literacy', published in the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 8, No 2, 1987, Rockhill concludes that to act seriously upon the principle of literacy or learning as a right for women, it is necessary to reconceptualise how 'the political' and 'the educational' are constituted so that the primary sites of oppression in their lives are included in our politics or our classrooms. Intervention is marred by splitting between the public and private which reinforces precisely the same gendered practices through which women are oppressed in their everyday lives. The power of the males, the family, the church, society etc over women needs to be rethought out to reconstruct women's subjectivities with regard to literacy/learning/education.

On the other hand, Shapiro et al (1981) provide excellent guidelines for the usage of non-sexist language by all teachers. The strength of their book is that it is simple to understand and the suggestions are practicable even by the lay public. The

writers suggest that teachers and parents can teach non-sexist language in spite of the impact made by the wider society and the media. They should desist from using books which give prominence to male protagonists only, and avoid the usage of generic words and expressions, and derogation words, which empower males and demean females.

It is agreed that Rockhill's (1987) input is valid and her recommendations should be implemented. What is striking about her suggestions is that there is a need to reconsider women's acquisition of language in terms of political and educational agenda. That the acquisition of an elaborate language empowers an individual cannot be questioned. Therefore, Rockhill's call for open-mindedness in the teaching and usage of language in order to empower women needs to be noted by educators.

3.5.4. Discrimination or Inequality in Education

3.5.4.1 The School

Weiner (1990) presents the 'Perspectives on Equal Opportunities' where she focuses on the different approaches to equality issues in education adopted by countries like Canada and the United Kingdom. The focus is on the importance of legislation and official support, the work of feminist teachers, the value of in-service work, the production of resources and the importance of research. She also presents the 'National Case Studies of Equal Opportunities' in Spain, Scotland, Ireland and Germany.

The issues which the primary school teachers have addressed are sex bias in text books and readers, sexist attitude of teachers, inequitable staffing patterns and unsatisfactory relations between boys and girls in the classrooms. It is considered that work need to be undertaken to facilitate the reconstruction of education in the feminist/non-sexist context in South Africa.

3.5.4.2 The Curricula

The main challenge on the curricula issues is the notion of girls' subjects and boys' and the close correlation between the school curricula and the sexual division of labour.

Sutherland describes in her chapter 'Sex Bias in Education ... in Watson (ed): Key Issues in Education : A Comparative Perspective, (1985), how school systems in the West provide options for pupils in secondary education. The British system allows pupils in secondary schools to drop off subjects which are not to their liking, or not useful to them or cannot be accommodated in the timetable. This system of option, however, indicates in the examinations at the end of school which are girls' subjects and boys' subjects. In the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union the amount of options is limited to less than 10% of the timetable. A basic curriculum is constructed for all pupils, and in the full-time secondary phase, 75% of the timetable is give to a common curriculum which includes Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, Geography

Civics, Sports, German and Russian and a second modern language. In this arrangement girls do not have the option of dropping off Maths and Science. Girls have to engage in practical productive work with machines as boys do. Girls enter the labour market with basic grounding in skills which the other systems regard as sex-differentiated. Most countries recognise that a common curriculum for most of the school education does not necessarily eliminate sex bias in subject choices. In Sweden, for example, various forms of comprehensive schools were experimented with since the 1950s, with various options. In the beginning, few options are allowed but after 9 years of schooling, the options are increased. The result was that the males choose technically biased courses and the females textiles, languages, arts and social sciences. However, what is noteworthy is that both boys and girls have achieved a basic competence in the full range of subjects before embarking on options.

Whyte (1986) and Burton (1986) make recommendations to educators and administrators to change their teaching strategies to attract more girls to take Maths and the Sciences. The point they make is that girls' experiences in the classroom need to be redefined. This would imply that the teachers' influences and expectations need to change so that there could develop a new approach to the subjects. Whyte cites the implementation and success of Girls into Science and Technology (GIST) project in Birmingham. She discusses the reasons for the non-participation of the girls in Maths and the Science and explains the strategies

they devised remedying the situation. They found that since sex-role stereotyping influenced the choice of the subjects, the project leaders attempted, quite successfully, to change the attitudes of the students and the teachers. Burton explains how the girls in her school were exposed to Maths. The school offered equal opportunities in Maths to all the students in her school and held Maths and career awareness campaigns.

The accommodation of Indian girls in open curricula on the lines of the German and Swedish models suggested by Sutherland (1985) needs consideration. Furthermore, it is felt that projects like Gist and other strategies suggested by the above writers be implemented in South African schools to get more Indian girls to participate in Maths, the Sciences and Technology.

3.5.4.3 Co-education or Single Sex Schools

The debate about whether co-educational schooling is more beneficial for girls than single-sex schooling or vice versa continues without abatement. There are writers who advocate both systems. Bekker (1992) cites two schools, Grahamstown's Diocesan School for Girls and its brother school, St Andrew's College, which are trying to offer the best of the two systems. Since 1974 the schools have provided single-sex education to the end of Std seven - the awkward stage of early puberty according to some - but the last three years of schooling are co-educational. The

they devised remedying the situation. They found that since sex-role stereotyping influenced the choice of the subjects, the project leaders attempted, quite successfully, to change the attitudes of the students and the teachers. Burton explains how the girls in her school were exposed to Maths. The school offered equal opportunities in Maths to all the students in her school and held Maths and career awareness campaigns.

The accommodation of Indian girls in open curricula on the lines of the German and Swedish models suggested by Sutherland (1985) needs consideration. Furthermore, it is felt that projects like Gist and other strategies suggested by the above writers be implemented in South African schools to get more Indian girls to participate in Maths, the Sciences and Technology.

3.5.4.3 Co-education or Single Sex Schools

The debate about whether co-educational schooling is more beneficial for girls than single-sex schooling or vice versa continues without abatement. There are writers who advocate both systems. Bekker (1992) cites two schools, Grahamstown's Diocesan School for Girls and its brother school, St Andrew's College, which are trying to offer the best of the two systems. Since 1974 the schools have provided single-sex education to the end of Std seven - the awkward stage of early puberty according to some - but the last three years of schooling are co-educational. The

reason for this arrangement is that in terms of social development and maturity, girls seem to score better in mixed schools but when it comes to scoring high in careers, perhaps the single-sex schools have the edge.

Both Sutherland (1985) and Deem (1984) make the point that equality of gender opportunities concerns not whether schools are co-educational or single-sex but that boys and girls are educated in ways that reduce sexism. Deem questions the empowering of males over females, the definition of masculinity as being in sharp contrast to femininity, while Sutherland asserts that non-sexism depends much on the teachers' attitudes and the attention that they give to individual pupils. Both recognise a need for a change in the attitude of people who are involved in the education of children.

It is argued that increasing the numbering of single-sex schools or mixed schools is not going to solve the problem of equity. In fact, the establishment of single-sex schools is more to do with the entrenchment of sexism. What seems to be more logical and practicable is that educators impart knowledge and treat their charges in a non-sexist manner. In Indian education single-sex schools are now not a big issue. With the 'erosion' of conservatism among Indian parents, most of the schools built in the last fifty years have been co-educational, which have proved to be financially more viable and more beneficial to the community.

3.5.4.4 Higher and Tertiary Education/Careers Education

Much has been written by feminists about how women have 'stormed the tower' to make advancement in higher education.

Munnich et al (1988) explain how women are reconstructing the academy from the institutions of higher, tertiary and career education. The first issue is the creation of a supportive environment for women in these institutions. There is evidence that women's colleagues provide this supportive environment and the women's colleges are more supportive than the co-educational ones. What is more noteworthy is that the attitudes of the men teaching in the colleges are more facilitating to women. Another important form of intervention is the inclusion of women's issues in teaching. Munnich's colleagues at the University of Arizona describe the inclusion of feminist issues in the mainstream curricula in co-educational institutions and how useful it is proving for colleagues, even the non-feminists, to reconceptualise their teaching.

The advancement of women's further education is described by Moore (1991). She reviews the penetration of women into student societies, politics, sports, or journalism which was uneven, and the claim that some of their needs for a wider social life could only be met by the development of separate facilities. Moore also covers the participation of

the students in the suffrage movement, and the wartime period when the removal of young men gave women a temporary majority, though the permanent results of this were modest. Widespread secondary schooling and existence of competitive bursaries allowed women to share in the 'democratic' traditions of Scottish education. The entry of women into universities in Scotland increased but due to other factors had limited success.

This growth of women in higher education is confirmed by Faith (1988). She presents the first ethnographic account of women's experience in Distance Education, incorporating case studies from thirteen countries. Distance Education, (D.E.), the high-tech descendant of the correspondence course, employs a relatively high proportion of women teachers and administrators and has special importance for lowly paid school teachers (52% of whom, world-wide, are women) and women prevented by family duties or cultural taboos from attending universities. Produced by a team under the auspices of Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, this is feminist in style, pointing to global and cross-cultural convergence of women's concerns, celebrating women's achievements and pointing out inequities. There is no doubt that the authors want D.E to be a strong force, promoting women's studies and such initiatives as the British Open University's pioneering 'Women Into Technology?' programme, playing down courses on child-care and nutrition which are not enabling for women.

Because of the conservative attitudes of the Indian parents and the economic deprivations, the education of the older generation of Indian women has been stunted. However, these women, since the late 1960's have taken the initiative to do part-time studies through the University of Durban-Westville and distance education mainly through the University of South Africa. Recently, institutions like the Springfield College of Education in Durban and the Transvaal College of Education in Pretoria are offering distance education to update teachers' qualifications. Most Indian women are participating in distance education because of their family commitments.

3.5.4.5. The Teachers and the Taught

Recently much has been written about intervention to improve the position of teachers and pupils.

It has been observed that female students are now asserting themselves. Skeggs' paper 'Challenging Masculinity and Using Sexuality' published in the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 12, No2, 1991, draws from ethnographic research to focus how sexuality is deployed in regulative and tactical forms within Further Education. Having demonstrated how institutionalised sexism undermines the female students, Skeggs describes the strategies of these students for change. The resentment generated by being forced to confront their educational and feminine powerlessness leads the female students to develop a number of different coping tactics. One of them

is a transformative attack on masculine hegemony whereby female students take up masculine subject positions and use strategies of masculinity to control male teachers.

Women's assertiveness in recent times was taken up by Jonas in Kenway's (1990) book. She suggests that girls' self-esteem should be recognised as a special problem requiring institutional and curricular solutions. The key point in her chapter is that the major part of the programme described was a democratisation of the schools' structures. Students, parents, interested community members and staff worked together to identify needs and were involved in the development of school policy and decision-making structures to meet these needs. The school adopted a programme for their year 12 students somewhat akin to the Mode 3.GCSE used in Britain - which allowed students to help design their own courses and to collaborate with each other and teachers in their own assessment. Jonas says that this radical approach not only led to an increase in the self-esteem of students, but also to a significant improvement in the academic achievement and access to tertiary education for group of students.

In Indian education, PTSA's were established to enable parents, teachers and students to jointly deal with educational matters but these bodies have been ineffective thus far. It is envisaged that the School Boards, proposed

by the education authorities in the new dispensation in South Africa, would have more power than the PTSA's, which would be similar to the institutions Jonas describes.

A section in Whyte's (1985) book, entitled 'The Intervention to make Schooling more girl friendly', points out that girls are not intrinsically uninterested in science, just bored by the science in schools. She stresses the powerful influence the teachers have in mediating the curriculum to their female pupils and the need to encourage teachers' abilities to reflect on their teaching styles and attitudes in order to bring about change in the classroom and the school.

To support Whyte's assertion, Witcher (1990) stresses that then the teachers are both a major obstacle to change and yet the means by which change might be achieved. Witcher asserts that programmes of action will need to embrace a range of practical strategies which acknowledge this teacher diversity and work from the experience and commitment of the individual teacher.

The review of literature related to teacher-student relations show that the teachers have the power in the classrooms to either change or perpetuate sexism in education. It is agreed that there is a need for teachers to reconceptualise sexist/non-sexist issues on curricula, re-evaluate their teaching practice and strategies in order for them to dispense a new kind of education in a non-sexist society.

3.5.4.6 Sexuality and Sexual Harassment

Holly (1989) suggests that girls should be taught how to preserve their health and avoid pregnancy; the teachers should impart this information in a manner that the girls understand what it means without getting embarrassed. She recommends that students, parents, teachers and researchers discuss the experiences of being female in a mixed school. Issues such as silence, embarrassment and sexual harassment need to be discussed. These people should work out ways of disseminating information from the school to the wider society on sexual oppression and sexual harassment. It is agreed that the school is a very important agent which could deal with the sensitive issues very effectively.

Although sexual harassment and sex abuse are daily occurrences at schools and elsewhere, the majority of cases go unreported for various reasons. The main reason appears to be the victims' inability to articulate these experiences. Therefore, Herbert (1989), Holly (1989) and Mahoney (1989) deal with the problem of breaking the silence. They say that identifying and documenting the problem is important for creating principles and strategies for change. According to these writers, the following matters need attention : the reporting of sexual abuse/harassment, the humiliation and non-child-centredness of sex education, the provision of sanitary facilities and remedy for girls' negative experiences of menstruation.

Recently much has been written or spoken about sexuality, sexual harassment and teenage pregnancy in the media and the intervention by the authorities to combat these problems at Indian schools and universities. Of special note are the reports in Sunday Tribune Herald of February 21, 1993 and April 4, 1993, which discuss the problems prevailing respectively at the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville, and the creation of mechanisms to deal with the problems by the authorities. These mechanisms appear to be useful in dealing with problems relating to sexual harassment.

It is agreed that facilities relating to female sexuality are lacking in schools. Recently, personal health and sex education are receiving attention in Indian schools. As sexuality is a sensitive issue, especially among Indian parents, it is felt that the future School Board should consult with and rope in the Indian parents when they embark on addressing issues on the sexuality of their girls.

3.6 Conclusion

The available literature provides insights into the various issues which relate to sexism/non-sexism in education. Overseas publications are prolific but writings on the South Africa situation, especially Indian Education is limited.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION AND SEXISM

4.1 Introduction

Whether we view sexism from an educational perspective or education from the sexism perspective we are bound to see a whole spectrum of grey between these two views as we see the many shades of grey between the black and the white. Feminist writers in education (eg. Sutherland, 1985; Weiner, 1990; and Thomas, 1990) are in agreement that education is one of the most important processes in which girls and women are discriminated against. It is difficult to say if education spawns sexism as other institutions in society do or sexism itself spawns sexist education, but what is certain is that sex bias in education is found in every country in the world, albeit, in varying degrees. Sexism in education is, as in all other institutions of society, subtle and all pervasive.

As it is a discourse on sexism in education, this study focuses on the following concepts: characteristics of sexism, the theories of gender divisions, the male/female dichotomies, the school as an institution which reinforces, perpetuates or contradicts the theories of gender divisions and the male-female dichotomies through socialization and the curricula (both the official and hidden); the teachers and the taught - how their interactions

reinforce or contradict sexism and the conflicts that arise; and the conclusion that calls for the dismantling of the sexism in education.

4.2 The Characteristics of Sexism

The crux of the argument is that sexism is the discrimination against females in favour of males, that maleness is 'intrinsically' superior to femaleness and that the perpetrators of sexism are males and females alike. Sexism is not restricted to male judgements only in a patriarchal culture. When the values of a culture are sexist, as our patriarchal culture is, it is very difficult for individuals to avoid learning sexist values because these values permeate society and are intrinsic to it.

4.3 Identity Formation

4.3.1 The Distinction between Sex and Gender

Ruth (1980) asserts that sex is a biological fact and gender, though based on biology, is a social-cultural-sociological-psychological phenomenon. Further, there is a distinction between gender identity, a social and psychological phenomenon, and gender role, a cultural, sociological interactional phenomenon. Basically, sex is biologically determined and gender is socially constructed. Sex is the biological classification - male and female - whereas gender refers to the cultural and social divisions

- masculine and feminine - which individuals acquire. The terms 'sex' and 'gender' are, sometimes, depending on the context, interchangeably used.

4.3.2 Theories of Gender Divisions

Sayers (1987) discusses four theories on the psychology of sexual division of individuals.

The biological determinists argue that girls and boys have different characteristics because of hormonal differences and the differences in the development of their brains. According to social-learning theory the child acquires knowledge and learns sex-typed behaviour by observation. The behaviours of parents, teachers, peers etc. and the sex-typed behaviours depicted in literature, picture books, the television and school text books impact on the child.

The cognitive-development theory asserts that gender development is not determined by biology or society but by the child's conceptualisation of them. Kohlberg (1966) has argued that the child's ability to correctly categorise itself as a boy or a girl - an ability developed by the age of three - initiates this gender development. Having correctly categorised itself by sex, the child's egocentrism leads it to value the objects and activities associated with its sex. According to cognitive-developmental theory, then, the child's cognitive need to maintain a stable gender identity leads it to avoid sex-inappropriate behaviour and to condemn such behaviour in other children.

The Freudian theorists and post-Freudian theorists (Sayers, 1987) have looked at psychological differentiation between the sexes from the psychoanalytical perspective. Freud argued that the sexual differentiation of individuals is initiated by the 3-and-4-year olds' interpretation of genital sex differences in terms of the penis and the castration complex. Children come to believe, in the phallic phase, that a male is superior as he possesses a penis and a female is inferior as she lacks it, because of the genital eroticism. Prior to this phase, girls and boys are equally feminine and masculine in their attitudes and behaviour, but the significance the genital eroticism places on the child makes boys become primarily masculine and the girls primarily feminine in their subsequent behaviour.

There are some problems with the above theories, particularly with biological determinism and Freud's psychoanalytical theories as neither of them adequately explains gender development. Social-learning and cognitive-developmental theorists, including post-Freudian theorists like Chodorow (1978) assume but do not explain the psychological significance of biological sex to parents and children. Similarly social-learning theorists (Michel, 1966; Bem, 1981) assume that children come to classify behaviours by sex and to initiate these behaviours to comply with their own sexual self-categorization. Cognitive-developmental theorists (Kohlberg, 1966; Albert and Porter, 1983; Kuhn et al, 1978), too, assume but do not explain the acquisition by the 3-year-olds of gender identity and the centrality of this acquisition to the child's psychological development.

The centrality can only be explained by examining the way social relations have come to be structured historically by sex. Biology becomes important here. Biology does not directly determine sexual division nor does it mean that women be tied to the home to depend on a male bread-winner. The fact the women bear children does not preclude them from 'breadwinning' activities because the fact that women's labour was used in the war years would dispel that notion. However, the way in which the biological fact of childbearing has interacted with the forms of social and economic organisation has impacted significantly on the sexual division in society (Coote and Campbell, 1987; Oakely, 1974). The social and historical elaboration of this biological fact has resulted in the family household system which impacts on the sexual divisions in social and education institutions and determines the sex-typing of educational and occupational activities. It is because of this all-pervasive dichotomising of social relations in these terms that sex seems to be psychologically so significant to parents, teachers and children and to the psychological development of sexual divisions (Oakely, 1974).

4.3.3 Gender Identity

Gender identity begins in the hospital room as soon as the infant is born. On the basis of its anatomical cues, the child is assigned a gender which is established by age two and is usually irreversible (French, 1990; Oakley, 1974).

In their early years, girls and boys identify with women, usually their mothers, since they are cared for by them. Chodorow (1978) discusses 'double identification', when she theorises about identity formation. Girls identify with their mothers, who, in turn, as former daughters identify with their mothers. The mothers often transmit what they had learnt to their daughters without modification. This identification involves feelings of empathy towards their daughters' present and future physical and emotional predicaments. In the Indian home, the influence of mothers on their daughters is stronger than it is in more permissive homes. This influence is strengthened further in the Indian joint family (extended family) where the grandmother, normally the paternal one exerts her influence. In the Indian home, the girls learn a system of gender-roles in preparation for early marriage and motherhood.

Boys' development is, however, different. Boys have to break with their mothers and seek identification with their fathers. Mothers actually encourage a relationship which emphasises an opposition to female influences and reinforce their sons' self-awareness of maleness and male-roles. Chodorow (1978) states that after the Oedipal phase the difference in the development of boys and girls is acknowledged. A more masculine identification replaces the boys' early identification with their mothers. This is the period when the fathers feature more frequently in the boys' world. The boys are socialised into shedding 'female' ways and adopting 'male' ways.

4.4 Male/Female Dichotomy

4.4.1 The Segregation of the Sexes

It would seem that in the home classification into sex is weaker than it is at school. Boys and girls socialize in the family but separation begins the moment they leave home. Boys will join boys' groups and girls girls' groups as they walk to school. As they enter the school yard the classification tends to become stronger. The organisation of the school does not offer any alternatives to the separation of the sexes - separate playgrounds, separate toilets, separate lines, separate lists on the registers, separate physical education lessons and sporting activities, etc. (Dick, 1990; French, 1990). The classification of gender roles and the framing of gender definition are made stronger to ensure the teachers' firm control of the pupils. In some Indian schools depending on the dominant milieu (eg personality of the head-teacher), girls and boys are not allowed to mingle outside the classroom.

4.4.2 Gender-Appropriate Behaviour

Aggressiveness, assertiveness, docility and passivity are important qualities attached to sex-appropriate behaviour of boys and girls (Phoenix, 1987; Oakley, 1974). In our society aggressiveness seems to be the main quality in defining masculine and feminine behaviour. Society requires that the male should be aggressive in order to function in a public sphere and the female should be docile or passive to function in a private or

domestic sphere. Males are required to be aggressive to enable them to fight their way in the world outside and if they lack this they would fail to assert themselves. Females, on the other hand, need to be passive, servile, docile and homely (Phoenix, 1987).

Most feminist writers say that parents expect different codes of behaviour from boys and girls. The boys are respected for their autonomy and independence which are not granted to the girls. Mothers transmit to their daughters their own socially conditioned lack of confidence while fathers evoke in their sons the same self-assertiveness that they were taught to believe to be the sign of the 'real' man. Different kinds of discipline produce different patterns of behaviour from girls and boys (French, 1990). For misdemeanour boys are physically punished, while girls suffer punishments like the withdrawal of love. By the large, Indian girls are brought up under strict and sheltered conditions. The school situation is a reflection of the norms obtaining in the home and in the community it serves. The school transmits the notions of maleness and femaleness and the sex-appropriate behaviour expected by parents from their children. The school, therefore, finds it necessary to separate girls and boys to exercise effective control over them.

The school situation is a reflection of the norms obtaining in the home and in the community it serves. The school transmits the notions of maleness and femaleness and the sex-appropriate

behaviour expected by parents from their children. The school, therefore, finds it necessary to separate girls and boys to exercise effective control over them.

4.4.3 Deviance

Males are required to be aggressive and assertive to be successful in the world outside. The lack in males of these qualities is construed as weakness and they are often dubbed 'sissies' or as failures who cannot assert themselves. On the contrary, if females are aggressive they are considered 'failures' as they lack the essential ingredient of being 'feminine'. In addition, they are dubbed 'tomboys' if they are aggressive or assertive; thereby they would 'pollute' other girls (Davies, 1991).

According to Sharpe (1976), being a 'sissie' is viewed much more seriously than being a 'tomboy'. Being called a 'sissie' with its 'feminine' connotations has negative value but being called a 'tomboy' is much more positive as it has male connotations.

4.4.4 Sex-role Stereotyping

Children's attitudes towards their sexual roles are developed early (French, 1990). The home is where sex-role stereotyping begins. From an early age parents treat their sons differently from their daughters. Boys and girls are given different tasks and soon the household work becomes to be labelled 'male' jobs and 'female' jobs. The books and toys the parents choose for their children emphasise the divisions in their sex-roles. Believing that what

they observe in the home holds good for everybody, they internalise and generalise what they observe and thus learn how to behave themselves. What is learned at home is tested and defined in the neighbourhood. Children's assumption about proper sex roles are strengthened by the seemingly universal acceptance of the same attitude all round them, and by their desire to be like the other children in the neighbourhood. The strongest agents of extending and reinforce the sex-role stereotypes are the school, books and the media (the most powerful of them is the television) (Jonsdottir, 1990).

According to Chodorow (1978) and Sharpe (1976), the male-typed role is one of 'doing' and the female-type role is one of 'being'. This implies the dichotomy of the active male-roles and the passive female-roles. Furthermore, the traditions prevalent in society direct that the females' major activities are 'inner-directed' and the males' 'outward-directed', implying private-public dichotomies of the female-and-male-roles. In bringing up girls the following qualities are emphasised: being considerate, protective, tidy and caring as well as dependent, shy, reserved, obedient and submissive; while, in the boys the following qualities are inculcated: strength, courage, independence, self-assurance, endurance and daring.

Girls are domesticated in an inter-generational world of women, wherein as part of growing up among mothers and grandmothers they practise their future roles as 'daughters', 'wives' and 'mothers'. Domestic training is especially significant for Indian girls because of the traditional, earl and/or compulsory marriage.

Boys, however, have to wait until adulthood to participate in adult roles. In the meanwhile, they are weaned away from their mothers and trained to become independent. Girls do not seem to undergo this transformation (Deem, 1990).

Women's education and work are less valued by society and women's work is less well remunerated than men's is. Apart from this, it is largely only women who do the unpaid work of, for example, running the home and bringing up children. Girls less often apply for technical jobs or advanced work in the fields of science or executive position which are preserves of the males. Females apply for and are fitted into the jobs on the caring , supportive and nurturing services (Blount, 1990; Delamont, 1989) which are considered generally as low status.

4.4.5 Sexist Language

Whether language shapes our culture or culture shapes our language, women have been categorised and stereotyped, and our language helps perpetuate this division between the sexes (Shapiro et al, 1981 : 39).

The content and the style of languages provide another dimension of sex differentiation. Women have played a central role in the transmission of language across generations. According to Thorne and Henley (1975), Lakoff (1973) suggests that both sexes first learn 'women's' language from their mothers and other female figures like nursery school teachers who are primarily women. As they grow older girls retain their first form

of talking but boys shift to 'more male' forms. By around the age of ten, both sexes are involved in same-sex peer groups and two types of speech are present.

Some feminist writers say that language and speech differences between females and males have a biological base. The language differences enable males to function in a dominant sphere and females in a less dominant sphere. The question then arises: 'How is language used for men to dominate women?' The fact is that male dominance, built into the economic, family, political and legal structures of society, is central to language and speech. Language helps to enact and transmit every kind of inequality between the sexes (Kramer, 1975). The dictionary reveals a high degree male bias. The words reveal that in the culture of the English speakers the men are more highly regarded than women (Thorne and Henley, 1975). The male is associated with the universal, the general and the submitting but the female is excluded. Words associated with men bear positive connotations - power, prestige and leadership - while those associated with women are more negative - conveying weakness, inferiority, immaturity and a sense of triviality.

Language is again used to label and emphasise role designation. Studies have revealed that sex bias in role designations abound in books. In a computerised analysis of five million words drawn from a children's school book, it was found that there were seven times more words about men than women in the books. The word 'mother' appeared more frequently than 'father' and the word 'wife' three times as often as 'husband', hence emphasising

the role-functions of women as mothers and wives. Language also reflects the association of men with occupation, for, in examining the dictionary items for gender, it was found that there were for more occupations designated for males than for females (Kramer, 1975).

4.4.6 Success and Failure

The lack of self-confidence and assertiveness in girls make them underachievers. Female underachievement begins at about puberty at a time when the pressure on girls to 'act feminine' suddenly increases. Allen et al (1974:159) say "The cultural standard in female/male relationships is that the female should not be as assertively intelligent as the male." This notion is also echoed by French (1990:30): "... girls are taught to adapt to the needs of boys." This stereotyping is so impactful that the life chances of women are affected by their relationship to men. It is so easy to see how many girls pursue a more self-orientated intellectual goal.

Both boys and girls are affected by success and failure at school. There is pressure to succeed academically. In achievement motivation the fear of failure is emphasised and success has its own rewards - recognition from parents and the school, and self-satisfaction and self-aggrandizement. But the achievement motivation for girls is different (Stanworth, 1987; Middleton, 1987; Delamont, 1980). The increased awareness of the feminine role stereotypes, particularly, those promoted by the media, foster the belief that it is not desirable for girls to be as clever as

boys. This implies that the girls' 'overachievement' involves losing an important ingredient of being feminine. As an example, Sharpe (1976) cites Margaret Mead's educational and vocational training. She says that her female friends were faced with the dilemma of displaying enough of their abilities to be considered successful but at the same time not too successful. Girls, therefore, experience the fear of success, which burdens their performance and this notion interacts with reinforcing the belief that academic success is important for a girl, also. Sharpe argues that competition is a disguised force of aggression and since society disapproved of aggressiveness in females, girls who complete and succeed in a male dominated area are often not regarded as 'normal' women and they are given misogynous labels by men.

4.4.7 Toys

Boys are encouraged from an early age to play with toys and games which develop their physical, manual and mechanical skills. In fact , toy shops and toy manufacturers represent some of the least challenged agents of sexism in society (Evans, 1988:134).

French (1990) and Thomas (1990) report that the Manchester - based Girls Into Science and Technology (GIST) project in 1988, has revealed that the kinds of toys that the boys observe and manipulate provide them with an opportunity to have a natural

headstart over girls in Mathematical and Scientific fields. Girls' toys are largely orientated to reinforce the concepts of motherhood and housewifery.

4.4.8 Clothes and Dress

Dress is the most visible form of sexism practised by people (Delamont, 1980). Conventionally, males and females are distinguishable, since they are 'weakly dimorphic' to use Birdwhistell's (1951) words, by their dress: clothes, jewellery, hairstyles and make-up. Although unisex clothes have made their mark since 1970's by and large, the dress of males is different from the dress of females.

Babies' clothes are unisex in the main but, even so, sexual differentiation is present in terms of colours. The most popular 'male' colour is blue and the 'female' colour is pink and lime is a unisex colour. At the end of babyhood, according to French (1990), children's clothes become sharply differentiated. Boys are dressed with pants and shirts and their hair cropped short but the girls have to wear 'over-fussy' garments like dresses, shoes and white socks, with long hair tied with ribbons. At play, boys are seen with scruffy clothes which allow for free movement but girls' clothes are restrictive and they may not be dirtied. French (1990) and Delamont (1980) found that boys are a wider range of sports clothes than girls.

4.4.9 Sexual Division of Labour

The sexual division of labour and the definition of jobs are socially and historically constructed (Game and Pringle, 1984). Sexual division of labour was neither predominant in pre-capitalist times, nor is it predominant in economics other than capitalistics ones. It is a central part of capitalism which is patriarchal and capitalism is unthinkable without gender.

Game and Pringle (1984:14) say " Gender is fundamental to the way work is organised, and work is central in the social construction of gender." Sexual division of labour refers to the allocation of work on the basis of sex. This division of labour exists within both the home and the workplace and in capitalism, it refers to the division between the home and the workplace. It operates through a series of dichotomies - the dichotomy of male and female spheres and the dichotomies of public/private, work/non-work and production/consumption (Weiner, 1990; Deem, 1980; Evans, 1988). The sexual division of labour needs to be viewed in terms of the historical relations between 'women's' work and 'men's' work.

Education is seen by many writers as empowering. The economic and social subordination of women has become an integral element of capitalist social formation. There exists within the school, according to Deem (1980), the sexual division of labour which impacts on the determining of the relations

between the family, schooling and the labour process. Schooling constructs, modifies and transmits specific definitions of gender and gender relations to each new generation.

According to Bernstein schooling reproduces the social order through the categorisation of pupils of age, sex and social class. This categorisation is divided into two areas - the structuring of knowledge, and, the forms of pedagogy, spatial organisation of the school and the evaluation criteria. School experience comprises two critical features - the form of classification (construction and maintenance of boundaries between different categories) and framing (the form and degree of control within pedagogic relation between the teachers and the taught).

Using the above theoretical framework it is possible to explain the ways in which schooling transmits a specific gender code whereby individuals' gender identity and gender roles are constructed under the school's classification system. In traditional schools, like the Indian schools, there are strong boundaries between the definition of 'masculine' and 'feminine', reinforced by the spatial organisation of the school, uniforms, school activities and the curriculum subjects and the control within the pedagogic relations is firm, achieved through strong framing. The school emphasises sex-appropriate distinctions between male and females, creating the notions of good pupils, expectations of ability and academic success and good discipline. This form of pedagogy operates in societies or communities where sexual division of labour in the home and the environment is strongly demarcated.

The common code in planning in education seems to be founded on the assumption of gender differentiation with the belief that women's primary role in society is to become wives and mothers, despite the fact that large numbers of women work outside the home. Girls are allocated curriculum streams designed for the 'less able' – basic training in skills and non-examination subjects.

Wives and mothers cling to their self-concept as household workers. They then pass this on to their female children through differential sex role-typing of boys and girls within the family. Children tend to develop self-concepts based on sexual division of labour which they observe around them (Jonsdottir, 1990). The family as a social as well as a biological reproduction unit cannot but reflect its division of labour as a production unit.

4.5 The School

Loftus (1974:131) describes the school as:

A double-sided mirror providing at the same time
a faithful reflection and a vast distortion of
reality.

The implication in Loftus's description is the double agenda that exists in the provision of education for females and males. The hidden curriculum is that girls are taught to be feminine and boys masculine. To this end, the government of education plans and dispenses different educational menus to girls and boys, often

under-investing in girls so that they would play a subservient role to males. Sometimes the discriminatory measures are blatant but mostly very subtle (Deem, 1980).

4.5.1 The Pre-Primary School

Pre-schools and primary schools are 'feminine', in that, most of the teachers who teach the children are females. There is a perception among some educationists that as mothers figures women are more suited to handle children in schools (Sayers, 1987).

The pre-school is characterised by its 'informal' arrangements, where 'female' and 'male' learning activities and the educational paraphernalia are not strictly demarcated. The children are allowed to move from one activity to another more or less as they wish. However, according to Serbin (1984), children do not randomly play with every toy in the room, sex preferences for specific toys and activities are already present when nursery children enter their classrooms. Children usually play with certain toys and develop certain skills according to the sex-typed label they have learned. It is widely believed that the activities in which the children engage at pre-school have an impact on the roles they will practise and the skills they will develop in the ensuing schools years. Serbin (1984) says that teachers are heavily 'programmed' to train and enforce traditional sex-roles.

4.5.2 The Primary School

French (1990), says that by the time children reach age five, they are secure in their sexual identity but their ideas about sex-appropriate behaviour are still undeveloped.

To overcome the handicaps of overcrowding of classrooms and understaffing at primary schools, control of pupils has to be strong. The teachers demand obedience, silence, passivity and conformity from their pupils so that control is facilitated. Girls find that these demands coincide with what was expected of them at home. Boys, however, experience conflict, as they were allowed a large measure of independence and freedom at home by their mothers (Sharpe, 1976). Boys experience problems in adjusting to the environment and the new demands being made on them, while the girls' passivity and dependence on their teachers are often held up as a mark of their greater maturity and responsibility. This might explain why the girls perform better in primary school than boys do.

In the senior primary phase gender differentiation becomes more conspicuous, the division and the structuring of knowledge and the form and control within the pedagogic process is marked. Gender coding is stronger and the teachers have to exercise firmer control over boys than over girls (Ninas, 1990).

4.5.3 The Secondary School

The secondary school appears to be characterised by its masculinity as more male than female teachers comprise the teaching staff. There are two major reasons for this. Firstly there is the notion of hierarchy of knowledge. According to Byrne (1978), male teachers are said to be far more highly qualified than female teachers and this makes them more suitable to teach both the 'high' and the 'low' status subjects at secondary schools. Secondly, it is believed that males are more capable of maintaining discipline in the secondary schools (Deem, 1980; Kelly, 1987).

The secondary school phase is one of 'social turmoil' for girls and boys. Here they enter the new status of adolescence which is an ambivalent status, for, they are now more 'adult' and yet they have to occupy the status of and behave like school children (French, 1990; Sharpe, 1976). Added to this dilemma, rapid changes take place in their lives - they have to make subject choices; they have to decide on careers; they become involved in more decision-making processes; they become attracted by the opposite sex and, pressures and temptations from peers and the outside world persist.

The secondary school life of the Indian child spans six years. In the intervening years a sizeable number of girls drop out of school (cf Chapter 2). This is probably precipitated by the girls' self-fulfilling prophecy, dictated by parent and teacher expectations; the pressure from peers and the media to seek the

pleasures of life (clothes, jewels, cosmetics etc), and, what seems to be the most important factor, is the economic status of the family that makes the girls leave school.

4.5.4 Single-sex Schools vs Co-educational Schools

Single-sex schools are sexually segregated schools, separated on the basis of gender - girls' schools and boys' schools. Co-educational schools are schools where both sexes are taught most subjects in common, with sex segregation in certain subjects. This is distinguishable from mixed schooling which was in existence in the nineteenth century in state and private sectors mainly for reasons of cheapness (Deem, 1987; Bryne, 1978). In the latter agreement, boys and girls were segregated socially and academically within the same school buildings.

Feminist/non-sexist scholarship is divided on the issue of what type of school is more beneficial to female students. Politicians, quite clearly, for the sake of rationalisation in terms of the use of resources and cost-effectiveness advocate single sex schools (Deem, 1987). Parent communities, on the other hand, see single-sex schools as places of refuge for their girls against the romantic influences of and sexual harassment by the males (Okely, 1987). Therefore, to encourage Indian parents to send their daughters to school a few single-sex schools were established in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Kichlu, 1928; Rambiritch, 1955; Pillay, 1967; Singh, 1987).

The education authorities cite several advantages of establishing co-educational schools. The main advantage in mixing males and females in the schools would be the sociological psychological balance that would be created between the sexes, which would result in betterment in education, male/female relationships and the preparation for late life (Deem, 1987; Byrne, 1978; Greed, 1991).

4.5.5 Private Schools or State Schools

Private schools are essentially elitist schools, catering mainly for children from affluent homes. As one of the major criteria for access to private schools is affordability, the daughters of the affluent people are the likely ones to gain admittance at these schools (Walford, 1989).

Most private schools are single-sex while the others are co-educational schools. Parents who wish to provide their daughters with single-sex and/or selective education find these options becoming available in independent schools (Walford, 1989). Private schools have to be non-sexist schools because the parents pay for the education of their girls at these institutions. Their independent nature allows for the girls to choose subjects in non-traditional areas in private schools.

Private schools do go some way in solving the problem of sexual discrimination but it is only a small proportion of girls who attend these schools. The cost of private school education is prohibitive in the extreme. In fact most Indian schools in the early days were private schools. In 1928 there were about 50

such schools (about 10 Hindu and 40 Muslim schools) with an enrolment of about 696 boys and 375 girls, funded by parents (Kichlu, 1928). Private schools seemed to have operated simply because other forms of schooling were not readily available for Indian children.

4.6 The Curricula

4.6.1 Preamble

The concept of curriculum for schools can be interpreted more broadly than just as a set of subjects with specific content. The curriculum comprises the formal or official curriculum and unofficial or 'hidden' curriculum (Blount, 1990). The official curriculum is contained in the handbook for schools published by the various education departments in South Africa. All subjects specified in the curriculum are compulsory for both girls and boys. However, a close examination of the curriculum would reveal sex-stereotyping in the treatment of boys and girls in certain subjects. Of the sexually differentiated curriculum and division of labour Sutherland says

There is very general international agreement as to the kinds of subjects which are boys' subjects and girls' subjects just as there is much agreement as to the occupations which are for men and those which are for women - though countries may differ.

(Sutherland, 1985:53)

such schools (about 10 Hindu and 40 Muslim schools) with an enrolment of about 696 boys and 375 girls, funded by parents (Kichlu, 1928). Private schools seemed to have operated simply because other forms of schooling were not readily available for Indian children.

4.6 The Curricula

4.6.1 Preamble

The concept of curriculum for schools can be interpreted more broadly than just as a set of subjects with specific content. The curriculum comprises the formal or official curriculum and unofficial or 'hidden' curriculum (Blount, 1990). The official curriculum is contained in the handbook for schools published by the various education departments in South Africa. All subjects specified in the curriculum are compulsory for both girls and boys. However, a close examination of the curriculum would reveal sex-stereotyping in the treatment of boys and girls in certain subjects. Of the sexually differentiated curriculum and division of labour Sutherland says

There is very general international agreement as to the kinds of subjects which are boys' subjects and girls' subjects just as there is much agreement as to the occupations which are for men and those which are for women - though countries may differ.

(Sutherland, 1985:53)

The common code in planning in education has been founded in the assumption of gender differentiation, with the belief that women's primary role in society is to become wives and mothers, despite the fact that large numbers of women become workers outside the home.

4.6.2 The School Curricula

4.6.2.1 The Pre-Primary School Curriculum

Of the curricula implemented in all schools, pre-primary school curriculum appears to be the least sexist. In Indian schools, the curriculum comprises: language, numberwork, social studies, creative-work (eg. art and simple craft) and play. In this phase of schooling, the emphasis is on readiness for formal schooling and socializing with others (As laid down by HOD's Guide - School Readiness - Bridging Module for 5 year olds, 1987).

However, sexism does creep into the pre-primary school through the 'hidden' curriculum. Serbin (1984) says that teachers as well as peers generate sexism, through teacher-expectations and peer-pressures. When boys and girls choose 'gender-inappropriate' toys, for example, a boy may choose a doll and a girl a car, their peers subtly pressure them into choosing 'gender-appropriate' toys.

4.6.2.2The Primary School Curriculum

The primary school curriculum appears to be more sexist than the pre-primary school curriculum but less divergent than the secondary school one. In the Indian Schools, the primary school is divided into two phases of 3 years each - the Junior Primary (J.P.) and Senior Primary (S.P.).

The J.P. curriculum is similar to that of the pre-primary school curriculum but the teaching approach is much more formal. The teaching time is more strictly demarcated and the pupils are taught to read and write. There is no real sexual division of knowledge except in Std 1 when girls and boys are separated for Physical Education and technology (girls take needlework and boys handicraft) (As laid down by HOD's Department of Education and Culture - Principal's Handbook, 1982).

In the S.P. Phase the knowledge is segmented into subjects comprising six examination subjects and other non-examination subjects. (vide Chapter 2). In this phase Physical Education and technical subjects (Needlework, Handicraft and Technical Drawing) are sexually differentiated subjects. (As laid down by HOD's Department of Education and Culture - Principals Handbood, 1982).

According to feminist writers like French (1990), Stanworth (1987) and Deem (1987), at primary schools the control of pupils becomes stronger and the methods of teaching more formal. At

primary schools the emphasis is on the passing of examinations and it is common knowledge that girls fare far better than boys at primary school.

4.6.2.3 The Secondary School Curriculum

At the secondary school, the curriculum becomes more sharply segregated. The curriculum tends to assume conceptions of 'girls' subjects and 'boys' subjects. Many feminist researchers (Thomas, 1990; Chandler, 1980; Evan, 1988; Randall, 1987; Deem, 1978) argue that the occupational segregation of men and women which takes place after education is completed, is related to the subject segregation which takes place at school. Girls take subjects like the arts and Technology (Cookery, Needlework, Housecraft, Housewifery, Typing etc) and according to Burton (1986), Spear (1990) and Thomas (1990) the boys are offered Mathematics, the Sciences and Technology (Woodwork, Metalwork, problem solving analysis, practical skills etc.). Boys' subjects are regarded as high-status subjects (Thomas, 1990; Burton, 1986) which equip boys for high-status jobs (engineers, scientists, executives etc.) and girls' subjects are planned to train girls for domestic management or the low-status jobs (clerks, typists, secretaries, factory workers, health-care workers etc.) (Thomas, 1990; Macdonald, 1980; Evan, 1980; Shuard, 1986; Spear, 1990). In every facet of economic life, men are assumed to be in control and women are to supply the support services.

Up to the end of the junior secondary phase in Indian schools, there is a compulsory core curriculum for both boys and girls and a sexually differentiated ancillary curriculum. (Discussed in chapter 2).

Boys regard Domestic Science subjects as irrelevant to the male domain and the girls shy away from the Maths and Sciences because they are socialised into believing that these are not girls' subjects (Thomas, 1990; Robin 1986), as they are too difficult for them to understand. However there are exceptions: some girls do break the barrier and choose Maths and Sciences and excel in them, while, on the other hand, boys do take domestic science subjects and succeed in them. Some girls even venture so far as taking boys' technical subjects like handicraft and they succeed in them.

4.6.3 Sexist Language in the Classroom

Consciously or unconsciously or subconsciously teachers transmit sexist language in the classroom. English, like many other languages, mirrors the low esteem in which females are often held. It abounds with sexist words which present females as being inferior to males or make them simply non-existent in situations where males exist and function (Shapiro, 1981).

Many generic words and expressions exclude or ignore women. 'Men', 'mankind', 'he' and 'his' supposedly indicate that the speaker or writer is referring to both females and males. But, the listener or reader may not understand it this way as these words sometimes mean males only and at other times include females. The result of the confusion for the pupils could be serious. They can assume that women were not involved in the past when they study the history of 'man'. In the expressions: 'Manners maketh the man, and 'The child is father of the man', a woman's possibility is remote. In male dominated societies, English contradictory propositions are true. A woman can be referred to as a man but a man can never be referred to as a woman. If a woman is swept off a ship into the sea, the sailors would cry: "Man overboard!" and if a person is charged for killing a woman pedestrian by driving the car negligently, the charge is 'manslaughter'. The most mystifying part of generic language usage are the pronominal words - 'he', 'him' and 'his' - when they are used to refer to both sexes. The listener or reader invariably understands them as males, seldom as females.

Language usage may also influence career aspirations. Words or titles imply one gender or the other is supposed to do a particular job. For men's occupation the word list is extensive - businessmen, statesman, sportsman, spokesman etc - but the list for women's work is limited.

4.6.4 Sexism in the Text Books

As well as learning from the behaviour and attitudes of teachers, children also learn about sex roles from their text books (Blount, 1990). School books are presented within the context of authority - the classroom. This context conveys official approval of attitudes children have to learn at home, from the media and from other social experiences.

Writers like Delamont (1989), and Lobban (1987) conducted researcher into reading schemes in America and Britain. These researchers found that the reading schemes revealed the dominance of boys and the passivity of girls; girls and mothers were home-based but boys and men were present in the outside, adventurous world. Lobban (1987) and Delamont (1989) also found that girls and women were depicted less often than boys and men. Male role-typing revealed that men were train drivers, bus drivers, stevedores etc - roles subtly showing the physical strength and the economic power of males. The schemes showed skipping and hopping were the only physical activities for the girls while there was a 'surfeit' of heroes among boys. Boys took the lead and the girls watched passively. The sex-typed toys depicted in the schemes suggest the future career chances of boys and girls. Children do not understand that they are learning about only a few selected events and people. The scant attention given to women leave the pupils with the impression that women do not do anything worthy of inclusion in text books to be learned.

4.7 Tertiary Education

From evidence it seems that most of the academic Indian girls proceed to colleges of education to train as teachers, and not surprisingly, mostly as infant teachers. Of those who proceed to university, most seem to opt for the Arts or Social Science courses, while a few of the females seem to opt for the Maths and Sciences. Recently, however, more girls are taking Maths and Science courses (S.A. Statistics 1990 : 5.42 - 5.43).

Of the students who proceed to a technikon, the girls appear to choose courses which would fit them into the caring, welfare and other support services - clerks, secretaries, receptionists, dressmakers, hairstylists, hotel management etc. The boys, on the other hand, choose courses which would fit them into positions as technicians, bricklayers, mechanics, interior decorators (S.A. Statistics 1990 : 5.49 - 5.50).

The tertiary institutions in themselves do not seem to be sexist as the other 'preceding' institutions. This is evidenced by the fact the sexes are free to choose the courses that the individual likes.

4.8 Careers Education

Girls do not have tactile experiences with technical toys as the boys. Boys have first-hand experiences in the play way of learning with the technical software and hardware which they would handle in later life. Added to it, girls are made to believe by their teachers that they do not have the head for mathematics and its related disciplines (Robin, 1986; Kelly 1987).

Inextricably entwined with the above are the two myths that women do not work after marriage, used as justification for not training them or discouraging their advancement, and that there are some jobs women cannot or should not do simply because they are women. Planners of education for a vocation divide boys and girls for what are seen as mutually exclusive crafts - domestic welfare subjects (mother-craft, nursing, child-care etc.) for girls and more dextrous and work-centured crafts suited for skilled employment for boys (Stanworth, 1987; Sayers, 1987). The casting of girls into a domestic role is universal. Girls' attitude to school are affected by their social backgrounds, personality and ability, and the sheer implication of being female. Some girls see a job as a time-filler between leaving school and getting married. Most see the dichotomy between marriage, home-making and full-time employment (Macdonald, 1980; Thomas, 1990; Sharpe, 1976). This notion has its roots in prejudiced attitudes and the lack of opportunities for women to work outside. There is divided opinion between girls on career and non-career girls (Okely, 1987). Some feel they should fill dual roles and other feel that those who want to marry should forego careers and vice-versa (Macdonald, 1980).

Many women are now fulfilling three roles - mothers, housewives and career women (Poonsamy, Tasa Journal, 1985). This appears to be very true of Indian women for whom marriage is obligatory and at an early age at that. Motherhood is assumed to accompany marriage. With the rise in the level of education of

the Indian women and concomitant rise in standard of living and the attraction of the job market, it is becoming rare to find an educated Indian spinster who is home-bound.

4.9 Allocation of Resources

The different actual investment in education of boys and girls respectively is sharply illustrated by the fact boys outnumber girls in higher education and men outnumber women in tertiary institutions - for example, the universities, the costliest of all education institutions (Deem, 1980). The fact that most girls either drop out after Std 10 to work in the industry or attend the training and technical colleges usually for a non-academic education and the fact that they do not register at a university is proof enough of the discriminatory investment in girls' education (Bryne, 1978).

The differential financing of Indian education becomes transparent when the curricula offered at comprehensive secondary schools are considered. For example, in technology, the heavy machinery used in the Woodwork, Metalwork, Leatherwork, Motor-mechanics centres for boys is far more costly than the equipment used in the girls' Domestic Science centres. The cost of equipment in the science laboratories which are the preserves of boys, cannot be ignored. Discriminatory funding of education denies girls the full opportunity, equal quality and quantity of resources (Thomas, 1990; Leder, 1986).

The state subsidizes most private schools. Private schools are essentially elitist schools to which the wealthy send their children, particularly their sons, to receive an education so that they would children to take control of the economy, and thereby maintain the status quo. Since women do not hold executive positions in companies and firms, there is no need for them to be given this type of education. Therefore, we get fewer females at private schools the world over (Brehony, 1987).

In times of crises, some families terminate the schooling of their daughters so that their resources could be channelled into the education of their sons. "A daughter's prospects would be cheerfully sacrificed to pay for an expensive education for their sons" (French, 1990:3). This is very true of those Indian parents who believe that it is of no economic profit to the family to educate girls (Discussed earlier).

4.10 The Teachers and the Taught

4.10.1The Staffing of Schools

Staffing of schools is dependent largely on two factors: the stratification of knowledge and the division of labour. Pre-primary schools and primary schools are feminised whereas the secondary schools appear to be more masculine in character. The notion that women represent the mother image and that they possess a caring nature makes women more suited to teach

primary school children. There are only three male teachers in Indian pre-primary schools although a few males do teach infants in the primary schools (Fakir, 1992).

4.10.2 The School Hierarchy

A sociological view of the Indian school would reveal that it is both a hierarchical and a bureaucratic institution. The structure of the school ratifies the notion of the dominant position of males and the subordinated positions of women in South African society. The hierarchical structures are strongly sexist with the result that in co-educational and single-sex boys' schools the head teacher is almost always a male and right down the hierarchy the higher-status positions are filled by males. In the Indian schools most of the female heads of department control junior primary education and very few rise above this status. The picture is different in single-sex girls' schools, of which there are very few. At these schools, the headteacher, the deputy head teachers, the heads of departments and the teachers are bound to be all women (Blount, 1990). In certain instances, however, the head teacher could very well be a male.

The administration and management structures at Indian schools also reinforce the notions of sex-role stereotyping in children. The children, of course, are at the base of the hierarchical and bureaucratic pyramid found at the schools and they are affected by the pressure exerted by the bureaucracy all the way down. Apart from the teaching staff, the Superintendents of Education (Academic and Management), the authority figures who visit the

schools are mostly males. The few females present in this segment of the bureaucracy, mainly supervise Junior Primary Education, Domestic Science, Physical Education, etc - subjects bearing connotations of 'low' status. The caretakers of the schools are men but most secretaries, cleaners and nurses are women (Blount, 1990). Almost all of the chairpersons of the Parent-Teacher Associations are males. Although the male prefects and the female prefects seem to be proportionate in terms of boy-girls ratios at schools, the head-boys seems to be more dominant than the head-girls.

4.10.3 The Conditions of Service of Teachers

The most noticeable form of discrimination against women teachers is to be found in the conditions. In Indian education, not only did men and women earn differential salaries until 30 June 1992, for equal work, married women are placed on temporary status; they do not have access to medical aid schemes and state housing subsidy schemes if they are not the principal breadwinners. They are not allowed to contribute to a Widowers' Pension Fund whereas their male counterparts contribute to a Widows' Pension Fund. The most unjust discrimination that follows a female teachers' marriage is her temporary teacher status - a source of anxiety to her because of the insecurity. Whyte (1985) sums up the discrimination against married women, succinctly : "Women are penalised for having children in contrast to men who receive promotion on the ground they have children to support".

4.10.4 Male Teacher-Female Teacher Relationships

Although male and female teachers appear to adopt a civil and professional attitude towards each other, their relationship does not always appear to be free of tensions at Indian schools. The strong influence of patriarchy in the home and at school makes the Indian female teachers 'oblivious' to or 'tolerant' of the existence of discrimination against them. Sporadically, however, female teachers tend to object to the discrimination against them. The commonest remarks seem to centre on the equal qualification/equal work but unequal remuneration issues.

Sexist male teachers would challenge the claims of the feminist teachers for equal remuneration thus: male teachers are responsible for discipline in schools; male teachers spend more time on extra-curricular activities such as sports, especially when the women teachers are pregnant; male teachers are absent from school far less frequently than women (who stay away to nurse sick children etc); and since the males 'are physically stronger' than female teachers they bear a heavier work-load at school.

Feminists/non-sexists are now mobilizing at schools but the presence of two schools of thought - the traditionalists and trendies - is slowing down the process of conscientizing the teachers and transforming the traditionalists into new ways (Kelly, 1987). Kelly and

others have found the traditionalists comprise men and women, that the older teachers and non-graduates are more sexist and that women are more emphatic in the expression of feminist/non sexist ideas.

4.10.5 Teacher-Pupil Relationships

According to Randall (1987), French (1990) and Davies (1991), several researchers have found that boys receive far more attention in the classroom. Boys are more active than girls; they both initiate more and receive more teacher-initiated contacts; they are asked more questions and they make more contributions to discussions in the classroom; and they receive more praises and critical comments than girls do. Serbin (1984), found that the boys are much more exuberant in the classroom; they occupy the centre stage and the girls are on the periphery - in short, boys are more visible. Not only do teachers choose boys to participate more often than girls, but boys are more likely to choose themselves, for example, by calling out answers even if they are not asked. The teachers are likely to allow male pupils to monopolise lessons because they themselves were socialised into believing that male pupils' contributions in lessons are of more value than the female pupils' (Randall, 1987).

It appears that one of the reasons for teachers' giving more attention to boys is discipline. When teachers identify potentially troublesome fellows, who would disrupt the

others have found the traditionalists comprise men and women, that the older teachers and non-graduates are more sexist and that women are more emphatic in the expression of feminist/non sexist ideas.

4.10.5 Teacher-Pupil Relationships

According to Randall (1987), French (1990) and Davies (1991), several researchers have found that boys receive far more attention in the classroom. Boys are more active than girls; they both initiate more and receive more teacher-initiated contacts; they are asked more questions and they make more contributions to discussions in the classroom; and they receive more praises and critical comments than girls do. Serbin (1984), found that the boys are much more exuberant in the classroom; they occupy the centre stage and the girls are on the periphery - in short, boys are more visible. Not only do teachers choose boys to participate more often than girls, but boys are more likely to choose themselves, for example, by calling out answers even if they are not asked. The teachers are likely to allow male pupils to monopolise lessons because they themselves were socialised into believing that male pupils' contributions in lessons are of more value than the female pupils' (Randall, 1987).

It appears that one of the reasons for teachers' giving more attention to boys is discipline. When teachers identify potentially troublesome fellows, who would disrupt the

lessons or annoy or hurt other pupils, they try to curb them timeously (French, 1990; Davies, 1991). Teachers might, in terms of their experience or training, perceive boys to pose more of a disciplinary threat, and in anticipation of disciplinary problems, teachers give boys more attention. At other times teachers would chivvy boys to complete their work. Teachers, according to Stanworth (1987), find it very difficult to associate girls with their names - in short, they fail to remember girls by their names. She apportions part of the reason for the anonymity of girls to their reticence in the classroom. Girls who speak out in the class seem to be easily recognised but it is not clear how all the boys, even the quiet ones, are so easily identified and remembered by teachers. Their slowness at identifying girls tends to have strong implications, in that it seems to affect the comfort and involvement of female pupils because they take it as a sign of approval if teachers know their names immediately.

Linked to the notion of recognition are teachers' preferences. Some feminists suggest that most teachers seem to prefer boys and that they tend to be less tolerant of bad behaviour when girls as opposed to boys are involved. Girls seem to be more severely reprimanded for deviant behaviour than boys are, particularly by the female teachers, as they (the girls) are expected to be passive and compliant. Female teachers seem more likely to censure girls' misdemeanour simply because they themselves were socialised into being passive and compliant. This same-sex

identification of the women teachers and girls assumes that the girls ought to know the rules and reasons for the behaviour expected of them (French, 1990).

Stanworth (1987) reports that teachers are more optimistic for boys' life-chances than they are for girls'. Ironically, both male and female teachers tend to predict boys to get jobs involving responsibility and authority even though they might be academically weaker than girls. Teachers have marriage and parenthood in their visions of the future for their female pupils. They tend either to grossly underestimate the capabilities of the girls or predict that the more able would channel their capacities for efficiency and initiative into nurturant or subordinate occupations rather than into the less traditional spheres (Macdonald, 1980; Delamont, 1989).

Chandler (1980) and Benyon (1984) give an insight into how pupils perceive teachers. Most pupils find female teachers to be more friendly than male teachers. Girls report, furthermore, that they relate better to female teachers and that they have more fun in classes taught by females. Boys, on the other hand, nominate that male teachers are the most successful on all interpersonal dimensions. Both boys and girls name male teachers as the ones who know their subjects better are the more successful in delivering lessons, and advising the pupils on higher education careers (Thomas, 1990).

From evidence it appears that the pupils observe that boys seem to have the advantage over girls in classes taught by men and women teachers, in that the boys are the focus of activity and attention particular in the form where the interactions are initiated by the teacher. The girls are sidelined quite often (Delamont, 1989; French, 1990).

4.10.6 Male Pupil - Female Pupil Relationships

Stanworth (1987), studied boys and girls mixed classes. She reports that when boys are outspoken and manifestly confident, especially when teachers take more notice of boys, pupils (both boys and girls) usually see this as evidence that boys in general are more capable and more highly valued than girls. When pupils are ranked according to success in subjects, both girls and boys would overestimate boys and underestimate girls. The data on pupils' ranking combined with the comments of the pupils themselves would strongly support the notion that the prominence of the boys in the classroom interactions is crucial to the regeneration of a sexual hierarchy, in which the boys tend to be the indisputable dominant partners. Girls appear to boys and, more importantly, to themselves to be less capable than they really are.

From evidence it appears that girls are more aware of their male classmates and more careful about their comments on them than boys are about girls. Girls seem to recognise the

names of their classmates but most boys acknowledge female classmates only in term of the low opinion in which those girls seem to be held.

When pupils are asked to name the pupils they would identify with, they tend to name same sex pupils. Boys are always reluctant to recognise girls as equals. In boys' opinion, girls' reticence renders them academically weak and, on this basis, boys pronounce girls as lacking in ambition and commitment (Leder, 1986). Girls and boys are wary of comparing themselves in a positive way with the members of the opposite sex.

4.10.7 Sexual Harassment

In Indian schools girls seem to be harassed by boys mainly and in some rare cases by male teachers (Naidoo, 1992). In addition, women teachers are sometimes subjected to harassment by the male teachers. Some male personnel tend to use their positions of power to take advantage of some 'defenceless' females. Most of the victims appear to 'ignore' their male colleagues' overtures, fearful that they might be victimised or smudge their family reputation by reporting the culprits.

In the Indian community pre-marital and/or teenage pregnancy is still a taboo. If a school girl becomes pregnant she is either withdrawn from school by parents to 'save' the family reputation or excluded by the school authorities to avert 'bad' publicity for the school (Maharaj, 1992).

4.11 Conclusion

It appears from the evidence that sexism in education is universal. The home, the community and the school share joint responsibility for socially constructing gender and perpetuating the notions of gender differences. Education facilitates the process of gender differentiation, often empowering males at the expense of females. Indian education appears to be as sexist as the other systems in the world. The Indian girls, like their other Black counterparts in South Africa, have suffered 'double jeopardy', that of sexism and racism.

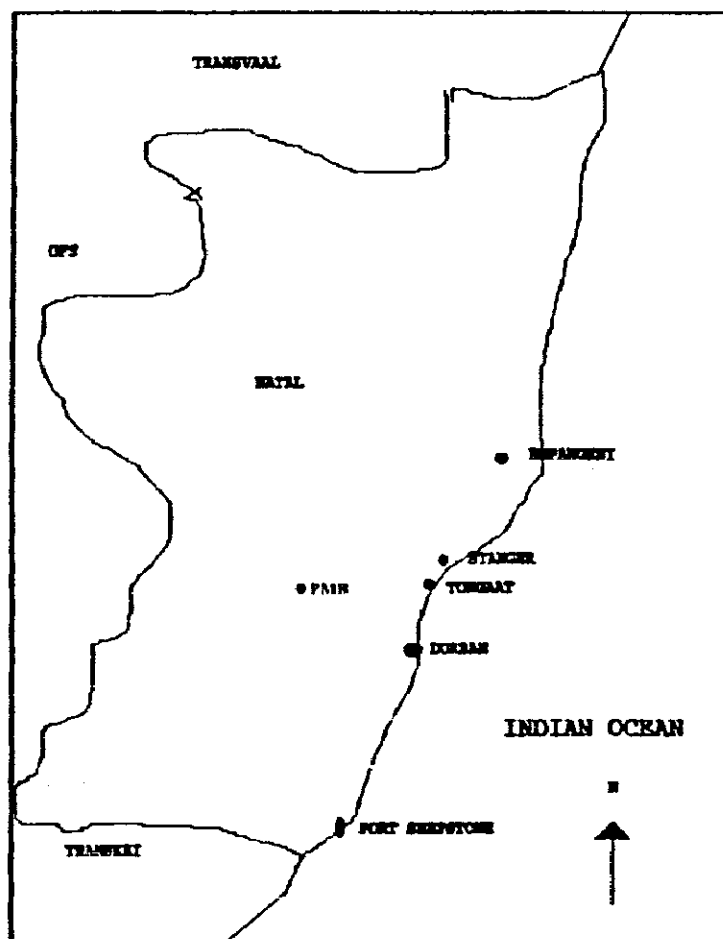
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Situation

The research was conducted in Tongaat, a large sugar-milling town on the North Coast of Natal, about 43km north of Durban and 130km south of Empangeni.

FIG 5.1



Tongaat lies in the heartland of the sugar industrial area pioneered by the 1860 Indian immigrants. In fact, part of the first group of the Indian labourers who arrived in 1860 were settled on the Tongaat Sugar Estate (Meer, 1980:7) and it was here that no less than five generations of Indians lived and transformed from indentured labourers to fully fledged South African citizens, still cleaving however, to a large measure, to their traditions, customs and values. This factor alone has made this locality ideal to study the attitudes - the change or otherwise - of the Indians towards the education of their girls.

There were other reasons for the choice of this locality for study. The Indian population of Tongaat was considered to be a good representation of the South African Indian population, since 71,6% of the population of Tongaat are Indians. The 1991 census figures reflect : total population : 62000; Indian population : 44 400 (Greenway, 1993). Tongaat is an urban area situated in a rural setting. The inhabitants belong to various economic backgrounds - professionals, business - people, factory-workers, sugar-mill labourers, farm-labourers etc. It was possible to reach these people quite easily for their opinions. There are fourteen schools in Tongaat-ten primary and four secondary-which constitute a sizeable student/teacher population from which the researcher selected his subjects. Furthermore the urban conditions and the close proximity of the schools, one to the other, made accessibility very easy. These conveniences made it possible for the reseacher to reach his subjects, personally, at short notice.

5.2 The Subjects

Since this is a study in the field of sociology of education, it has as its main concerns, people's attitudes, values, beliefs, traditions and customs, their ideals and aspirations against the background of education. For this purpose, the researcher chose to study parents, students and teachers, as they are intrinsically or inextricably involved in the education process.

The population selected for study comprised the following groups.

- . 20 parents - 10 fathers and 10 mothers
- . 14 principles - 12 males and 2 females
- . 100 teachers - 50 males and 50 females
- . 280 students - 140 males and 140 females

As there were only two female principals in the Tongaat Indian Schools, it was not possible to select male and female principals on 'Equal Allocation' basis as it was done in the categories of subjects. To have selected two males and two females would have reduced this sample to too small a size. This reduction might have rendered the sample unrepresentative. Consequently, it was decided to include all the principal in the study.

Care was taken to select students and teachers on a proportional allocation and/or stratification sampling based on the student and the teacher population at the schools and the parents were selected from as varied a background as possible.

According to Wiersma (1980) and Shipman (1992) these methods of sampling enhance representativeness, and reduce the chances of fluke samples. Shipman (1992) asserts that choosing 10 clients from a group of 100 homogeneous clients is an adequate sample to be studied.

5.3 The Selection of Subjects

5.3.1 The Parents

It was originally intended to select parents to be studied randomly but owing to constraints of the availability of and the accessibility to the parents, sampling became problematic. Parents were selected by the "Snowball Sampling" technique. This technique of sampling is conducted in stages. It involves identifying certain key clients or groups in a population, interviewing them and then asking them to suggest others who might be willing to be interviewed. In this way, the original small group of people grows by adding more and more people to it in stages. The term Snowball Sampling derives from the natural phenomenon snowball, which begins small but grows in size as more flakes are added to it.

The researcher was aware that this method of sampling would not yield a sample truly representative of the parents. McNeill (1985) and Bailey (1987) amply elucidate this shortcoming. Added to it, McNeill makes the point that this method is less systematic than all the other methods. On the other hand, Bailey asserts that this method of sampling has become increasingly popular after Ten

Houten et al (1971) had remedied the problem, having developed a strategy for drawing a probabilistic snowball sample, thus allowing computation of sampling error and the use of statistical tests of significance. Bailey suggests that if a researcher wishes the Snowball Sample to be probabilistic, he/she sample randomly within the different stages. According to Bailey, Biernacki and Waldorf (1981), who referred to the "Snowball Sampling" as "Chain Referral Sampling", found that this method is particularly useful in the study of deviant subcultures (eg heroin addicts) where respondents may not be as visible and routine sampling might be impracticable. Cohen and Manion (1989) say that researcher King (1978) used this technique successfully in looking at various methods of social control used by infant teachers in three schools in Britain in 1979, and Patton (1990) says that Peter and Waterman (1982) used this technique to study excellence in well-run companies and Kanter (1983) to study innovations in companies in the business sector.

Against this background, the researcher proceeded to use the 'Snowball' method. In the investigation, identification or visibility of the clients was not the problem but the availability of and accessibility to the clients were. The researcher used the principals as informants to identify the initial group of parents who were available and willing to be interviewed. The reseacher, thereafter, used these parents to lead him to other prospective interviewees. Language and culture were not issues in selecting samples as the clients belonged to a homogeneous group in these respects, but their religious and social positions in terms of economic endowment were considered. The researcher was

careful to study people from the three major religious groups in the community (Hindus, Christians and Muslims) and a cross-section of parents from the different social strata. In total, 20 parents, 10 fathers and 10 mothers, were interviewed using the schedule, app C1.

5.3.2 The Principals

As the principals are the chief administrators at the schools and the local representatives of the department of education in the House of Delegates, they became one of the target groups for study. The 14 principals studied, it can be argued, constitute a gross under-representation of a department which controls the education of some 280 000 students in the country (South Africa : 1991-92., Official Year Book). The stratification of this segment of the population into male and female groups compounds the problems related to 'Small Sample Size' as the female group comprises 2 respondents only. Consideration should be given to the fact that the sampling of this segment was circumscribed by the size of the segment available in the locality where the study was conducted rather by the choice of the subjects for study.

The researcher was aware of the methodological restrictiveness in studying such a small sample, keeping in mind that the purpose of the study is to measure attitudes toward sexist/non sexist education. Some educational researchers like Babbie (1990) and Shipman (1988) assert that the larger samples produce smaller sampling errors. But other scholars have different views on small sample sizes. Bailey (1987) and Shipman (1988), for example,

asserts that the probability theory can definitely assure us that a relatively small sample size is adequate. They argues that a small sample size would leave a smaller margin for sample errors and, since a smaller group would be studied, it obviates the task of dealing with a large population which might not be sophisticated enough to participate in studies involving statistics and so forth. In addition, Borg and Gall (1989) found that in many educational researches, small samples were more appropriate than large ones. They argue that a study which probes deeply into the characteristics of a small sample often yields more knowledge than a study which probes the same problem by collecting data on a large sample.

To circumvent the shortcomings in the use of the 'Small Sample Size', considering, first, the fewness of the principals as a whole and second, the fewness of the female principals in particular the researcher devised the survey that yielded invaluable statistical data to augment the data which were derived from the questionnaires designed to measure the principals' attitudes. Furthermore, since 414 individuals were studied in an equal male-female ratio, the small size of the principals' sample was considered not to be a serious inadequacy. The 14 principals answered the questionnaire (app A4) and completed the survey schedule (app B), providing adequate information on the status quo at the schools.

5.3.3 The Teachers

As the teachers were studied outside school hours, it became necessary to select the subjects within the constraints of willingness and availability of the teachers. The researcher was aware of the methodological restrictiveness of sampling within these constraints. To reduce sampling errors and enhance the reliability of the inputs made by the subjects, it was decided to use a combination of several approaches to sample the teachers.

As the 'Stratified Random Sampling' proved to be unworkable in this part of the investigation, a combination of the the 'Stratified Sampling' and other techniques were used. Of the 372 teachers in Tongaat, it was decided to study only 100, which was considered to be an adequate representation. The selected sub-population of 100 was further stratified into two groups - males and females - on an 'Equal Allocation' basis. This method of sampling, according to Wiersma (1980), obviates sampling errors in respective of representativeness.

Thereafter, it was decided to select, the teachers from each of the 14 schools on a 'Proportional Allocation' basis. Wiersma (1980) says that through this method of sampling each stratum contributes to the sample a number that is proportional to the size of the sub-population. Further, stratified sampling of this sort guards against wild samples and ensures that no sub-population is omitted from the sample and avoids overloading in certain subpopulations. In the sampling of subjects at each school consideration was given to the numerical size of

the male and female members of the teaching staff. The division of the schools into primary and secondary sections added another dimension to the stratification of the teachers studied.

At the schools, the headteachers selected the subjects using the procedure 'Volunteer Samples'. Borg and Gall (1989) found that this technique of sampling is a better option than the 'Nonvolunteer Samples' for educational researchers, since the demands made on the subjects in educational researches are far greater than those in other researches, for example, in public opinion polls, where a few questions are posed and the study takes only a few minutes in a 'Random Sampling' procedure. Educational researchers seldom get co-operation from all the subjects selected randomly. In view of these conditions, most of the educational researches have to be conducted with volunteer subjects. Borg and Gall (1989) concede that the subjects are likely to be biased samples of the population since the volunteers have been found to differ from non-volunteers. But, Rosenthal and Rosnow's study in 1975, allays the fear of some of the pitfalls in 'Volunteer Sampling'. They say that volunteers, instead, tend to be better educated, more intelligent, sociable, progressive and ambitious, more in need of social approval and less authoritative than non-volunteers. These characteristics in the volunteers impact on the research results, depending on the specific nature of the investigation.

Against the background of the restrictiveness and the pitfalls in using the 'Volunteer Samples' for study, it is thought that the use of the several techniques of sampling has greatly reduced the sampling errors and enhanced the reliability of the data derived.

Altogether, 30 male teachers and 30 females teachers completed the questionnaire (app A3) and 20 male teachers and 20 female teachers were interviewed, using the schedule (app C4). These questionnaires were handed to the Principals of the schools chosen for study and collected after completion by the researcher personally.

5.3.4 Students

A total of 280 students were selected for study. It would have been an impossible task to study approximately 4 000 students in the Tongaat schools. Therefore, it became necessary to select the students for study by the process of 'Stratified Sampling'. This approach is advocated by researchers like Babbie (1990), Borg and Gall (1989), Tuckman (1978), Bailey (1987) and Wiersma (1980), when there is a large population to be studied. These researchers argue that 'Stratified Sampling' ensures a greater degree of representativeness and a smaller sampling error, since it is a process which divides the population into homogeneous groups or sub-populations, each containing subjects with similar characteristics - class, sex, age etc.

First, the subjects were stratified into two groups the primary school students and secondary school students. Second, the subjects were stratified in terms of their economic and social backgrounds. For this purpose, three primary schools and two secondary schools were chosen in the elite areas (code named area A) and three primary schools and two secondary schools were chosen in the more depressed areas (code named Area B) of Tongaat. The 280 students studied were selected from the two sections - primary and secondary - on an 'Equal Allocation' basis. This procedure was repeated in the stratification of the samples into the male and the female groups in both the sections (of schools).

The 240 students who answered questionnaires were selected on an 'Equal Allocation' basis in the following manner : 60 Std ten students at each of two secondary schools (one in area A and the other in area B) and 60 Std five students at each of two primary schools (one in area A and the other in area B). At each school, it was decided, to select the students for study by the process of 'Stratified Random Sampling' to reduce bias and enhance representativeness. This technique is espoused, especially by Tuckman, as he hints below:

While randomness is the key to overcoming selection bias in sampling, stratification adds precision in insuring that the sample contains the same proportional distribution of respondents on selected parameters as the population.

(Tuckman, 1978 : 230)

Of the 40 students who participated in the interviews, 20 were senior students and, other 20 were junior students (primary) from the other schools not involved in the questionnaire surveys in areas A and B. These subjects were divided into male and female groups on an 'Equal Allocation' basis. Further, the interviewees were selected by the process of 'Volunteer Sampling', advocated by Borg and Gall (1989).

In total, 120 senior students (60 males and 60 females) and 120 junior students (60 males and 60 females) completed the questionnaires, app A2 and app A1 respectively, and, 20 senior students (10 males and 10 females) and 20 junior students (10 males and 10 females) were interviewed, using the schedules app C3 and app C2 respectively.

5.4 Methods of Collecting Data

5.4.1 Introduction

As the purpose of this study is to see what the implications of a sexist or a non-sexist education are for the Indian females, it was realised that several methods of data collection had to be employed. Because of the nature of the groups studied, each group had to be approached differently, and by a method which would yield factual data as well as qualitative data which reflected attitudes. It is generally recognised by researchers that

... the self-reported approach incorporated in questionnaires and interviews does present certain problems because a) respondents must co-operate when completing a questionnaire or interview, b) they must tell what is - rather than what they think ought to be or

what they think the researcher would like to hear, and c) they must know what they feel and think in order to report it.

(Tuckman, 1978 : 197)

Other scholars like McNeill (1985), Wiersma (1980) and Borg and Gall (1989), Patton (1990) and Steier (1991), however, point out that the questionnaires and interviews, with their qualities of flexibility and adaptability, can be used to gather data which can be fairly reliable. To further circumvent the pitfalls in these methods of data gathering, it was decided to use the survey, which was designed to gather statistical data specifically. This data was used to validate the other data gleaned by the use of the questionnaires and interviews in the 'Triangulation Method' of data-processing-(discussed later). McNeill (1985) and Wiersma (1980) are of the opinion that the survey is the most reliable method of gathering statistical data on the status quo because of its standardisation, neutrality and objectivity.

Despite the limitations in each of the above mentioned approaches, it was decided that they could be fruitfully employed to collect data from a large population.

5.4.2 The Questionnaire Schedules

To extract the necessary data from the principals, teachers and students on sexist/non-sexist issues in education, it was decided to use questionnaires. According to several scholars, for example, Patton (1990), Steier (1991), Borg and Gall (1989), Babbie

(1990), Cohen and Manion (1989), McNeil (1985) and Shipman (1992), the questionnaires and interviews are the most widely used data-gathering instruments.

A questionnaire consists of a list of questions-close-ended and/or open-ended - to be asked by the researcher. For the close-ended questions the researcher provides multiple-choice answers, to which the subjects respond. It is structured in such a manner that the questions are asked in exactly the same way of every respondent. A questionnaire could be administered in a face-to-face situation or posted to the respondents or published in newspapers or magazines, when it will be completed by the respondents without any supervision or guidance. A questionnaire is designed to gather data from a large population.

The close-ended questions in questionnaires place limits on respondents since they are required to give specific responses. Wiersma (1980) who terms this type of questions 'forced-response items', finds that it enhances the consistency of the responses across the respondents and that the data tabulation is generally straightforward and less time-consuming. Furthermore, Wiersma finds no problem with the 'boxing-in' by the close-ended questions if the forced-response items produce the required data. However, McNeill has problems with close-ended questions (with multiple choice answers) as they do not have provision to allow respondents to say what they feel. But Cohen and Manion (1989) and Bailey (1987) recommend that open-ended questions be avoided when self-completion questionnaires are prepared. They argue that open-ended

questions require superior writing skills to complete, that the completion by the respondents and the probing of the meaning by the researcher are both difficult and time-consuming, that the data collected in this manner could be worthless and that the length of the questionnaires could make the prospective respondents reluctant to complete them. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that it is very difficult to standardise the varied responses of the subjects.

The researcher was aware of the problems accompanying the use of the questionnaires but this method of data collection remained the best option as it was expected to reach a large population quite easily and have a high return rate. The questionnaires were structured in such a manner that the data collected were, in the main, unambiguous and easily processed. In designing the questionnaires, consideration was given to the stratification of the population in the school situation - the subjects' age range, their level of development and the levels at which the individuals operated. The two questionnaires (app A1 and A2), designed for students of early adolescence and late adolescence respectively, were structured in such a manner that they could have been completed in a single Guidance period under the 'supervision' of the Guidance-Counsellor/teacher. In the case of the principals' and the teachers' questionnaires (app A3 and A4) the researcher included open-ended and semi-open-ended questions, especially on issues where there could be wide-ranging insights (vide questions 14 to 19). To further circumvent the shortcomings in the forced-response items where the researchers' stereotyped

answers led to the derivation of restricted insights, it was decided to interview a sample of students, teachers and parents to gain new insights.

To pretest the validity of the questionnaires a pilot study was run on a limited scale and approval for the questionnaires was received from the participants. The execution of the questionnaire is discussed under 5.4.6. below.

5.4.3 The Survey Schedule

‘A social survey is a method of obtaining large amounts of data, usually in a statistical form, from a large number of people in a relatively short time’ (McNeill, 1985 : 17). According to Wiersma (1980), Babbie (1990) and others, studies in education conducted to determine the status quo are termed school surveys, status surveys or just surveys. These surveys are conducted to gather facts rather than to manipulate variables.

Borg and Gall (1989) and Bailey (1987) distinguish between two types of surveys – the cross-sectional and the longitudinal. In the longitudinal surveys, data are collected over a period of time in order to study the changes or explain time-ordered associations. Cross sectional surveys, on the other hand, involve data collection at one point in time, from one or more samples representing two or more subpopulations. According to Bailey (1987), most survey studies are in theory cross-sectional, even though in practice they take several weeks or months to

complete but they have to be completed within the same year. The questions are standardised so that the researcher administers the same instrument to all the subjects.

A survey can also take the form of questionnaires or interviews but since the data gathered in these forms are varied and subjective, it is difficult to quantify them. The information gathered in a statistical survey is assumed to be quantifiable (Borg and Gall, 1989).

It was decided to use the cross-sectional survey to gather statistical data, which was completed by the principals during March 1993. The school principals were targeted because, they, as the chief administrators at schools, are in the best position to supply accurate statistical data on the status quo at the schools (vide app B). As the other data collecting instruments elicit information on attitudes which may be influenced by prejudices, the survey was considered to be especially valuable as it would provide unambiguous data pertaining to the status quo at the schools. For example, if the question of women's opportunities for promotion were posed to the subjects in the interviews, their responses would easily be confirmed or contradicted by the information gleaned on page 1 of the survey (app B) by the process of 'Triangulation of Methods'.

Unlike the census surveys or the polls to measure politicians' popularity, which are conducted on a large population, the statistical survey in this study was conducted on a small sample size, the restriction being placed by the limited number of schools

in Tongaat Central to be studied. However, a sample of 14 schools was considered to be an adequate representation and the data gathered proved to be invaluable in augmenting the verbal responses of the subjects in the questionnaires and interviews.

To pretest the validity of the statistical survey, a pilot run was conducted at two schools where the principals found the survey to be valid. The execution of this survey is discussed under 5.4.6. below.

5.4.4 The Interview Schedules

The interview is a face-to-face conversation, an oral exchange, between an interviewer and an individual or a group of individuals. It is initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him/her on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation (Cohen and Manion, 1978; Wiersma, 1980).

Divided opinion exists among scholars as to whether interviews and questionnaires are different or if one is contained in the other. Babbie (1990) and Tuckman (1978) see no distinction, while Wiersma (1980) is hesitant in drawing any distinctions but Kidder (1981), Bailey (1987), McNeill (1985) and Cohen and Manion (1989) draw clear distinctions between them. Some of the main differences the researchers focus on are the types of questions, adaptability, subjectivity and reliability. The interview, since the schedule consists mainly of open-ended questions

allows for flexibility so that the interviewer is able to adapt the interviewing process to probe with further questions to clarify the responses of the subjects. While flexibility, adaptability and human interactions are the strengths of the interviews, they also allow for subjectivity and possible bias, making interviews less reliable than questionnaires.

The overall advantages of interviews are that the questionnaire can be completed only by people who could write, but the interview can be conducted with people who can't read or write and that the respondents would, if they trust the interviewer, divulge information that they might not in a questionnaire in respect of negative aspects of self or others. These aspects were quite relevant in the interviews of the parents and the junior students.

According to Borg and Gall (1989) McNeill (1985), Morgan (1988), Patton (1990) an interview schedule can be highly structured, semi-structured or unstructured. These scholars are of the opinion that within a single interview, the questions asked by the interviewer may vary along the entire continuum. Research in education, using the interview, generally includes some highly structured questions (eg. facts, opinions, multiple-choice questions) in the interview schedule. Having asked these questions, the interviewer probes with open-ended questions and with the responses to these questions, the interviewer may probe deeper for additional insight into the central concerns. The

semi-structured interview has the advantage of, whilst allowing the interviewee to express opinions and to give reasons for his/her answers, being reasonably objective.

The semi-structured interview is seen to be the most appropriate for interview studies in education. It was against this background that the researcher opted to construct the four schedules (app C1, C2, C3 and C4) for interviewing the students, teachers and parents, respectively. The questions reflected the over-riding themes obtaining in sexist/non-sexist education. Most of the questions were repeated in the guidelines prepared for the different groups in terms of the varying degree of complexity to suit the interviewees' levels of development, literacy, age, operation etc.

The responses from the interviewees were considered to be invaluable in augmenting the data gathered through the use of the questionnaires and the survey. They also helped in abetting and/or contradicting some of the responses/data. In this regard, of special interest were the responses of the parents as these reflect the attitudes obtaining in the community in which the schools exist. The researcher found that, despite the personal prejudices, the parents' responses provided new insights into the Indian parents' attitude to their girls' education.

For reasons which are discussed in 5.4.5 below, it was decided not to subject the interview schedule to a pilot study. The implementation of this schedule is discussed in 5.4.6 below.

5.4.5 Pilot Study

To illuminate the major problems accompanying the questionnaires and the survey construction, and the misunderstanding and faulty responses resulting from vague or ambiguous questions, it was decided to conduct a small scale pilot study with the express purpose of testing each for vagueness and ambiguity. Another reason for the study was to determine if there were questions which asked for information of such a sensitive nature that the respondents would refuse to answer them.

The purpose of a pilot study is to refine the data-collection instrument including the elimination of ambiguities and misunderstandings, correction of deficiencies etc. Several scholars have cited instances where pilot studies were successfully conducted. For examples, Cohen and Manion (1989) report that in 1973 the New Zealand Council for Educational Research used this technique to pretest a reading scheme in two schools where over half the intake were Maori children, Bailey (1987) reports that the University of California pilot ran their questionnaire survey on a housing project in a Los Angeles Metropolitan area in 1971, Babbie (1990) says that communication researchers in the United States often pilot run media projects; and, Tuckman (1978) reports that in 1963, a researcher, C.R. Bryan used the pilot study in testing the validity of a questionnaire measuring 'Reactions to teachers by students, parents and administrators' through the Western Michigan University.

The subjects involved in the pilot study were selected from two schools - one primary school with Std 5 students and one secondary school. The principals and the Guidance-Counsellors/teachers were thoroughly briefed on the procedure involved in administering and/or completing the questionnaires (app A1, A2, A3, and A4) and the statistical survey (app B). The principals, 10 teachers (5 males and 5 females) and 20 students (10 males and 10 females) from each school were selected for the pilot study. The principals selected the teachers and the Guidance-Counsellors/teachers selected the students. The researcher handed the questionnaire (app A4) and survey (app B) to each of the principals to complete and the principals distributed the questionnaire (app A3) to the teachers and collected them after completion. The Guidance-Counsellors/teachers administered the questionnaire (app A1) at the primary school and the questionnaire (app A2) at the secondary school, which were completed in a single Guidance period and collected thereafter.

Each participant was asked to complete the questionnaire or survey and then comment on the questions on separate sheets of paper. The students were asked to make verbal comments to the Guidance-Counsellors/teachers who administered the questionnaires, who then recorded them accordingly, on the relevance/irrelevance or the distastefulness/usefulness of the questions. Consensus of opinions was that the questions were relevant and very interesting. One teacher, however, found some of the questions rather sexist and, therefore, contemptible. For example, to question 21 in appendix A3, one teacher said this: "Your assumption that teachers are sexist in their approach must

be treated with contempt". The two principals, on the other hand, concurred that the statistical survey (app B) was not flawed in a serious way but they encountered problems in completing the table on page 5 logically. For example, some teachers taught in the two phases-junior secondary and senior secondary-and it was difficult to arrive at an accurate total with such overlaps. It was pointed out to these principals that overlaps and inaccuracies were envisaged and for those reasons data gathered would be computed in such instances in terms of percentages to overcome the problem. At subsequent briefings the problem was carefully explained to the principals. No changes to the questionnaires or the statistical survey were suggested and these data-gathering instruments were found to be valid.

Since the schedules (app C1, C2, C3 and C4) used in the interviews with parents, students and teachers did not focus on high-ranging specific issues which are pinpointed in an itemized way but were designed to elicit free ranging ideas, it was decided not to pilot study them, as there appeared to be no need for this.

5.4.6 Executing the questionnaires and survey and conducting the interviews

5.4.6.1 Questionnaires and Survey

The questionnaires (app A1, A2, A3 and A4) and the survey (app B) were distributed personally to the remainder of the schools in Tongaat (12 in all) by the researcher. To administer the questionnaires (app A1 and A2) two primary

schools and two secondary schools were selected. At each of the primary schools 60 students (30 males and 30 females) were selected to answer the questionnaire (app A1) and at the two secondary schools the same number of male and female students were selected to answer questionnaire (app A2). To ensure the maximum response rate, the Guidance-Counsellors/teachers at each of the schools selected were asked to administer the questionnaires and collect them at the end of a single Guidance period.

The teachers' questionnaire (app A3) was distributed to 60 teachers (30 males and 30 females) in the remaining 12 schools. The headteachers were responsible for the distribution and the collection of the questionnaire. Care was taken to select 30 teachers (15 males and 15 females) from the remaining nine primary schools and 30 teachers (15 males and 15 females) from the remaining three secondary schools to answer the questionnaire. The choice of the disproportionate numbers in terms of the nine primary schools and three schools-in favour of the secondary schools - was made to ensure equal inputs from the primary and the secondary schools.

The principals' questionnaire (app A4) and the survey (app B) were distributed to the 12 principals. To obtain a wide range of opinions and to update the statistical data, it was

considered important to include in the analysis of the research data, the inputs made by the two principals who participated in the pilot study.

The correct number of each data collecting instruments were packaged and delivered to each of the 12 schools personally by the researcher. A strict record of every piece of document distributed to each school was maintained. The principals and the Guidance-Counsellors/teachers at each of the schools were thoroughly briefed on the purpose of the study and how the researcher wanted the distribution and collection of the instruments to be done.

A fortnight later, on appointed days and dates, the researcher visited each school to collect the questionnaires and the statistical survey. About 80% of all the instruments were collected on the first visit and extra copies of the instruments were given to two or three schools which had lost same. A fortnight later the schools were revisited and about 90% of the outstanding instruments were collected. On the third and final visit to the schools which had not as at that date given in all the instruments, all outstanding documents were collected, making this field work attaining a response rate of 100%.

5.4.6.2 Interviews with Parents, Teachers and Students

To validate or contradict the factual data the opinions gathered in the survey and questionnaires it was thought necessary to interview another segment of population. A

selection of parents, students and teachers were interviewed. The greatest care was taken to ensure that the students and teachers who had participated in answering the questionnaires were not selected to be interviewed. The Guidance-Counsellors/teachers and the headteachers, who had administered the questionnaires to the students and teachers respectively, had lists of the names of those who participated. From the non-participants in both segments, these administrators selected two groups of interviewees using the 'Volunteer Sampling Method'. As stipulated in the conditions laid down by the Deputy-Director General in the House of Delegate's Department of Education and Culture in granting permission for conducting this research in the Tongaat Indian Schools, the interviews of students and teachers were conducted outside teaching time.

In the case of the students, cognisance had to be taken of the legal and ethical constraints requiring a researcher to obtain informed consent from parents and guardians of minors, before involving them in research projects (Borg and Gall, 1989). Therefore, once the volunteers were identified, a letter (app D) seeking permission from parents or guardians of prospective interviewees was sent and the replies were filed in alphabetical order and as arranged with the parents and the principals, the students like the teachers, were interviewed at their homes.

The names, addresses and the telephone numbers of the students were supplied by the parents or guardians in their returns and the details regarding the teachers were provided by the principals. Arrangements for the interviews were made telephonically in most cases, whilst, in the other cases where this was not possible the interviewees were contacted by the researcher personally a week in advance. The date and time of the interview was diarised and a day before the interview each interviewee was reminded of the interview.

Wiersma (1980), Babbie (1990) and Tuckman (1978) stress the importance of creating a friendly but business-like atmosphere before the interviewer conducts an interview. Babbie says that the interview will be most successful if the respondent is comfortable with the interviewer and what is one of the most important natural abilities the interviewer must have is the ability to very quickly determine how to make the respondent comfortable. Wiersma suggests that the interview should begin with gathering factual information about the respondent while establishing a rapport and delay personal or controversial questions (if any). While the interviewer probes with further questions, she/he must not 'colour' the questions nor the answers given. The interview should be a neutral medium through which questions and answers are transmitted. To build a rapport with and get good co-operation from the interviewees, Babbie suggests that interviewer dresses in a fashion fairly similar to the people he/she is interviewing.

However, Bailey (1987) has a different view, in that he says that the interviewer should dress like an 'establishment interviewer. What this means is wearing formal, simple clothes so that the interviewer does not appear to be higher nor lower in social status than the interviewees as far as possible. In order for the interviewer to be neutral he/she should avoid wearing rings or badges of clubs etc which show some sort of affiliation that might prejudice the interviewees. Pawney and Watts (1987) point out that in most research reports it is usually assumed that the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is an anonymous and a confidential one. Nevertheless, the interviewer, before asking the questions, should reassure the interviewee that the replies and comments will be treated as anonymous and where practical, confidential.

At the interviews, each client was made to feel at ease and was assured of the strictest confidence. A short, casual preamble was undertaken to get the client involved in the interview. As the interviewees responded to the questions, the researcher, with efforts to interfere as little as possible with the flow of the conversation, recorded the responses tersely. After the conclusion of the interviews, the researcher reviewed the notes and wrote out more comprehensive accounts of the interviews.

5.5 Conclusion

The objective of the field research was to gather data on hypotheses based on the sexist/non-sexist education that is provided for the girls in the Indian community. These hypotheses were formulated against the background of the sexism obtaining in education in other parts of the world. The three data-gathering instruments - questionnaires, survey and interviews - while they were different in their form and their implementation, were in fact fundamentally related, in that their content aimed at testing the hypotheses. The invaluable qualitative and quantitative data collected led to some general conclusion to be drawn.

- . The size of the sample is judged to be sufficient to validate results.
- . The various techniques employed in the sampling are considered to have enhanced the representativeness of the sample.
- . The multi-method of data-gathering is judged to be useful since it has enabled the study of the same phenomena from different perspectives, thus improving the accuracy of the judgments made.
- . The data gathered by the multi-method approach favours the analysis and interpretation by the 'Triangulation of Methods'.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

6.1. PREAMBLE

Two types of data were gathered - statistical data and descriptive data. Since this study is aimed at establishing certain attitudes towards Indian girls' education, the method of reporting ought to have been mainly the Qualitative Method. But there was a need to use statistics to elucidate the points of view. Therefore, the researcher used the Quantitative and Qualitative Methods to augment each other. To illuminate the report it was necessary to marry the two methods which could be described as a "triangulation". This may be defined as "the use of two or three methods of data collection in some aspects of social behaviour. In social sciences, "triangulation" techniques attempt to map out or explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and in so doing, making use of both qualitative and quantitative data" (Cohen and Manion, 1980:208).

The data obtained from the interviews, surveys and questionnaires were analysed as these preserve "the essential complexity and subtly of the material under investigation" (Cohen and Manion, 1980:283). The statistical data are presented first and then the descriptive data are presented to either abet or contradict the statistical data. The responses are

presented in the following order : the surveys, the parents' interview responses, the teachers' questionnaire and interview responses, and then the students' questionnaires and interview responses.

6.2. Presentation of Findings and Their Interpretation

6.2.1 Survey

6.2.1.1 Staff Disposition

The objective in of including this section was to establish what the status quo is, in terms of promotion posts held by male teachers and female teachers, in Tongaat schools, as table 6.2.1.1 indicates.

TABLE 6.2.1.1
Gender Bias in Promotion Posts

PROMOTION POST	NO OF MALES	%	NO OF FEMALES	%
1. Principal	12	85,7	2	14,3
2. Senior Deputy Principal	4	100	-	-
3. Deputy Principal	7	100	-	-
4. HOD -Junior Primary	1	12,5	7	87,5
5. HOD -Senior Primary	11	73,3	4	26,7
6. HOD -Secondary	25	86,2	4	13,8
TOTAL	60	78	17	22

Table 6.2.1.1 reveals a gross under-representation of females in promotion posts by the male/female ration of 60:17. The female teachers have hardly risen above the post of heads of departments. The male/female ratio of 1:7 among the JP heads

of department confirms feminist writers belief that the JP departments in schools are feminine in character (French, 1990; Blount, 1990; Sayers, 1987).

Overall, sexism is more prevalent in the secondary schools than in the primary schools, for, of the management staff in secondary schools, 88,6% are males and 11,4% are females, but in primary schools, 63,7% are males and 33,3% are females - a slightly different picture. What is noteworthy is that at one secondary school in Tongaat there isn't a single female on the management staff.

The inferences to be drawn from these findings are that the primary schools have more promotion opportunities for the female teachers and that the status quo at all schools reflects that the HOD's Department of Education and Culture is gender-biased. The reason for this is probably the fact that women are penalised for having children in contrast to men who receive promotion because they have children to support (Whyte, 1985).

6.2.1.2 Qualifications of Teachers

Feminist and non-sexist literature abound with evidence that male teachers are more highly qualified than female teachers. This empowers male teachers over female teachers. Against this background, it was decided to design this section which reveals the status quo at the Tongaat schools.

Some illuminating information was discovered, as indicated in Table 6.2.1.2 indicates.

TABLE 6.2.1.2
Qualifications of Teachers

QUALIFICATIONS Number of Teachers (administrators included) with	NO OF MALES				NO OF FEMALES			
	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Total	%	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Total	%
1. 1 Degree	14	42	56	54,4	23	24	47	45,6
2. 2 Degrees	18	21	39	66,1	10	10	20	33,9
3. 3 or more degrees	3	11	14	87,5	1	1	2	12,5
4. 1 teaching diploma	44	49	93	51,4	56	32	88	48,6
5. 2 teaching diplomas	11	7	18	42,9	17	7	24	57,1
6. 3 or more teaching diplomas	-	34	34	64,2	2	17	19	35,8
7. no prof. qualifications	-	-	-	-	18	2	20	100
TOTAL	90	164	254	53,6	127	93	220	46,4

The fact that 58,5% of the PS teachers are females and 63% of the teachers are males, confirms the motion that the primary schools are feminine in character and the secondary schools are masculine. Of the PS graduates, 51% are males and 49% are females, and of the diplomates, 42% are males and 58% are females. Fourteen percent of PS females teachers have no professional qualifications but only 2% of the SS female teachers have no professional qualifications. Of the SS graduates, 68% are males and 32% are females, and of the diplomates, 62% are males and 38% are females. It is significant that 20 females but no males are professionally unqualified. This confirms the strong belief of the feminists that men are more highly qualified than women (Deem, 1980; Byrne, 1978). Further, these women are probably employed as temporary teachers or locum tenentes

when there is a shortage. In this case, they would be retrenched when there is a surplus of teachers and made to join something like a 'reserve army', waiting to be recruited (Gericke, 1983).

6.2.1.3 Category Classification

This part of the survey was constructed to establish the statuses of male and female teachers in terms of qualifications.

TABLE 6.2.1.3
Teachers' Category Classification

CATEGORY CLASSIFICATION	NO OF MALES				NO OF FEMALES			
	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Total	%	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Total	%
1. M + 7	-	5	5	83,3	-	1	1	16,7
2. M + 6	16	16	32	78	5	4	9	22
3. M + 5	13	21	34	53,1	21	9	30	46,9
4. M + 4	18	57	75	52,4	35	33	68	47,6
5. M + 3	43	65	108	53,4	48	46	94	46,5
6. M + 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. M + 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Other	-	-	-	-	18	-	18	100
TOTAL	90	164	254	53,6	127	93	220	46,4

In categories M+3, M+4 and M+5, male teachers and female teachers enjoy more or less equivalent statuses. However, there is a marked difference between their statuses in categories M+6 and M+7 in the male/female ratio of 37:10. In the M+7 category, 4 males and 1 female possess masters degrees and only 1 male possesses a doctoral degree.

What is significant is that the SS male teachers are more highly qualified and would, therefore, enjoy a higher status than their counterparts. The SS female teachers, however, enjoy, more or less the same status as their male and female counterparts in the primary schools.

This implies that the males are freer to upgrade their qualifications while the females are preoccupied with family building thus blocking them from making advancement academically. These findings help to clarify the fear of success/fear of failure syndrome and self-fulfilling prophecy in the female the feminists talk about (vide Chapter 3).

6.2.1.4 Form Teachers

This part of the survey was designed to establish whether females or males were authoritative teachers in terms of discipline and control of pupils. Table 6.2.1.4 shows the position prevailing in the Indian schools in Tongaat.

Eighty-nine percent of the JP form teachers and 100% of the pre-primary school teachers are females.

TABLE 6.2.1.4
Allocation of Form Classes

MALES PHASES	FEMALES NO	%	TOTAL NO	%	NO
1. Junior Prim	7	11	56	89	63
2. Senior Prim	26	39,4	40	60,6	66
3. Junior Sec	38	55,9	30	44,1	68
4. Senior Sec	38	53,5	33	46,5	71
Remedial Educ	2	66,7	1	33,3	3
Special Educ	2	66,7	1	33,3	3
Bridging Module	-	-	7	100	7
TOTAL	113	40,5	168	59,5	281

The second highest concentration of female form teachers are to be found in the SP phase but the position is reversed in the junior secondary JS and the SS phases. It is significant that as the higher standards are approached the number of female form teachers decreases while the number of male form teachers correspondingly increases. The allocation of form classes in the Tongaat schools confirms the belief of writers like French (1990) and Sharpe (1976) that women are more suited to teach the little ones because of their motherliness and the men can control the senior students more effectively.

6.2.1.5 Staff Deployment

This section was designed to test the belief that the male teachers possess the academic endowment and the expertise to teach the senior classes in schools while the female teachers are only capable of teaching the lower classes, particularly the JP and pre-primary classes. Table 6.2.1.5 shows the deployment of teachers in the various categories in Tongaat Indian Schools.

TABLE 6.2.1.5
Staff Deployment

CATEGORIES	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL NO
	NO	%	NO	%	
Bridging Module	—	—	7	100	7
Special Educ	2	66,7	1	33,3	3
Remedial Educ	2	66,7	1	33,3	3
Junior Primary	7	11	56	89	63
Senior Primary	44	49,4	45	50,6	89
Junior Secondary	43	61,4	27	38,6	70
Senior Secondary	73	61,9	45	38,1	118
Other	13	68,4	6	31,6	19
TOTAL	184	49,5	118	50,5	372

This table reveals that 100% of the pre-school educators are females. It is also significant that of the teachers of the primary classes, 64,7% are females and of those who teach the secondary classes, 61,7% are males. This confirms the belief that the male teachers are 'more academically endowed' to teach the higher classes.

6.2.1.6 Subject Allocation

The purpose of this exercise was to establish which subjects are labelled 'male' or 'female', because the feminist writers claim that in sexist education 'female' subjects enjoy a lower status than 'male' subjects. Table 6.2.1.6 shows the position in Tongaat Indian schools.

TABLE 6.2.1.6
Subject Allocation

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	NO
1. C1i/C1ii/Std 1	7	11	56	89	63
2. English	39	49,4	40	50,6	79
3. Afrikaans	16	32	34	68	50
4. Maths	46	64,8	25	35,2	71
5. Science	27	67,5	13	32,5	40
6. History	16	48,5	17	51,5	33
7. Geography	23	63,9	13	36,1	36
8. Technology(Boys)	22	100	-	-	22
9. Technology(Girls)	-	-	16	100	16
10. Commerce	19	82,6	4	17,4	23
11. Physical Educ.	16	48,5	17	51,5	33
12. Music	4	26,7	11	73,3	15
13. Others	19	44,2	24	55,8	43
TOTAL	254	48,5	270	51,5	524

Some 57,3% of the language teachers are females and 65,8% of the Maths and Science teachers are males. The fact that 56,5% of the Humanities teachers are males contradicts feminists'

notion that History and Geography are 'female' subjects. What's significant is that no males teach the female students the technical subjects and no females teach the male students the 'male' 'female' technical subjects. Further, the fact that a greater number of males teach technical subjects implies that the male students are offered a wider range of technical options, thereby equipping more males for jobs in the technical fields.

6.2.1.7 Pupil Enrolment

The data gleaned here were necessary to study drop-out patterns among male and female students in the Tongaat schools. This evidence can be deduced from graphs 6.2.1.7(a) & (b) dealing with pupil enrolment.

The pupil enrolment at the primary schools was fairly consistent. The average enrolment for the boys was 2397 and for the girls 2339. The disparity is marginal. In the secondary schools, the average enrolment for the boys was 1826 and for the girls 1749. The SS enrolment almost doubled in 1985. This appears to have resulted from the opening of two new secondary schools in Tongaat namely, Belverton Secondary and Fairbreeze Secondary. As this has introduced distortions in the drop-out patterns, the figures for 1983 and 1984 were left out of account in the analysis. Between 1985 and 1992 the average drop-out rate for boys was 300 and that for the girls was 400. Although the difference between the boys' and girls' drop-out rates appear to be marginal, cognizance has to be taken that the girls are more prone to dropping out than boys. On the whole, boys remain

FIG 6.2.1.7 (a)
PUPIL ENROLMENT - PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT

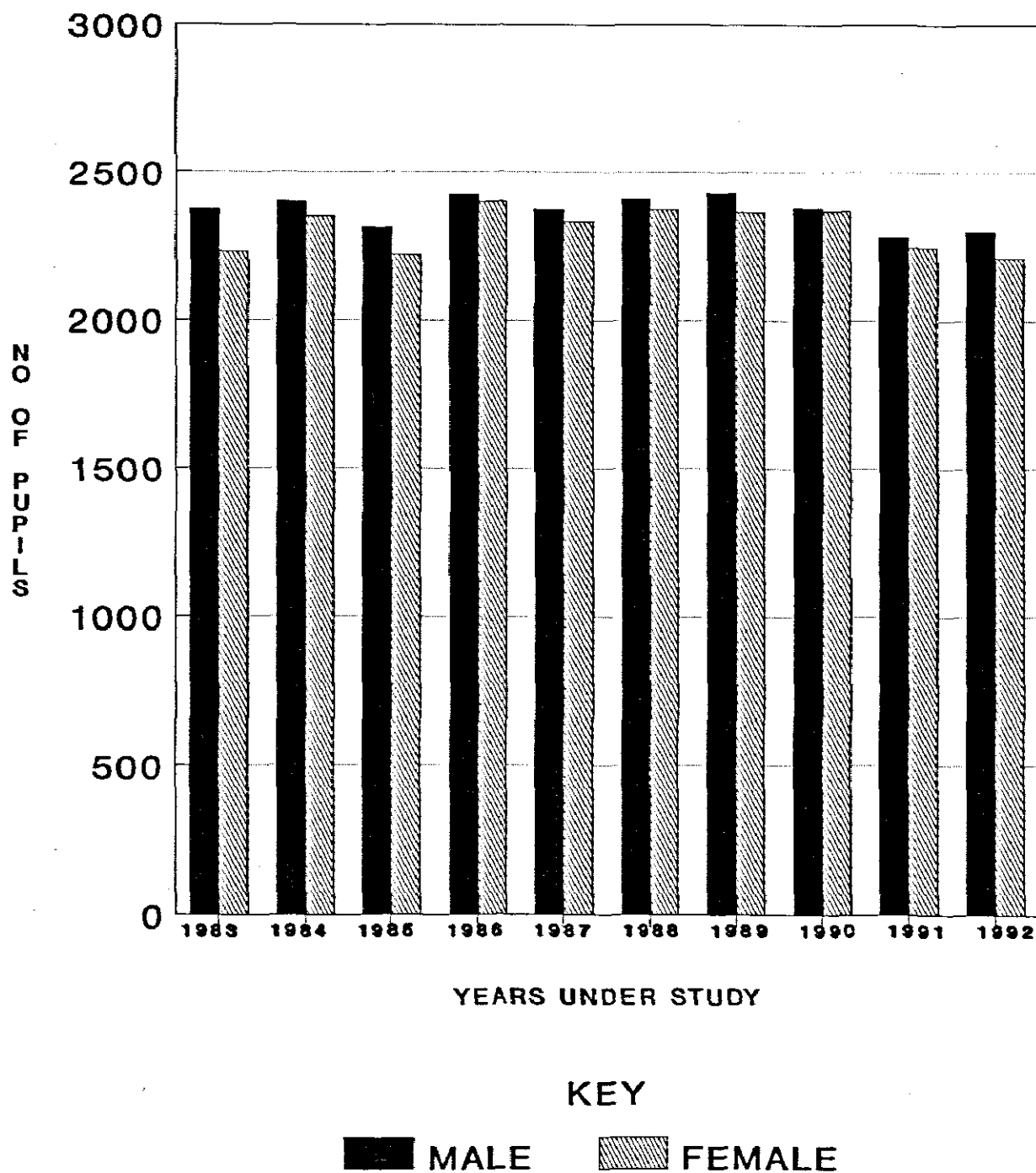
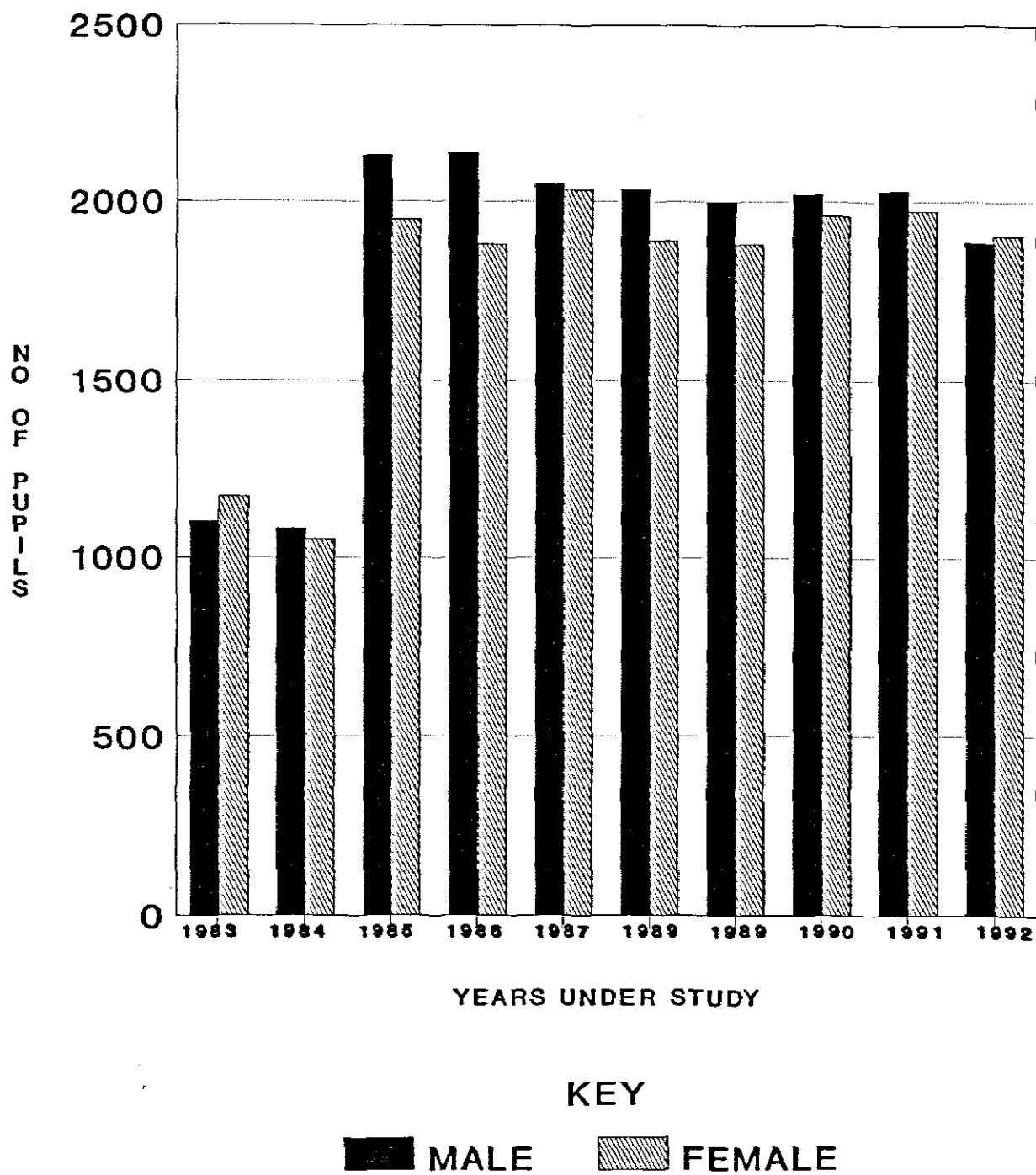


FIG 6.2.1.7 (b)
PUPIL ENROLMENT - SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT



longer at school. This happens probably, because the parents compel them to remain longer at school to get a better education so that they can be empowered as breadwinners in later life. The girls might drop out as a result of teenage pregnancy or the parents under-invest in their education for economic reasons (discussed later).

6.2.1.8 Subject Choices

The objective in designing this section was to test the assumption that at secondary schools the curriculum becomes divided into 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects. Table 6.2.1.8 reveals

TABLE 6.2.1.8
Students' Subject Choices

SUBJECTS	MALES		FEMALE		TOTAL NO
	NO	%	NO	%	
Maths	3165	51,9	2935	48,1	6100
Science	2747	51,4	2600	48,6	5347
History	2342	48,5	2486	51,5	4828
Geography	2776	52	2564	48	5340
Technology	2390	51,7	2235	48,3	4625
Commerce	1148	45,8	1356	54,2	2504
Speech & Drama	1	3,7	26	96,3	27
ZuTu	21	72,4	8	27,6	29

that the differences between the number of males and females taking the non-compulsory subjects is marginal but these differences need to be noted. Maths, Science and Technology are regarded as 'traditional male' subjects since they will empower males to compete in the labour market, schools overtly or subtly influence males to take these options. Zulu appears to be overwhelmingly a male option and it can be inferred that since it

is going to be one of the official languages in this part of the country the students, particularly the males, are opting for it. Probably, the males opt for Zulu as it will empower them in the market place where they interact with Zulu-speakers, thus confirming the notion that males are multi-lingual because they are people of affairs who encounter more people than females in their daily business (vide chapters 3 and 4). The fact that 96,3% of the females had chosen Speech and Drama confirms the notion that the Arts and humanities (History and Geography) are 'female' areas.

6.2.1.9 Prefects

The purpose of gleaning this type of data was to establish the balance of power between male prefects and female prefects, since they are, in the main, assistants to the teachers in maintaining control over the other pupils. Table 6.2.1.9 reflects a high degree

TABLE 6.2.1.9
School Prefects

	MALES		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	NO
Primary Sch	137	48,8	144	51,2	281
Head Prefects	8	47	9	53	17
Secondary Sch	110	48,7	116	51,3	226
Head Prefects	3	50	3	50	6

of non-sexism in favour of female students at the school level. This is largely initiated by the schools themselves, apparently.

6.2.1.10 PTA/PTSA Membership

As parents are becoming increasingly involved in education, it was considered necessary to establish if there is sexism and male/female power play in the constitution and functions of these committees which render voluntary support services to schools. Table 6.2.1.10 reflects a gross under-representation of females in these bodies and in particular, in the position of authority, which seems to have a mirror image of what obtains in other institutions in the community.

TABLE 6.2.1.10
PTA/PTSA Membership

	MALES		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	NO
Primary Sch	60	68,2	28	31,8	88
Chair Persons	8	88,9	1	11,1	9
Secretary	9	100	-	-	9
Secondary Sch	51	70,8	21	29,2	72
Chair Persons	4	100	-	-	4
Secretary	3	75	1	25	4

6.2.1.11 Caretakers and Cleaners

Cleaning, although it is classified as a menial job, is one of the compulsory parts of the support services which enable managers run the schools. Against this background, it was considered important to investigate whether sexism exists in this area of school management.

Table 6.2.1.11 reflects that although there seems to be a degree of non-sexism in the employment of males and females, there is a gross under-representation of females in positions of authority by the male/female ratio of 10:1.

TABLE 6.2.1.11
School Cleaners and Caretakers

	MALES		FEMALE		TOTAL NO
	NO	%	NO	%	
Primary Sch	17	42,5	23	57,5	40
Head Caretaker	6	85,7	1	14,3	7
Secondary Sch	14	58,3	10	41,7	24
Head Caretaker	4	100	-	-	4

6.2.1.12 Principals' Secretaries/Clerks

As it is well documented in feminist literature (vide chapters 3 and 4) that the 'better' educated women generally get jobs as clerks or secretaries, it was considered important to investigate the level of sexism or non-sexism that exists in this segment of the support services to school management.

Table 6.2.1.12 shows that not only do females dominate this segment, they also dominate the positions of authority. The status quo emphasises the feminist notion that this type of work is the domain of the females.

TABLE 6.2.1.12
School Secretaries/Clerks

	MALES		FEMALE		TOTAL
	NO	%	NO	%	NO
Primary Sch	4	23,5	13	76,5	17
Senior Clerks	3	25	9	75	12
Secondary Schools	4	36,4	7	63,6	11
Senior Clerks	4	50	4	50	8

6.2.1.13 Summary

The data derived from the use of surveys reveal the institutionalised sexism existing in Indian schools.

1. Female teachers are grossly under-represented in positions of authority.
2. The SS male teachers are more highly qualified and they occupy a higher status than their counterparts.
3. Males are placed as form teachers of senior classes generally, implying that they are stronger to control the senior students.
4. Primary schools are staffed mainly by female teachers while the secondary schools by male teachers.
5. Maths and the Sciences are the domain of male teachers and the languages and the arts that of the female teachers.
6. Male students still stay on longer at school than the female students but the position appears not to be as it was in the pre-seventies.

7. Maths, the Sciences and Technology are still the 'male' subjects and the languages and arts the 'female' subjects.
8. The selection of and the power positions held by prefects reflect non-sexism.
9. There are more female cleaners/caretakers and clerks at schools but unlike the clerks, few female cleaners/caretakers occupy positions of authority.

6.2.2 The Principals' Questionnaire

6.2.2.1 Background

Twelve male principals and two female principals were studied. These principals ran schools in Tongaat that ranged from Grade PIII in the primary section to CS schools in the secondary section. The two female principals ran Grade PII schools, one of them was functioning in an acting capacity.

6.2.2.2 Attitude to School/Education

6.2.2.2.1 Do you prefer male teachers to female teachers at your school?

TABLE 6.2.2.2.1
Teacher Preferences

	YES		NO		INDIFFERENT	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	3	25	8	66,7
Females	1	50	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	2	14,3	3	21,4	9	64,3

Only 14,3% of the principals are sexist while an overwhelming majority are gender-blind. Overall, 60% of the PS principals and 50% of the SS principals are non-sexist.

6.2.2.2.2 Do principals consider the gender of the teachers when they allocate duties?

TABLE 6.2.2.2.2
Gender Bias in Allocation of Duties

	YES		NO		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	7	58,3	3	25	2	16,7
Females	-	-	2	100	-	-
TOTAL	7	50	5	35,7	2	14,3

One hundred percent of the female principals and 25% of the male principals are gender-blind when they allocate duties to teachers. Overall, 50% of the principals are sexist and 35,7% are non-sexist. In half of the schools the females are discriminated against in terms of allocation of duties or, on the other hand, the males are burdened with extra work. It was also found that 20% of the principals are unaware of the sexism prevailing in schools.

6.2.2.2.3 Whom would you make the form teachers of the senior classes at your school?

TABLE 6.2.2.2.3
Gender Bias in Allocation of Form Classes

	YES		NO		INDIFFERENT	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	-	-	12	100
Females	-	-	-	-	2	100
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	14	100

Although 100% of the principals have indicated that they are gender-blind when they allocate form classes to teachers, the status quo at the Tongaat Indian schools proves otherwise (vide 6.2.1.4). This contradiction proves that the principals 'preach' non-sexism but practise sexism. It also implies that the principals do not easily deviate from established ways even if their personal views are different.

6.2.2.2.4 Males are generally better teachers.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.4
Gender Bias in Evaluation of Teachers

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	-	-	-	-	5	41,7	6	50
Females	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100
TOTAL	1	7,1	-	-	-	-	5	35,7	8	57,2

Only one PS male principal agreed. The response of 92,9% of the principals (91,7% of the males and 100% of the females) indicates that they are gender-biased.

6.2.2.2.5 Males are better administrators.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.5
Gender Bias in Evaluation of Administrators

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	-	-	-	-	7	58,3	4	33,3
Females	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100
TOTAL	1	7,1	-	-	-	-	7	50	6	42,9

Only one PS male principal agreed with the suggestion while the majority of the other principals disagreed. The responses of the principals imply that as administrators, females are considered to be as capable as males. This, however, is contradicted by the status quo in the Tongaat Indian Schools, which it reflects the females are grossly under-represented in administrative positions (vide 6.2.1.1). The status quo, instead, aids to confirm what the feminist writers claim to be a gross discrimination against educated women (vide chapters 3 and 4). It also implies that principals are powerless to change the status quo at the school which is instituted by the HOD's Department of Education and Culture.

6.2.2.2.6 The Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates is gender-biased against women in terms of conditions of service and promotion opportunities.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.6
HOD's Discrimination Against Women

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	2	16,7	2	16,7	6	50	1	8,3
Females	-	-	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	1	7,1	3	21,4	2	14,3	6	42,9	2	14,3

Only 28,6% of the principals agreed with the statement while 71,4% were uncertain or disagreed. But the statistical data gathered in 6.2.1.1 contradicts the responses of the principals who disagreed. It shows that these principals are either unaware of the discrimination that is instituted against women or they are merely defending a system they represent.

6.2.2.2.7 Male and female teachers with equal qualifications should receive equal salaries and service benefits.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.7
Equal Qualifications, Equal Benefits

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	12	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Females	2	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	14	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

There is full support from the principals for the principle that teachers with equal qualifications irrespective of their sex, should receive equal remuneration.

6.2.2.2.8 Female students do not fare as well as male students in Maths and Science.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.8
Girls' Status in Maths and Science

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	-	-	1	8,3	5	41,7	6	50
Females	-	-	-	-	1	50	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	2	14,3	5	35,7	7	50

Although 85,7% of the principals did not agree with the suggestion, there are signs in 6.2.1.8 that female students shy away from these subjects more than male students. The difference between male and female participation is, however, marginal. This somewhat contradicts the assumptions made by people like Burton (1986) that girls shy away from Maths and Science on a large scale.

6.2.2.2.9 Even if we teach female students Metalwork, Woodwork, Technical Drawing etc, they will not be able to find jobs in these fields because they are females.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.9
Sex Barrier to Jobs

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	2	16,7	5	41,7	-	-	4	33,3	1	8,3
Females	-	-	-	-	1	50	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	2	14,3	5	35,7	1	7,1	4	28,6	2	14,3

Exactly 50% of the principals agreed with the statement but 42,8% disagreed. What is noteworthy is that one female PS principal was unsure and 50% of the PS principals disagreed. This indicates the lack of awareness of how the job market operates.

6.2.2.2.10 Male students are influenced to be assertive so that they could become leaders and female students passive so that they would become followers in later life.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.10
Sex-Typed Roles

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	1	8,3	-	-	8	66,7	2	16,7
Females	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100
TOTAL	1	7,1	1	7,1	-	-	8	57,1	4	28,6

An overwhelming 85,7% of the principals disagreed with the statement. The responses strongly contradict the claim that feminist writers make that sex-role stereotyping takes in the home, in the community and in schools (French, 1990; Sharpe, 1976; Blount, 1990; Delamont, 1989; Weiner, 1987).

6.2.2.2.11 Male students perform better at secondary school but female students perform better at primary school.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.11
Students' Performance in Schools

	TRUE		FALSE		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	9	75	3	25
Females	-	-	2	100	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	11	78,6	3	21,4

Eighty percent of the PS principals and 75% of the SS School principals expressed disagreement and 20% of the PS principals and 25% of the SS principals expressed doubt.

These findings contradict the common belief among feminist writers in education like Sharpe (1976), Serbin (1984) and French (1990) (vide Chapter 3,5.2) who hold the view that girls perform better at primary school level and boys at secondary school. Some of the parents' views (vide 2.3.2.10) support the feminists' views. The principals and the parents are at variance about an important issue related to education, that is girls the are relegated or relegate themselves at the secondary level. The parents' inputs could be considered to be more reliable because they are directly involved in their children's welfare and therefore their focus on the problem is bound to be sharper.

6.2.2.2.12 The school curriculum is gender-biased, that is, it has built in it 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.12
Sex Differentiated Curriculum

	TRUE		FALSE		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	4	33,3	7	58,3	1	8,3
Females	1	50	1	50	-	-
TOTAL	5	35,7	8	57,15	1	7,15

Forty-percent of the PS principals and 25% of the SS principals expressed agreement but 50% of the PS principals differed and one PS principal was uncertain. It is noteworthy that most of the SS principals differed with what many feminist education writers say about SS curriculum with one voice (vide Chapter 3, 6.2.3) which is confirmed by the status quo at Tongaat schools (vide 6.2.1.6).

6.2.2.2.13 The HOD's Department of Education under-invests in the education of Indian females, especially in the Sciences and Technology.

TABLE 6.2.2.2.13
HOD's Under-investment in Girls

	TRUE		FALSE		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	8	66,7	4	33,3
Females	1	50	1	50	-	-
TOTAL	1	7,1	9	64,3	4	28,6

The female principals were divided in their responses but majority of the males disagreed with the statment. Only 10% of the PS principals agreed, 50% disagreed and 40% were unsure but 100% of the SS principals disagreed. This contradicts strongly what feminist writers on education claim (vide chapters 3 and 4). But, the SS principals' responses are assumed to be more reliable because they deal with capital expenditure on a larger scale than PS principals.

6.2.2.2.14 Why do some female pupils drop out somewhere in their secondary school life?

- a. They have to mind the house for working mothers.
- b. They have to make way for younger siblings (particularly brothers) because of economic deprivation.
- c. They have to go out to work and supplement the family income.
- d. Other (please explain)

TABLE 6.2.2.2.14
Female Drop-out Rate

	A		B		C		D	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	-	-	6	50	6	50
Females	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	1	7,1	-	-	6	42,9	7	50

A few principals chose more than one of the alternatives, and some chose one or two of the alternatives in addition to their own explanations. Fifty percent of the principals cited the following reasons for the female students' dropping-out: the girls could not cope with the demands secondary of school work; they lose interest in school work; some become pregnant; some cannot cope with the combined demands made by the home and school; and some experience problems in unstable homes. These viewpoints are corroborated to a large extent by the teachers (vide 6.2.4.2.14) and Maasdorp (1969) (vide chapters 3 and 4).

6.2.2.2.15 Why do male and female students have to follow different curricular routes?

- a. Males are trained for the job market and females for domestic work.
- b. Since the curriculum comes for HOD's Department of Education and Culture the schools cannot change it.
- c. Parents want an academic curriculum for male students and a diluted technical curriculum for the female students.
- d. Other (please explain).

TABLE 6.2.2.2.15
Gendered Curricular Routes

	A		B		C		D	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	8,3	5	41,7	3	25	3	25
Females	-	-	1	50	-	-	1	50
TOTAL	1	7,1	6	42,9	3	21,4	4	28,6

Fifty percent of the SS principals felt that parents want an academic curriculum for males and a diluted technical one for females but 60% of the PS principals felt that since the curriculum comes from the HOD's Department of Education and Culture, the schools cannot change it.

6.2.2.3 Summary

- 1. Outwardly, the principals are non-sexist, the majority are indifferent to male or female teacher preferences but the majority inadvertently do practise sexism when they allocate duties.**
- 2. Males are not necessarily better teachers or administrators.**
- 3. The majority of the principals were unaware of the fact that women are discriminated against in terms of conditions of service and benefits but conceded that women with qualifications equal to men should receive equal remuneration.**
- 4. The majority felt that male and female students fare equally well in Maths and the Sciences and that the notion that female students perform better in primary school and males in secondary school is false.**
- 5. The notion that male students are influenced to become dominant and females subservient is false.**
- 6. The notion that the school curriculum is gender-biased is false.**
- 7. The HOD's Department of Education and Culture does not under-invest in the education of females.**

8. The education of the females in the Indian family can be sacrificed for various reasons, the chief of which are economical factors, teenage pregnancy and lack of motivation and coping mechanisms.
9. Male and female students follow different curricular routes for various reasons: the chief of which is the prescription from the HOD's Department of Education and Culture.

6.2.3 Interviews with Parents

6.2.3.1 Background

The parents' group studied comprised 10 males and 10 females whose ages ranged from 20 to 59 years. The average age of the fathers was 47 and that of the mothers was 42. Each parent had five children on an average, two sons and three daughters. Of the 10 fathers, 5 had a secondary education and 5 a tertiary education, and, of the mothers, 1 had only a primary education, 7 a secondary education and 2 a tertiary education. Sixty percent of the mothers were housewives and 40% worked as professionals or clerks. Fifty percent of the fathers worked as professionals or clerks, 20% as skilled or semi-skilled workers and 10% were self-employed.

6.2.3.2 Attitude to Education

The parents were interviewed using the Interview Schedule (App C1, 1-14).

6.2.3.2.1 Do you think girls and boys should receive an equal education eg. Std 10, college education, university education? Why?

The majority of the parents, 10 fathers and 9 mothers, said that boys and girls should receive an equal education. Both groups cited the benefits of education to girls in later life in terms of self-sufficiency, support for the family in case of failure of marriage, widowhood etc. The 1 differing mother argued that since the boys have to support their families in later life, they need a better education than girls to get good jobs.

6.2.3.2.2 Do you think that girls and boys should receive the same education eg. boys and girls should learn sewing, woodwork, science, maths etc? Why?

Five fathers and 8 mothers said that curriculum should be open, offering all subjects to both sexes. For example, boys and girls should take subjects like sewing, woodwork and technical drawing in preparation for domesticity or the job market. By implication, the parents have dispelled the notion of 'male' jobs and 'female' jobs. A few young mothers felt that girls should now make inroads into male-dominated areas. Five fathers and 2 mothers drew a sharp distinction between 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects. They argued that the girls who are the 'weaker' sex should be taught subjects like sewing and the boys

should be taught Woodwork, Science and Maths. One mother said that only boys who could not cope with Maths and Science should opt for the technical subjects.

6.2.3.2.3 Do you think it is of any benefit to the family in educating girls when, after all, they are going to marry and go away to their husbands' homes? Why do you say this?

The majority of the parents (7 fathers and 6 mothers) said 'yes'. They argued that since educated girls would become independent they would not be a burden to the family, especially, in cases of being widowed or divorced. Those who said 'yes' and 'no' gave similar reasons for favouring education for girls. All of them said that they would derive happiness if their daughters could fend for themselves or improve the quality of life for their own families. Some said that their daughters would become better wives, mothers or workers if they are educated. One father said that if his married daughter were not educated her husband might have despised her. One mother said that educating even sons is of no benefit to the family since each child now fends for himself/herself.

6.2.3.2.4 Do you think it is a good idea to send girls and boys to the same school?

Most parents (9 fathers and 10 mothers) said that the children must attend mixed schools. They argued that it is natural for girls and boys to mix so that they would

understand one another, which would prepare them for later life. Some argued that the home is an integrated system in which brothers and sisters interact and that the school should be an extension of the home. Some parents felt that girls and boys have an equal education and equal opportunities if they attend mixed schools. This point is a distinct contradiction of the feminist advocates of single sex schools for girls who argue that in mixed schools girls are invisible (vide chapters 3 and 4). Only one father was doubtful about mixed schools, saying that he was apprehensive about boys distracting girls from their studies in mixed schools; otherwise, he thought mixed schooling was a good idea.

6.2.3.2.5 Suppose there are separate schools for boys and girls in Tongaat, to which school would you send your children, single-sex or mixed schools?

The majority of the parents (5 fathers and 8 mothers) said they would send their children to mixed schools, 2 fathers and 2 mothers opted for single-sex schools and 3 fathers were indifferent. Those who favoured mixed schools offered the same reasons as those given in 6.2.3.2.4. The 3 fathers who were indifferent would leave the choice to their daughters while the 2 who preferred single-sex schools said that they (the parents) would be more comfortable in the knowledge their daughters would be safe from boys who might be robust or drug-takers. The 2 mothers who preferred separate schools for their daughters said that they

would have more opportunities and that they would not be eclipsed as the girls are in mixed schools. This is a contradiction to what they said in 6.2.3.2.4 but it supports the arguments of Brehony (1984) and others (vide chapter 4).

6.2.3.2.6 Suppose you had the opportunity to send *one* of your children to private school like Uthongati. Whom would you choose, your son or your daughter or neither? Why?

Four mothers favoured sons, 2 fathers and 1 mother favoured daughters, 5 fathers and 4 mothers favoured neither, 1 father and 1 mother favoured the cleverer one, and 2 fathers were indifferent. Of the parents who favoured daughters, 2 said that their daughters had more potential and 1 father said that his son who can get a job more easily could study part-time but his daughter would find this difficult. The mothers who favoured their sons said that their sons who would become breadwinners should get a better education. Those who took the 'neither' option said that since private schools are elitist institutions, they should be frowned upon and that children should be made to mingle in public schools because of the wider range of peer influence; that the large amount of money paid in fees should be channelled into tertiary education for both the sexes.

6.2.3.2.7 Suppose a family with two older children at school is experiencing financial problems and there is a need to withdraw one or two of these children from school so that they could work and bring some income. Whom, do you think, they would choose to withdraw, a son or a daughter?

Four fathers and 5 mothers said that the son's education would be sacrificed and 5 fathers and 5 mothers said that the daughter's education would be sacrificed. The father who was indifferent said that the question was irrelevant in the present time. The parents who said that the boys would be withdrawn argued that the boys because of their strength, could do heavy manual work and therefore would get jobs more easily; that the boys are made to assume leadership roles early in life so that they could take control of the household later; that some families still consider it a taboo and a slight on the families' dignity to send girls to work. Those who said that girls would be stopped from school argued that since girls receive lower pay they would be able to get jobs more easily, and that girls would soon marry and their jobs would be a mere temporary measure. These responses support Maasdorp's (1969) findings and Sharpe's (1976) assertions (vide chapter 4).

6.2.3.2.8 Suppose, in a family a daughter and a son pass Std 10 in the same year, and the family can afford to send only one child to a university. Whom, do you think, would they choose? Why?

Nine fathers and 7 mothers said that the Indian parents would choose to send the son to university, 1 father and 2 mothers said they would send the cleverer one and 1 mother could not make up her mind. Those who said the son would be chosen, cited the following reasons: the son needs a better education for economic empowerment; the boy's career is a long-term factor and the girl's career is a short-term one as she would soon marry and become a housewife; the son would support his father's family and later his own and therefore he needs to secure a better job; a degree would give the son social prestige and thereby enhance the social prestige of the family. The responses here contradict what the parents said in 6.2.3.2.6 in terms of equal opportunities for both sexes.

6.2.3.2.9 Do you think Indian parents still choose careers for their daughters? Why do you say this?

Four fathers and 3 mothers said 'yes' and 5 fathers and 6 mothers said 'no' and 1 father and 1 mother were unsure. The parents said that those who choose careers for their daughters consider their daughters still immature to make important decisions, that they have a better knowledge of job opportunities for girls and, that some parents choose certain jobs like teaching, law and medicine for their children to boost the family prestige. Some have mind-sets, for example, they argue that because they themselves were deprived they should provide these opportunities for their children. Those who said that

parents don't choose careers for their daughters argued that the parents regard their daughters to be mature enough to make decisions for themselves but they only advise them.

6.2.3.2.10 In your opinion, who perform better at primary schools, girls or boys? How can you say this?

Nine fathers and 7 mothers said girls do, and 1 father and 2 mothers were unsure but only 1 mother said that boys perform better. The parents who said that the girls perform better gave the following reasons: parents are stricter with the girls so that they are house-bound and spend more time with their books than the boys who are allowed freedom to spend time outdoors; girls are not distracted by boys at this stage because they are still immature or protected by their parents. Some fathers felt that because cultural and social pressures make girls feel inferior they work hard to excel in their studies. Some mothers said that as girls mature earlier they do better in primary school but boys mature when they reach secondary school and, therefore, they do better there. The response of 80% of the parents confirms the assertion made by some feminists like French (1990) that girls generally excel at primary school and the boys at secondary school. But the principals differed (vide 6.2.2.2.11).

6.2.3.2.11 Suppose your 16 year old daughter who is in Standard nine receives a marriage proposal. Would you encourage her to marry?

a single parent wanted to withdraw his/her daughter from school. This is a significant departure from the attitude of Indian parents of 30 or 40 years ago, who withdrew their daughters at the onset of puberty for fear of sexual harassment by males (vide chapter 2).

6.2.3.2.13 Do you think that the women's place is in the home?

Eighty percent of the fathers and 70% of the mothers said 'no' to this insinuation.

6.2.3.2.14 Give reasons for your answer to the above question.

Those parents who said 'yes' offered the following reasons : expenses are curtailed if women remain at home; women provide social security and stability for children, they could care for and nurture children; they see to the welfare of their husbands and children. One father said that women's domestic work is equally important as men's wage labour and one mother said that if the women stayed at home it is actually good for husband/wife relationships.

Those who said 'no' argued that the following points were valid for women to work outside their homes: economic factors-integrated incomes of spouses, better living standard and enhanced economic independence and status for women social factors - women able to make contributions to the community, social status enhanced, creation of a non-sexist society, women to assume more prominent roles in society, empower women to gain

independence to cope with single parenthood in cases of death of spouses or divorce. One mother said that if a woman uses her education outside the home it actually enhances her worth in the opinion of her husband and children, who respect her for her contribution to the community.

6.2.3.3 Summary

1. Girls and boys must receive an equal education to empower them equally.
2. Schools should offer mixed curricula from which boys and girls choose subjects according to their aptitude.
3. There's no direct benefit in educating girls but they could become independent - no burden to the parents.
4. Girls and boys should attend mixed schools for academic and social benefits.
5. In times of economic crises, Indian families still sacrifice the education of their girls to empower the boys.
6. Indian parents do not choose careers for girls anymore.
7. Indian parents desist from marrying off their girls at the onset of puberty, lay emphasis on education, solve problems of sexual harassment by means other than withdrawing girls from school.
8. Women should use their education and their capabilities in the market place and in the community for the betterment of the family and the community.

6.2.4 Teachers' Questionnaire and Interviews

6.2.4.1 Background

Altogether, 100 teachers were studied, their ages ranging from 25 to 50. Seventy-four percent of the female teachers were in the 25-35 age range, indicating that they are relatively younger than the male teachers. This implies that teaching has become a vocation for the Indian females fairly recently. This segment comprised a cross-section of the teachers of most subjects at the schools. Subject and class allocations were fairly evenly distributed but there was a slant for males to teach the Sciences and Maths and the females to teach the languages and the JP subjects.

6.2.4.2 Attitude Towards Education

6.2.4.2.1 Most pre-school and primary school teachers are women because their 'motherly and caring' attitude makes them more suited to teach little children.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.1
Female Domination of Junior Classes

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	8	20	18	45	2	5	10	25	2	5
Females	13	32,5	20	50	-	-	7	17,5	-	-
TOTAL	21	26,25	38	47,5	2	2,5	17	21,25	2	2,5

Seventy-five percent of PS teachers and 72,5% of the SS teachers agreed with the statement. Furthermore, 65% of the males and 82% of the female teachers seem to believe in this stereotype. It implies that only women can give the children the kind of care and attention that the little ones need and men cannot. It appears that fatherly care and attention are not important for teaching which is a distortion of reality. The teachers' responses confirm French's (1990) claim that the primary schools are feminine and the secondary schools are masculine in character.

6.2.4.2.2 Most of the secondary school teachers are males because they are more highly qualified and they can control students more effectively than females.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.2
Male Domination of Senior Classes

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	6	15	2	5	24	60	8	20
Females	1	2,5	1	2,5	-	-	10	25	28	70
TOTAL	1	1,5	7	8,7	2	2,5	34	42,5	36	45

Eighty-seven and a half percent of the teachers disagreed with the statement. It is noteworthy that 80% of males and 95% of the females disagreed. However, a review of section 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.1.5 of the survey gives a different picture. Precisely, the male teachers at secondary schools are more highly qualified than their counterparts and 61,7% of the SS teachers are males. This confirms the assertions of people like Sutherland (1985) (vide Chapter 4).

6.2.4.2.3 The allocation of form classes and subjects is sex biased.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.3
Sex Bias in Allocation of Form Classes and Subjects

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	2,5	5	12,5	1	2,5	23	57,5	10	25
Females	3	7,5	11	27,5	1	2,5	22	55	3	7,5
TOTAL	4	5	16	20	2	2,5	45	56,25	13	16,5

Seventy-two percent of the teachers disagreed with the statement. Of those who disagreed, 82,5% were males and 62,5% were females. Of those who agreed, 35% were females and 15% were males – a difference of 20%.

To contradict those who disagreed, it is revealed in sections 6.2.1.4 and 6.2.1.6 of the survey that the statement is in fact true. What these findings reveal are that the majority of the teachers are unaware of the sexism that is practised and that of those who are aware, the majority are females. The majority of the males seem to defend the system.

6.2.4.2.4 Female students do not do as well as male students in Maths and Science because they believe these are ‘male’ subjects and that they do not have the ability to excel in them.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.4
Maths and Science : Male Subjects

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	-	1	1,25	24	60	15	37,5	
Females	2	5	2	3	7,5	20	50	13	32,5	
TOTAL	2	2,5	2,5	4	5	44	55	28	35	

Some 91,25% of teachers disagreed with this suggestion. Of those who disagreed, 97,5% were males and 85% were females, emphasizing the fact that more females believe that sexism obtains in the school curriculum.

The majority of the teachers who were interviewed (app C4,6) said that male students are better at Maths and Science than the female students. Some teachers felt the subjects are regarded as ‘male’ subjects because parents and the community socialise students into believing that these are ‘male’ subjects, This practice actually begins in childhood with the kinds of toys the children play.

The other teachers said that male students do not like to swot up facts in subjects like History and Geography and that they prefer to do subjects like Maths and Science, where more logic and problem-solving are required. Some female teachers said

that boys are quicker at calculations but the girls are slower because they are too careful about correct answers. Therefore they shy away from mental calculations.

The responses from the interviews and those who completed the questionnaire are at odds with each other. The interviewees' opinions support the feminists' notions (vide chapters 3 and 4).

6.2.4.2.5 Even if we teach female students Metalwork, Woodwork etc. they will not be able to find jobs in these fields because they are females.

TABLE 6.2.4.5
'Male' Jobs Not Girl Friendly

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	2,5	16	40	6	15	13	32,5	4	10
Females	4	10	10	25	3	7,5	18	45	5	12,5
TOTAL	5	6,25	26	32,5	9	11,25	31	38,75	9	11,25

Some 38,75% of the teachers agreed with the statement, 50% disagreed and 11,25 were uncertain. The teachers' mixed reactions are more complicated when the men's and women's responses are viewed separately. Of the women, 38,75% agreed, 57,5% disagreed and 7,5% were uncertain. Of the men, 42,5% agreed and disagreed equally and 15% were uncertain.

A different picture emerged from the interview of teachers (app C4,7). The majority of them said that the technical curriculum of the school is divided into 'male' and 'female' subjects, which

are designed to prepare the male students for the job market and the female students for marriage and domestication. They said that crossing the barrier takes place on a small scale where male students take Domestic Science to become chefs, hotel managers etc and the female students take Technical Drawing to become plan-drawers but they shy away from technology such as motor mechanics as jobs are not available for females in this field.

6.2.4.2.6 It is better to educate males than females because they are going to be breadwinners.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.6
Male Empowerment

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	2	5	1	2,5	17	42,5	20	50
Females	2	5	-	-	-	-	4	10	34	85
TOTAL	2	2,5	2	2,5	1	1,25	21	26,25	54	67,5

Some 93% of the teachers disagreed with the suggestion. Of those who disagreed, 67,5% rejected the very idea.

However, 30% of the teachers interviewed (App C4,20) agreed that teachers predict marriage for female students and therefore, think that high academic achievement for them to be as unnecessary. They argued that this belief is culture-bound, wherein the males are urged to gain higher qualifications to enhance their chances of obtaining jobs. The girls are side-lined even if they are capable because of the preconceived idea of housewifery. The overwhelming negative responses from the

teachers, corroborated by the inputs of the parents (vide 6.2.3.2.3), strongly contradict the whole notion that the Indian parents sought to empower the boys at the expense of the girls (vide chapter 2).

6.2.4.2.7 In the secondary school, the subject differentiation assumes a sex bias, that is, the subjects become 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.7
Subject Differentiation

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	13	32,5	4	10	17	42,5	6	15
Females	4	10	11	27,5	5	12,5	14	35	6	15
TOTAL	4	5	24	30	9	11,25	31	38,75	12	15

Thirty-five percent of the teachers agreed with the statement, 53,75% disagreed and 11,25% were uncertain.

These mixed reactions were contradicted by 75% of the teachers who were interviewed. They agreed with the suggestion that the subjects at the secondary schools are sex biased. They recommended that the Sciences, Maths and Technology become non-sexist (App C4,6,7,8,9,10). The probable explanation for the divergent responses from interviewees and those who answered the questionnaire is that interviewees had the 'advantage' of probing and/or elaboration of the terms of the question by the interviewer.

6.2.4.2.8 The Standard 10 examination results give us a good idea of what kind of career a student is likely to have in the future.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.8
Std 10 Exam : A Good Yardstick

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	2	5	16	40	1	2,5	14	35	7	17,5
Females	3	7,5	15	37,5	2	5	16	40	4	10
TOTAL	5	6,25	31	38,75	3	3,75	30	37,5	11	13,75

Forty-five percent of the teachers agreed with the suggestion, 51,25% disagreed and 3,75% were uncertain.

Some of the teachers who were interviewed (App C4,4) felt that teachers and Guidance-counsellors are more important in choosing careers for their students. Some said that parents exert greater pressure on their children on career matters, irrespective of their school performance. This contradicts the parents opinions that at this level their daughters are mature enough to choose a career (vide 6.2.3.2.9).

6.2.4.2.9 Women are as good as men at complicated technical matters.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.9
Women's Technical Competence

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	2	7,5	23	57,5	3	7,5	10	25	1	2,5
Females	13	32,5	21	52,5	6	15	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	16	20	44	55	9	11,25	10	12,5	1	1,25

Seventy-five percent of the teachers agreed with the statement, 13,75 disagreed and 11,25% were uncertain. Of those who agreed, 43,3% were males and 56,7% were females. What is noteworthy is that of those who disagreed, all were males and of those who were uncertain, all were females.

All the teachers who were interviewed (App C4,7,8,9,10) agreed that the females do well in 'female' oriented subjects like Needlework and Domestic Science but they found no tested cases in which the competence of females could be compared to that of males in technical subjects common to the both sexes. There are a few students in certain secondary schools who take technical subjects across the sex-barrier line but their performance cannot be used to make any generalisations. Like most of the parents (vide 6.2.3.2.2), the teachers are fully in favour of open curricula at schools, where the students choose, with certain stipulations eg. a compulsory core curriculum, the subjects on their own.

6.2.4.2.10 The saying 'A woman's place is in the home' is generally correct.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.10
A Woman's Place

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	-	4	10	1	2,5	23	57,5	12	30
Females	1	2,5	-	-	2	5	6	15	31	77,5
TOTAL	1	1,25	4	5	3	3,75	29	36,25	43	53,75

Ninety percent of the teachers disagreed with the statement while only 3,75% were uncertain.

One hundred percent of the interviewees (app C4,15,15) said that the place of the women is definitely not in the home. They said that if they had chosen careers, they should be allowed, in their married state, to pursue them. They argued that marriage is a partnership and therefore the management of the house and parenting must be shared by both the spouses; women to perform the dual role of housewives/mothers and salaried/waged workers competently. The opinions of the teachers corroborates those of the parents (vide 6.2.3.2.13), which contradict the beliefs and the practice prevalent prior to the mid-60's, when the majority of the Indian women were house-bound.

6.2.4.2.11 Teachers predict marriage and home-building for female students but careers and waged labour for the male students.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.11
Teachers' Predictions for Girls

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	5	12,5	2	5	24	60	9	22,5
Females	2	5	-	-	1	2,5	23	57,5	14	35
TOTAL	2	2,5	5	6,25	3	3,75	47	58,75	23	28,75

Some 87,5% of the teachers disagreed, 8,75% agreed and 3,75% were uncertain.

Of the teachers who were interviewed (app C4,20), 30% said that the teachers do predict marriage for the female students and careers for the males. As the notion of marriage is culture-bound, the teachers, through their own socialization, hint at or openly suggest marriage rather than academic achievement for the girls. However, 70% of the teachers encourage the female students to achieve academically and pursue careers. These teachers argued that society needs the female talents; that the economy is heavily dependent on female power, that the families are dependent on the females' earnings in their married or unmarried state; that women need to become independent whether they are married or not, in short, education should empower women. The parents' reaction to on early marriage (vide 6.2.3.2.11) supports the teachers' responses, which is a departure from the tradition of the 1860 Immigrants (vide chapter 3).

6.2.4.2.12 Female students fare better in the primary school but male students fare better in the secondary school

TABLE 6.2.4.2.12
Students' Performance at School

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	6	15	6	15	18	45	10	25
Females	-	-	6	15	2	5	18	45	14	35
TOTAL	-	-	12	15	8	10	36	45	24	30

Altogether, 75% of the teachers disagreed with the statement. Seventy percent of the PS teachers and 80% of the SS teachers disagreed. Only 20% of the PS school teachers and 10% of the SS teachers agreed with the statement.

The responses of the teachers and the principals (6.2.2.2.1.1) are contradictory to what the parents said in 6.2.3.2.10 and the beliefs of feminists like Sharpe (1976), Serbin (1984) and French (1990) (Chapter 3,5.2).

6.2.4.2.13 Teachers and parents influence male students to be assertive so that they could become leaders and female students to be passive so that they would become followers in later life.

TABLE 6.2.4.2.13
Adults make Male Leaders and Female Followers

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	6	15	-	-	21	52,5	13	32,5
Females	2	5	4	10	-	-	18	45	16	40
TOTAL	2	2,5	10	12,5	-	-	39	48,75	29	36,25

Fifteen percent of the teachers agreed and 85% disagreed with the statement. The overwhelming disagreement is contrary to the assertions of feminists like Phoenix (1987), Oakely (1974) and French (1990) that boys are socialised into becoming assertive and aggressive to function in an outside world and the girls to be passive, servile, docile and homely (Chapter 3,4.2). The teachers' views are corroborated by the principals' responses (vide 6.2.2.2.10). This issue was not broached

judging from their attitude to male empowerment (vide 6.2.3.2.6., 6.2.3.2.7 and 6.2.3.2.8) it could be assumed that they could influence the boys to become assertive.

6.2.4.2.14 Why do female students drop out somewhere in their secondary school life?

- a. They have to mind the house for working mothers.
- b. They have to make way for younger siblings (particularly brothers) because of economic deprivation.
- c. They have to go to work and supplement the family income.
- d. They develop such low self-esteem that they become unable to cope with school work.
- e. Other (please explain)

TABLE 6.2.4.2.14
Reasons for Female Drop-Out Rate

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	6	15	1	2,5	13	32,5	8	20	12	30
Females	6	15	3	7,5	12	30	6	15	13	32,5
TOTAL	12	15	4	5	25	31,25	14	17,5	25	31,25

The majority of teachers who gave 'other' reasons cited peer pressure and teenage pregnancy as the main reasons for the girls' dropping out. The others said that religious and family pressures, domineering parents, lack of direction and purpose and early marriage are important factors. To a large extent, these viewpoints are corroborated by the principals' (vide 6.2.2.2.14) and Maasdorps' views (vide chapter 3 and 4).

6.2.4.2.15 Why are there more female students in the Housecraft, Commerce and Arts streams than in the Maths and Science streams?

- a. Most female students find Maths and Science difficult to cope with.
- b. Female students usually do not like Maths and Science.
- c. Female students are not encouraged strongly enough by their teachers and parents to be in the Maths and Science streams.
- d. Female students cannot find jobs easily in the Science fields.
- e. Other (please explain):

TABLE 6.2.4.2.15
'Female' Subjects

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	2	5	11	27,5	18	45	3	7,5	6	15
Females	5	12,5	8	20	16	40	5	12,5	6	15
TOTAL	7	8,75	19	23,75	34	42,5	8	10	12	15

The majority of the teachers said that the female students neither like Maths and Science nor are they encouraged strongly enough by teachers and parents to take these subjects. The 'other' 15% of the teachers gave varied views. Some said that society fashions out roles for the females even before they are given the opportunity to choose and this prejudices the subject choices. Some said that Housecraft and Domestic Science are chosen as preparation for domestic life or careers such as home executives or catering services.

The interviewees (a[[C4.11) expressed similar opinions. Most of them said that females fared well in the languages, humanities and Housecraft/Domestic Science. The teachers said that the main reasons for their excelling in these areas is that since girls are domesticated they are likely to spend much of their time with their books or practising domestic skills learnt in subjects like Domestic Science. In the Indian home, the girls are likely to be put through the paces as a rehearsal of housewifery. These views confirm Sharpe's (1976), Deem's (1980) and Burton's (1986) assertions (vide chapter 4,4.4.2).

6.2.4.2.16 Housecraft or Domestic Science is seen as an easy subject by most students (particularly males) because

- a. it is traditionally women's work.
- b. the subject itself does not need too much studying.
- c. it is not a very important subject as compared to the others.
- d. Other (please explain):

TABLE 6.2.4.2.16
Status of 'Female' Technical Subjects

	A		B		C		D		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	18	45	8	20	7	17,5	4	10	3	7,5
Females	26	65	4	10	1	2,5	6	15	3	7,5
TOTAL	44	55	12	15	8	10	10	12,5	6	7,5

The majority of the male and female teachers indicated that male students shy away from these subjects because they relate to women's work and the subjects themselves are easy. Of the

teachers who gave other reasons, 12,5% most of them said that these are easy options; and therefore, the male students, especially the high-flyers, shy away from them. The others said that the males are ill-informed or ignorant of the philosophy, the subject content, the science content and the methodology obtaining in these subjects.

Some teachers and parents who were interviewed (app C1,2 and appendices C4,8) suggested that these are easier options and that the male students who cannot excel in academic subjects should take Housecraft and Domestic Science. This argument implies that the 'female' subjects are easier and of lower status (Sutherland, 1985) (vide chapters 3 and 4).

6.2.4.2.17 The reason why male students are not learning Housecraft or Domestic Science is

- a. because it is not useful for males.
- b. since it is considered women's work female students are the only ones who should learn it.
- c. that male students will not be happy to learn it since it is a 'female' subject.
- d. Other (please explain)

TABLE 6.2.4.2.17
Male Aversion To 'Female' Technical Subjects

	A		B		C		D		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%		%	NO	%
Males	5	12,5	19	47,5	12	30	3	7,5	1	2,5
Females	-	-	9	22,5	19	47,5	9	22,5	3	7,5
TOTAL	5	6,25	28	35	31	38,75	12	15	4	5

An overwhelming 73,75% of the teachers said that male students shy away from these subjects because they consider them as relating either to 'womens' work or 'female' subjects.

Of the 'other' 15% of the teachers, the majority said that since these are 'female' subjects, the male students will be stigmatised or ridiculed if they take them. This attitude seems to emanate from society's rules for designating separate roles for males and females.

This point of view is supported by the argument presented by some of the teachers who were interviewed (app C4,9). They said that parents and teachers, through socialization, entrench these attitudes in male students, who shy away from these 'female' subjects. Many teachers felt that sex-role stereotyping is more prevalent among the Indians and that the problem is perpetuated because Indian adult males continue to live with their parents.

6.2.4.2.18 The reason why girls are not learning Metalwork, Woodwork, Technical Drawing etc. is that

- a. they are not capable physically to do such work.
- b. females do not like these subjects.
- c. it is not useful for them to learn 'male' subjects.
- d. other (please explain)

TABLE 6.2.4.2.18
Female Aversion to 'Male' Technical Subjects

	A		B		C		D		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	5	12,5	14	35	4	10	16	40	1	2,5
Females	3	7,5	14	35	6	15	16	40	1	2,5
TOTAL	8	10	28	35	10	12,5	32	40	2	2,5

Thirty-five percent of the teachers who said that females do not like these subjects. Of the 40% of the teachers who offered other reasons, most said that the girls were not motivated or encouraged to learn these subjects and that since these are labelled 'male' subjects, the females who chose them would be labelled 'tomboys' or 'attention-seekers' by peers. Some teachers felt that these subjects are traditionally 'male' subjects and even if the females learnt the skills involved, it would be difficult for them to find employment in these fields.

Many of the teachers who were interviewed (app C4,10) also said that the life-roles and life-chances of females are largely determined by society and this dictates the choice of the subjects.

6.2.4.2.19 The reasons why male and female students do not have the same options available is

- a. since the curriculum comes from HOD's Department of Education and Culture, the schools cannot change it.
- b. it is not important at this point and time in South Africa to worry about what is available for males and females.

- c. parents and students themselves prefer the existing curriculum.
- d. other (please explain)

TABLE 6.2.4.2.19
Sex-differentiated Curricula

	A		B		C		OTHER		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	22	55	1	2,5	5	12,5	10	25	2	5
Females	25	62,5	5	12,5	5	12,5	4	11	1	2,5
TOTAL	47	58,75	6	7,5	10	12,5	14	17,5	3	3,75

Of the 17,75% of the teachers who offered 'other' reasons, some said that options are open to male and female students to some extent, whilst others said that the curriculum is constructed with traditional beliefs in mind and that there is a need for change.

Most of the teachers who were interviewed (app C4,8) said that the existing curriculum needs to be transformed into an open curriculum for both sexes. The way forward is for schools to address the distorted realities obtaining in sex-role stereotypes. The teachers advocated that the school principals to become less prescriptive and more creative and that the schools should offer a variety of options so that all pupils are given ample opportunities to develop their skills in academic and technical subjects. A similar dispensation was offered to students in German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union (Sutherland, 1985:55-6).

2.4.2.20 Who normally talk out of turn in the classroom?

TABLE 6.2.4.2.20
Student Domination in the Classroom

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH		UNSURE	
		%		%		%		%
Males	8	20	3	7,5	28	70	1	2,5
Females	14	35	18	45	8	20	-	-
TOTAL	22	27,5	21	26,25	36	45	1	1,25

Of the 45% of the teachers who said both males and females talk out of turn, 78% were males and 22% females. But 53,75% of the teachers were sexist in their responses. What is interesting, however, is that the female teachers seem to be more sexist than the male teachers and that more male teachers condoned the female students and more female teachers condoned the male students. Evidence of this opposite-sex bias was also found in the interview of the teachers (app C4,5). The female teachers were very strict with female students whereas they were more lax with male students. Some teachers said that quite often the male teachers gave female students more attention and the female teachers gave the male students more attention. The female teachers demand strict discipline from the female students probably because of same-sex identification-which means that since they (the female teachers) themselves were strictly disciplined by their mothers and teachers, they expect the same code of behaviour from their charges. On the other hand, the male teachers exert their

male-typed behaviour so that the male students would assume male roles and thereby become empowered as leaders (Chodorow, 1978).

6.2.4.2.21 Whose contributions to class lessons do teachers value more?

TABLE 6.2.4.2.21
Evaluation of Answers

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	-	-	2	5	-	-	38	95
Female	3	7,5	4	10	-	-	33	82,5
TOTAL	3	3,75	6	7,5	-	-	71	88,75

Quite contrary to many feminist writers' beliefs, more South African Indian teachers have said that the female students' answers are more valued than the males' answers. What is more interesting is that 88,75% of the teachers have contradicted, implicitly, the sexist practices that the feminists claim to be existing in classrooms (vide chapters 3 and 4, French, 1990; Delamont, 1984; Evan, 1988; Kenway 1991).

6.2.4.2.22 Do you think people assign a higher status to secondary school teachers than primary school teachers?

TABLE 6.2.4.2.22
Status of PS and SS Teachers

	YES		NO		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	23	57,5	9	22,5	8	20
Females	30	75	6	15	4	10
TOTAL	53	66,25	15	18,75	12	15

The remarkable aspect of these findings is that 75% of the female teachers said that the SS teachers enjoy a higher status than PS teachers. The responses of the 'disadvantaged' female teachers, corroborated by the majority of the responses of the male teachers, reflect the views of the community. Since the secondary schools are staffed mainly by male teachers, it can be deduced the male Indian teachers are empowered in terms of academic qualifications and job security more than their female counterparts.

Some responses of the Interviewees

6.2.4.2.23 The Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates is gender biased in terms of conditions of service and promotion opportunities. Do you agree? Why? (App C4,1)

All the teachers agreed with the statement. They said that the female teachers were discriminated against in all aspects of the educational structure allocation of subjects and duties, promotion opportunities and service benefits such as pensions, housing subsidies, medical aid etc. In terms of paid maternity leave they receive benefits for two children only but males do

not qualify for paternity leave. Women are grossly under-represented in the positions of power or authority, a situation which disadvantages against them in terms of economic empowerment. These viewpoints confirm what was said in 6.2.1.1 and Chapter 4 but the majority of the principals contradicted the insinuation in 6.2.2.2.6.

6.2.4.2.24 Male teachers and female teachers with equal qualifications should receive equal salaries and other service benefits? Do you agree? Why? (App C4,3)

All the teachers felt there is no justification for discrimination, as equal qualifications would result in equal inputs/outputs and equal inputs/outputs should result in equal rewards. However, some teachers had reservations about housing subsidies and medical aid benefits for women whose husbands are also teachers, as these double benefits to these families would be a burden on the state. They recommended these benefits be granted to one member per family. These views are, in the main, support by all the principals (vide 6.2.2.2.7).

6.2.4.2.25 In your opinion, who are the sexist teachers, males or females or both? Why do you say this? (App C4, 11).

Thirty-five percent of the teachers said that the male teachers are sexist, 10% said that female teachers are sexist and 55% said that all teachers are sexist. Those who chose to say 'males', argued that the male teachers pick on the female teachers more often than female teachers pick on the male

teachers when something goes wrong; that the male teachers expect a stricter code of conduct from the females; that male teachers feel privileged at schools; that they treat girls as 'sexual objects' and make derogatory remarks about girls, that the male teachers give more attention to male students. Those who said that females are more sexist, said that the female teachers favour the female students and complain about the male students' discipline. Those who took the 'both' option also gave all the above reasons. In addition, they said that the teachers punish or reprimand the male students more than the female students for misconduct; in some instances the female and male teachers are biased against the same-sex students but in other instances some they favour the opposite-sex students.

6.2.4.2.26 In your opinion, who are sexist teachers, the young ones or the older ones? Why do you say this? (App C4,12)

Twenty-five percent of the teachers said that the younger ones are sexist, 45% said that the older ones are sexist and 30% said that age has nothing to do with sexism. Those who chose to say "the younger one" argued that because they are not parents they cannot treat the students impartially and that because of their immaturity they do not have the insight into the relationships that should ideally exist between the sexes. Those who said the "older ones" are sexist, argued that they belong to the old school of thought and find it difficult to change while the younger ones, especially those fresh from tertiary institutions come with "young" ideas because they are

enlightened by reading overseas literature; and that they are able to mix more freely. Now that there is an increase in the number of females in the workplace, the older males find them a source of threat and discomfort. Some teachers said that the older male teachers practise ingrained conservative ways at home and they transfer these ideas and practices to the schools. Those who found no correlation between age and sexism said that both age groups could favour or victimise the students/teachers as all of them perform the same duties, implement the rules and display the same feelings. The views of the last category of interviewees are quite contrary to the views of the contributors to Weiners' (1987) book (vide chapter 3 and 4).

6.2.4.2.27 In your opinion, who are the sexist teachers, those who have university degrees and diplomas or those who have lower qualifications than these? Why do you say so? (App C4,13).

Sixty-five percent of the teachers said all teachers can be sexist, 10% said that those with degrees and diplomas are sexist, 15% said those with lower qualifications are sexist and 20% declined to comment probably, because they were unsure or they did not want to commit themselves. Most of those who said all teachers argued that qualifications had little or nothing to do with sexism. As sexism is an attitude learned in the home and in the community, it becomes ingrained in the individual over the years. Those who said that the sexist teachers are the ones with lower qualifications argued that the lack of enlightenment and insights make these teachers so. They argued that those teachers with degrees and diplomas are more accommodating as

they are exposed to universal ideas through reading American and other European literature. The views of the majority of the teachers are at odds with the views of writers like Weiner (1987), who argue that education impacts positively on sexism (vide chapter 4).

6.2.4.2.28 Do you think that the women teachers' income is a supplementary income to the family? Why? (App C4,16)

Of the teachers interviewed (app C4,16), 60% said 'no' and 40% said 'yes'. Those who said 'yes' argued that if the husband is the principal breadwinner, then the wife's salary is supplementary; but, if the wife is the principal breadwinner her income cannot be regarded as supplementary. Those who said 'no' rejected out of hand the insinuation that the women teachers' salaries are supplementary. They said that the wife's income is as important as the husband's income and their incomes must be regarded as joint or family incomes. These teacher's responses constitute a strong opposition to Venter's (1977) assertion that the husband is the principal breadwinner and the wife's salary is supplementary to her husband's income (vide chapter 4).

6.2.4.2.29 Do you think that women teachers should contribute to a Widowers' Pension Fund? Why? (App C4,17).

Ninety percent of the teachers said 'yes' and only 10% said 'no'. Those who said 'no' did not find it necessary for men to rely on their wives' pension as they were self-sufficient. But, those

who said 'yes' argued that the husbands should benefit from their wives' pension in the same way their wives would benefit from their own pension; that the widowers' pension would replace their wives' incomes, thereby helping their families to maintain the standard of living, that contributing to a widowers' pension fund would allow the women to gain equal status along with their husband.

6.2.4.2.30 Who, do you think, make better administrators, women or men?

Why? (App C4, 18)

Forty percent of the teachers said men were better administrators, 25% said women were better administrators, 30% said women and men are equally good and 5% declined to comment probably because they felt the question to be improper. Those who chose to say 'men' argued that men are the leaders and women the followers; that women shy away from leadership roles because of socio-logical-psychological-biological dispositions; that in times of crises women become too emotional and agitated to handle the situations and therefore rely on males who are naturally more rational to make decisions, that males being more dominant get the job done but females, who are soft, lose control. Some male teachers, however, said that these conditions prevail purely through conditioning and that there is nothing inherent in women that makes them the weaker administrators. On the other hand, there were a few female teachers who said that they prefer male administrators as they are fairer whereas women in positions of power tend to become too authoritarian and discriminatory.

Those who chose the 'women', option dwelt on women's organisational ability: women are meticulous record-keepers who have an eye for detail; with the experience as house-keepers they are in a better position to run schools. Those who said both sexes are good administrators emphasised the need for women to be given opportunities to fill administration posts at schools. The favourable responses to women's administrative abilities are, like the principals' responses however, at odds with the status quo at the Indian schools (vide 6.2.1.1).

6.2.4.2.31 What, do you think, men feel about serving under a female principal? (App C4,19)

The majority of the teachers said that the males would resent this: that they would feel uncomfortable because their roles would be reversed, for, at home they are dominant figures and at school they would have to become subservient, that their male status would be threatened, restricted or made inadequate; that they would have to underplay their roles which is not socially normal. The other teachers said that some male teachers would not have any objections to serving under a female principal, that they would respect her as they respect a male principal. A few male teachers said that they do not mind serving under female principals as long as they (the female principals) are not mere figure-heads who delegate all their duties to the male teachers.

6.2.4.2.32 Do you think male students cleave to male teachers and female students to female teachers? Why does this happen/does not happen? (App C4,21).

Only 25% of the teachers (20% of the males and 30% of the females) said 'yes' but 65% of them (70% of the males and 60% of the females) said 'no'. Ten percent of the teachers said that cross cleavages take place depending on the needs of the individuals, the charm of the teachers and the relationship between the students and the teachers.

The teachers who said 'yes' argued that same-sex cleavages take place mainly because the male students are placed under the control of the male teachers and the female students under the control of female teachers, which is the traditional practice at schools. Other reasons cited were : sexual harassment, same-sex identification and being comfortable with the teachers of the same sex.

Those teachers who said 'no' said that there is a teacher-student relationship in which students respect teachers as teachers and cleavages are out of the question; that there are opposite-sex cleavages rather than same-sex ones emanating from the home where the sons cleave to their mothers and the daughters to their fathers, but with time, in the primary schools the girls cleave to the female teachers (the mother figures) and the boys cleave to the male teachers (the father figures). Some teachers said that most students cleave to the males because they are more popular and understanding. They listen to their

6.2.4.2.32 Do you think male students cleave to male teachers and female students to female teachers? Why does this happen/does not happen? (App C4,21).

Only 25% of the teachers (20% of the males and 30% of the females) said 'yes' but 65% of them (70% of the males and 60% of the females) said 'no'. Ten percent of the teachers said that cross cleavages take place depending on the needs of the individuals, the charm of the teachers and the relationship between the students and the teachers.

The teachers who said 'yes' argued that same-sex cleavages take place mainly because the male students are placed under the control of the male teachers and the female students under the control of female teachers, which is the traditional practice at schools. Other reasons cited were : sexual harassment, same-sex identification and being comfortable with the teachers of the same sex.

Those teachers who said 'no' said that there is a teacher-student relationship in which students respect teachers as teachers and cleavages are out of the question; that there are opposite-sex cleavages rather than same-sex ones emanating from the home where the sons cleave to their mothers and the daughters to their fathers, but with time, in the primary schools the girls cleave to the female teachers (the mother figures) and the boys cleave to the male teachers (the father figures). Some teachers said that most students cleave to the males because they are more popular and understanding. They listen to their

problems whereas the female teachers do not have the time for this type of service as they hasten off after school to attend to household chores. The male teachers appear to have more time so that they could give their students the pastoral care that women cannot. It also implies that females do not have as much leisure time because they have domestic matters to attend to. It appears, then, that cleavages are a more complex phenomenon than simple same sex or opposite sex attachments (vide chapter 3, Chodorow, 1978).

6.2.4.3 Summary

1. Primary schools are staffed mainly by female teachers, because they as the mother figures, are more suited to handle the little children, the males are more suited to handle the SS students as they are more highly qualified, command more respect and have a firmer control over the students the community assigns a higher status to SS teachers than the PS teachers; the SS teachers, who are mainly males, are empowered to achieve recognition in terms of academic worth, promotion opportunities, administrative duties etc.
2. At some schools the allocation of subjects, curricular and extracurricular duties and form-classes are not gender biased but the HOD's Department of Education as a whole is gender biased, discriminating against women in terms of service conditions, service benefits and promotional opportunities.

3. The curricula prescribed by the House of Delegates is gender-biased, at secondary schools, the subjects become differentiated into 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects, for eg. Maths and Sciences are 'boy friendly' subjects and 'Domestic Science, Housecraft, the language etc are 'girl friendly' subjects; these 'gendered' subjects prepare male students and female students for different roles and present them with different life - chances. The students choose or are influenced to choose subjects which are on their side of the barrier - subjects which are compatible with their life-roles and life-chances. Even if the students cross the 'male-female' subject barrier, the females have difficulty in finding jobs in male dominated fields.
4. Male and female teachers with equal qualifications and making equal inputs should receive the same benefits; women's incomes are not supplementary but important parts of the family incomes; women teachers should be given more opportunities to attain managerial position as women are as good as men at administrative work.
5. Age and qualifications have little or nothing to do with being more or less sexist both men and women can be sexist.
6. Teachers covertly predict marriage for female students although they value academic achievement for girls.

7. Teachers do not influence male students to become leaders and female students to followers.
8. Female students drop out of school due, mainly, to economic problems of the families, teenage pregnancy and to a small extent to cultural or religious pressures for early marriage.

6.2.5 STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS

6.2.5.1 The Senior Secondary Students

6.2.5.1.1 Background

The age of the senior secondary students studied ranged from 15 to 18. Overall, 66,4% of the pupils were in the 17-year age group and 27,1% were in the 16-year group.

Some 58,6% of the fathers and 62,1% of the mothers had a secondary education, 20% of the fathers but only 9,3% of the mothers had a tertiary education, and 1,4% of the fathers and 6,4% of the mothers had only a primary education. About 55,8% of the mothers were housewives and there were no fathers involved in any kind of domestic work. Of the working parents, 11,4% of the fathers and 5,7% of the mothers were professionals, mainly doctors and teachers, 21,7% of the fathers and 8,3% of the mothers were business-people, 16,4% of the fathers and 6,7% of the mothers were in managerial positions,

9,3% of the fathers and 0,8% of the mothers had technical or skilled jobs and 6,4% of the fathers and 14,3% of the mothers had semi-skilled jobs. In other jobs, the fathers and mothers were fairly evenly represented.

In terms of hobbies, 80% of the male students liked outdoor activities while 45% of the female students liked outdoor activities. What is more significant is that 68,3% of the females but only 21,7% of the males had reading as a hobby.

The students' ambitions showed a leaning for the professions. About 38,7% of the males and 33,4% of the females wanted to become either doctors or pharmacists or teachers, 30% of the males wanted to become engineers or technicians but no females had any inclinations in this direction. In the community services (nursing, catering, policing etc), 6,7% of the males would choose this direction mainly as policemen and 40% of the females wanted to become nurses. Only 1,6% of the females compared to 5% of the males would aspire for managerial positions.

6.2.5.1.2 Attitude to School/Education/Career

6.2.5.1.2.1 Do you think male and female students should be segregated as they are at schools?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.1
Sex Segregation at School

	YES		NO		INDIFFERENT	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	3	5	56	93,3	1	1,7
Females	9	15	50	83,3	1	1,7
TOTAL	12	10	106	88,3	2	1,7

A greater proportion of the students rejected segregation at schools. However, of those who favoured segregation, the greater proportion are the female students.

The question of mixing, especially in sports, was raised in the interviews (app C3,8); 80% of the males and 60% of the female agreed that there should be mixing in sports at schools. Most of these students argued that they are fully integrated in the other activities at school and in the larger community and there is no need for students to be segregated in selected activities, eg. sports at school. They further argued that integration in sports improves communication and understanding; it reduces conflict and tension between the male and female students. The 20% of the males and 40% of the females who favoured segregation in sports said that there is a natural difference between males and females; that the females are not as strong as the males and therefore they would not be able to play robust 'boys' games. Some of the females said that they are more comfortable in girls' groups as they are not so rough as boys. This viewpoint is supported by 48,9% of JS students (mostly girls) who favoured segregation at schools (App A1, 1.1-1.4).

6.2.5.1.2.2The school influences the students more strongly than the home and the media to behave like and perform the role of males and females.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.2
Sex-role Stereotyping by Schools

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	7	11,7	26	43,3	7	11,7	17	28,3	3	5
Females	7	11,7	19	31,6	10	16,7	18	30	6	10
TOTAL	14	11,7	45	37,5	17	14,2	35	29,1	9	7,5

Overall, 49,2% of the students agreed, 36,7% disagreed and 14,2% were unsure. Fifty-five percent of the boys and 43,3% of the girls agreed but 33,8% of the boys and 40% of the girls disagreed. In the case of the boys there was a stronger support for the statement. But the girls were divided in their opinions although there was a marginal support. About 70% of the JS students said that sex-role stereotyping takes place in the school (vide app A1, 2.1-2.3, 3.1-3.3).

6.2.5.1.2.3The secondary school curriculum is divided in such a way that the female students are given subjects like Domestic Science and Typing so that they could become housewives or secretaries.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.3
'Female' Subjects for 'Female' Jobs

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	14	23,3	16	26,7	1	1,7	22	36,7	7	11,7
Females	10	16,7	16	26,7	3	5	22	36,7	9	15
TOTAL	24	20	32	26,7	4	3,3	44	36,7	16	13,3

Overall, 46,7% of the students agreed and 50% disagreed; 50% of the males and 43,3% of the females agreed whereas 48,3% of the males and 51,7% of the females disagreed.

A different response emerged when the issue was raised in the interviews (app C3,7). About 80% of the students felt that the Commercial subjects, eg, Typing, and Housecraft were most useful for girls as these subjects would aid them in getting jobs as clerks and secretaries and in preparation for marriage and domestication.

6.2.5.1.2.4 At secondary schools, it is better for a female student to be called a 'tomboy' than it is for a male student to be called a 'sissie'.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.4
Deviance

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	12	20	13	21,7	10	16,6	12	20	13	21,7
Females	9	15	14	23,3	3	5	13	21,7	21	35
TOTAL	21	17,5	27	22,5	13	10,8	25	20,8	34	28,4

Overall, 40% of the students agreed and 49,2% disagreed. It is significant that 42,7% of the males agreed whereas 56,7% of the females disagreed.

In the interviews, (app C3,2), the students were asked if the teachers scolded male students for behaving like females students and female students for behaving like male students.

Some 60% of the male students and 90% of the female students said 'yes'. Some of the things for which the boys were scolded were the wearing of earrings, painting of nails, talking in shrill voices, crying, chattering, gossiping, complaining and giggling. Girls, on the other hand, were scolded for the following things : arguing 'like boys', cutting the line at the assembly, fighting 'like boys', speaking slangs, hanging around the game shop in the corners, and jumping onto the desk. They said that the teachers generally expect boys to behave like 'boys' and girls to behave like 'girls'. Girls were sometimes not allowed to talk to boys or play 'boys' games like soccer. About 75% of JS students expressed the same feelings in their interviews (app C2,2).

6.2.5.1.2.5. At school male students are influenced to become leaders and the female students are influenced to become followers in later life.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.5
Schools Male Leaders and Female Followers

	SA		A		U		D		SD	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	10	16,7	11	18,3	1	1,7	21	35	17	28,3
Females	10	16,7	12	20	5	8,3	22	36,7	11	18,3
TOTAL	20	16,7	23	19,2	6	5	43	35,8	28	23,3

Fifty-nine percent of the students disagreed with the statement. Those students who disagreed comprised 63,3% of the males and 55% of the females.

In the interviews, (app C3,10), the students were asked if the teachers regarded male students, to be superior to female students. Some 35% of all the students said 'yes' but 60% said 'no'. Those who said 'yes' argued that the boys are encouraged to work harder to ensure that they obtain better passes than the girls so they could get the good jobs later in life. Further, these students said that if the boys are beaten by the girls they are chid by the teachers. Those who said 'no' declared that the teachers treat boys and girls equally. If there were praise or rebuke for school work, both sexes receive them equally. About 35% of the JS students said in their interviews (app C2,10) that boys are regarded by some teachers to be superior to girls and they, therefore, good the boys on to perform better if they lag.

6.2.5.1.2.6. How often do teachers use pronouns like he, his, him and himself in the classroom without mentioning she, her, hers and herself?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.6
Sexist Language in Favour of Males

	ALL THE TIME		MOST OF THE TIME		SOMETIMES		SELDOM		UN-CERTAIN	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	8	13,3	17	28,3	22	36,7	8	13,3	5	8,3
Females	7	11,7	19	31,7	23	38,3	8	13,3	3	5
TOTAL	15	25	36	30	45	37,5	16	13,3	8	6,7

Overall 42,5% of the students said that there is a high frequency use of sexist language, 37,5% said there is from medium to low frequency use and 13,3% said there is very low frequency use. What is significant is that 93% of the students recognise the use of sexist language in favour of boys in the

classroom. However 6,7% of the students were unaware of the use of sexist language in favour of the males in the classroom. About 77% of the JS students (app A1, 11) indicated that the teachers use sexist language in favour of males most of the time.

6.2.5.1.2.7 How often do teachers use pronouns like she, her, hers and herself in the classroom without mentioning he, him, his and herself?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.7
Sexist Language in Favour of Females

	ALL THE TIME		MOST OF THE TIME		SOMETIMES		SELDOM		UN-CERTAIN	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	1,7	5	8,3	20	33,3	25	41,7	9	15
Females	2	3,3	6	10	26	43,3	23	38,3	3	5
TOTAL	3	2,5	11	9,2	46	38,3	48	40	12	10

The majority (78,3%) of the students said that teachers use sexist language in favour of female students sometimes or seldom. However, only 11,7% of the students said that teachers use sexist language in favour of females on a high frequency level and 10% of the students were unaware of the use of sexist language in favour of the females in the classroom. About 75% of the JS students indicated that the teachers use sexist language in favour of the female students some of the time (app A1,12).

6.2.5.1.2.8 How often do teachers use books and other media materials in which males are the main characters?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.8
Literature with Male Protagonists

	ALL THE TIME		MOST OF THE TIME		SOMETIMES		SELDOM		UN-CERTAIN	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	5	8,3	13	21,7	22	36,7	16	26,7	4	6,7
Females	8	13,3	19	31,7	10	16,7	14	23,3	9	15
TOTAL	13	10,8	32	26,7	32	26,7	30	25	13	10,8

The majority (64,2%) of the students said that teachers chose books with males as the main characters most of the time or at least some of the time. The other 35,8% of the students were either partly aware or unaware of the bias for males in the choice of books and other media material. To confirm the use of sexist literature, 62,5% of the JS students said that the teachers use books with males as main characters most of the time (App A1,10).

6.2.5.2.9 How often do teachers use books and other media materials in which females are the main characters?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.9
Literature with Female Protagonists

	ALL THE TIME		MOST OF THE TIME		SOMETIMES		SELDOM		UN-CERTAIN	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	1	1,7	4	6,7	18	30	32	53,3	5	8,3
Females	1	1,7	1	1,7	21	35	27	45	10	16,7
TOTAL	2	1,7	5	4,2	39	32,5	59	49,1	15	12,5

The majority (81,7%) of the students said the teachers sometimes or seldom choose books and other media material with females as the main characters. An interesting feature of the response to this question is that 53,3% of the males and 45% of the females said 'seldom'. By implication, the JS students confirmed this view in (app A1,10).

6.2.5.1.2.10 Which students talk out of turn in the classroom most of the time?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.10
Talkative Students

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	14	23,3	20	33,3	26	43,4
Females	30	50	5	8,3	25	41,7
TOTAL	44	36,6	25	25	51	42,5

A sizeable proportion of the students (42,5%) said that both the sexes talk out of turn in the classroom but of those who chose to draw a distinction between 'male' and 'female' behaviour clearly, said that the male students are more prone to talking out of turn in the classroom. What is significant about these responses is that 50% of the females accused the males whereas 33,3% of the males accused the females.

Similar issues were raised in the interviews (app C3,3) when 100% of the students said that the male students are guilty of misconduct most of the time. The male students said that the female students are afraid of punishment or reprimand and because they are kept strictly at home they desisted from

misconduct. According to them the boys are noisier, do not listen to or back-talk the teachers and shout out the answers even when they are not asked. The female students accused the male students of being exuberant, arguing with the teachers and disrupting lessons by shouting out answers, especially when female teachers are present in the classroom. This viewpoint was also confirmed by about 60% of the JS students (A1,8; app C2,9) but contradicted by the teachers in 6.2.4.2.20.

6.2.5.1.2.11. Whose responses do pupils and teachers pay more attention to?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.11
Teachers' Evaluation of Answers

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	6	10	29	48,3	25	41,7
Females	6	10	15	25	39	65
TOTAL	12	10	44	36,7	64	53,3

Most (53,3%) of the students said that the teachers give attention to both the sexes equally. Most of the students who chose to draw a distinction, on the other hand, said that the teachers favour the female students.

The issue was raised in the interviews (app C3,15). Seventy-five percent of the students disagreed with the suggestion that the boys' responses are given more prominence and value. Most said that teachers are fair to both the sexes in the distribution of questions, in their evaluation of the answers and in their praises. Some male and female students said that

the female students often give better answers and receive due credit for them. But this argument is rebutted by the responses of JS students presented in 6.2.5.2.10 above and to a less extent by the teachers' responses in 6.2.4.2.21.

6.2.5.2.12 Which students prefer subjects like English, Afrikaans and the Humanities (History, Geography etc.) to Maths and Science?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.12
Languages and Humanities Preferences

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	4	6,7	33	55	23	38,3	-	-
Females	5	8,3	27	45	27	45	1	1,7
TOTAL	9	7,5	60	50	50	41,7	1	0,8

The majority (50%) of the students said that the female students choose the above subjects, confirming the feminists' claim that the languages and the humanities are the domain of the female students. However, 41,6% of the students said that both the sexes choose the subjects.

In the interviews (app C3,4), it was found that only 20% of the males like English and Afrikaans, but 50% of them like Maths and 70% like Sciences; of the female students, 60% like English, 40% like Afrikaans, 50% like the Sciences but only 20% like Maths. The male students like Maths because it involves more reasoning and logic and little swotting of facts. The female students like the languages because they like reading in the time they spend indoors and they like Science (eg. Biology) because they like swotting.

In the other interviews (app C3,6 and 7) a different picture emerged about the usefulness of Maths and Science for male and female students. To question 6, 60% of the male students and 20% of the female students said that these subjects are more useful to male students. To question 7, only 10% of the male students but 70% of the female students said that Maths and the Sciences are useful to female students. The argument presented was that the Sciences are useful to females who want to study medicine or nursing and Maths would be useful to them in activities such as cooking and sewing.

This issue was raised with JS students (app A1,4 and C2,5/6).

The overall reaction from the students indicates that the languages and humanities are more the domain of the females than the males.

6.2.5.1.2.13 Which students prefer Maths and Science to subjects like English, Afrikaans and Humanities (History, Geography etc)?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.13
Maths and Science Preferences

	MALES		FEMALES		BOTH	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	38	63,3	6	10	16	26,7
Females	23	38,3	8	13,3	24	48,4
TOTAL	61	50,8	14	11,7	45	37,5

The majority of the students said that Maths and the Sciences are the domain of the males. However, 37,5% of the students said that they are the domain of both the sexes.

In the interviews (app C3,5), 60% of the males and 40% of the females said that they like Afrikaans the least, and 30% of the males and 50% of the females said that they like Maths the least. Of Afrikaans, the students said that since they do not use this language in their daily lives, it is neither easy to understand nor useful. Those who did not have a flair for Maths said it is too difficult to understand and that the teachers themselves are neither helpful nor encouraging to the students.

In the interviews (app C3, 6 and 7) the majority of the male and female students felt that the usefulness of Maths and Sciences for females is marginal but subjects like Housecraft and Domestic Science are most useful since these subjects teach skills in housewifery and other domestic oriented activities.

The JS students were approached on this issue (app A1,5 and C2,5/6). The responses reflected that Maths is a male dominated subject but the Sciences are more female-dominated.

6.2.5.1.2.14 Do male students treat what female students say and do in the classroom as being trivial?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.14
Trivialisation of Females' Efforts

	YES		NO		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	21	35	25	41,7	14	23,3
Females	30	50	16	26,7	14	23,3
TOTAL	51	42,5	41	34,2	28	23,3

Some 41,7% of the male students said 'no' but 50% of the female students said 'yes'. The overall response from both the sexes was that what is said and done by the females is trivialised by the males.

In the interviews (app C3,16), 40% of the males and 70% of the females said that the statement was true but 40% of the males and 30% of the females said it was untrue and 20% of the males were unsure. Those who agreed argued that the boys feel that they are superior to the girls, that the girls are generally stupid, incapable of thinking objectively and rationally. Of those who disagreed, most of the boys said that they respect the girls' feelings, actions and views and they conceded that the girls are as capable as or even more capable than boys.

The JS interviewees (app C2,13) said that the males do trivialise the females' inputs in the classroom. Overall, the male respondents were more defensive and the females were more vociferous in their responses.

6.2.5.1.2.15 Do female students allow male students to dominate class activities.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.15
Female Students' Reaction to Male Dominance

	YES		NO		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	17	28,3	38	63,3	5	8,3
Females	11	18,3	43	71,7	6	10
TOTAL	28	23,3	81	67,5	11	9,2

Some 41,7% of the male students said 'no' but 50% of the female students said 'yes'. The overall response from both the sexes was that what is said and done by the females is trivialised by the males.

In the interviews (app C3,16), 40% of the males and 70% of the females said that the statement was true but 40% of the males and 30% of the females said it was untrue and 20% of the males were unsure. Those who agreed argued that the boys feel that they are superior to the girls, that the girls are generally stupid, incapable of thinking objectively and rationally. Of those who disagreed, most of the boys said that they respect the girls' feelings, actions and views and they conceded that the girls are as capable as or even more capable than boys.

The JS interviewees (app C2,13) said that the males do trivialise the females' inputs in the classroom. Overall, the male respondents were more defensive and the females were more vociferous in their responses.

6.2.5.1.2.15 Do female students allow male students to dominate class activities.

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.15
Female Students' Reaction to Male Dominance

	YES		NO		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	17	28,3	38	63,3	5	8,3
Females	11	18,3	43	71,7	6	10
TOTAL	28	23,3	81	67,5	11	9,2

A large proportion of the boys said 'yes' but an even larger proportion of the girls said 'no'. Overall, 67,3% of the students said 'no', which corroborates the response of the girls who said 'no'. It is evident from the reactions that the girls are now taking a stand in the classroom, a significant departure from what the feminists say.

In the interviews (app C3,11), 40% of the male students and 50% of the female students said 'yes' and 60% of the male students and 50% of the female students said 'no'. Of the 'yes' students, the males felt that the boys are more overbearing and powerful and the girls more passive to the extent that they seem to be afraid of the boys. Therefore, they allow the boys to have their way. Moreover, it was said that the teachers and the girls believe that the boys are superior. Of the students who said 'no' the male students said that although the girls retract at times, they are generally not submissive but rather plucky and outspoken; that they equal or better the performance of boys, who, in turn, respect them for that. Some students said that the girls are submissive in the primary school but they become assertive in the secondary school, often bettering the boys' performance. Other students said that even where the girls regard the boys as superior, they do not shy away; instead they stand up and make their contributions.

In the interviews with the JS students (app A1,8 and C2,9) most of the females said that even if the females assert themselves they are overpowered by the males with their bullying tactics or by their exuberance.

6.2.5.1.2.16 After you complete your matriculation course, which of the following options would you like to take?

TABLE 6.2.5.1.2.16
Post Matric Options

	UNIVERSITY		TECHNIKON		TEACHERS TR COLLEGE		EMPLOYMENT		UNSURE	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%		%
Males	36	60	17	28,3	0	-	6	10	1	1,7
Females	38	63,3	10	16,7	2	3,3	9	15	1	1,7
TOTAL	74	61,6	27	22,5	2	1,7	15	12,5	2	1,7

Some important trends are noticeable. First, more girls than boys want to enter university; second, fewer girls want a technical education; third, only girls want to enter teacher training college, consistent with the trend that the teaching profession is becoming increasingly feminine in the Indian community; fourth, that 60% of the work-seekers will be girls, emphasising the notion that the females' education can be sacrificed for economic reasons in the Indian home (vide parents' interview 6.2.3.2.6; 6.2.3.2.7 and principals' inputs 6.2.2.2.14).

6.2.5.1.2.17.Some Responses from Interviewees

Do you think that students should wear school uniforms as laid down by the schools in Tongaat? Why? (App C3,1)

Seventy percent of the male students and 90% of the female students said 'yes'. These students argued that there is need for 'boys' and 'girls' clothes. If the students dress in sexually defined clothes they would dress traditionally and show respect for the school and the teachers who demand school uniforms to

be worn. Some girls said that if girls wore pants to school they would be labelled as 'tomboys'. The other students (20%) who said 'no' did not see the purpose in boys and girls dressing differently.

When the JS students were asked about uniforms (App C2,1), 30% of the males and 100% of the females wanted the retention of school uniforms for reasons the SS students gave. However, 70% of the males who wanted the abolition of schools uniforms argued that since males and females are allowed to dress the way they wish outside school they see no reason for schools to enforce uniforms.

6.2.5.1.2.18. Do you think it matters if your P.E. instructor is a male or a female? Why? (App C3,9)

Seventy percent of the males and 50% of the females said 'no'. These students said that although it is a little uncomfortable to discuss personal problems with the teachers of the opposite sex, they find that both male and female teachers equally competent to handle the subject and the students. The other students who said 'yes', argued that they would be more comfortable with teachers of their own sex, as they could relate better to them in terms of personal problems (eg. personal hygiene). The male students said that the female teachers might not be able to handle the boys as they (the boys) bully women teachers at times. They also felt that 'female' teachers might not be able to cope with the pressures obtaining in PE and other sporting activities, but that the males are able to cope as they were themselves once boys. The female students said that they

would be freer with female teachers, who understand them better than the male teachers do. The matter probed with the JS students (app A1,13 and C2,8). An overwhelming majority of the students indicated that, for, similar reasons given by the SS students above, they are gender-blind as to who teaches them.

6.2.5.1.2.19.Parents, teachers and the female students themselves, believe that the female students will marry eventually and build their homes, and therefore academic achievement is unnecessary for them. Do you agree with this belief? Why? (App C3, 12).

Thirty percent of the male students and 10% of the female students said 'yes' and 70% of the male students and 90% of the female students said 'no'. Those who said 'yes' argued that women do marry eventually and become domesticated and therefore they do not need as much education as males, who eventually become the supporters of families. Std 10 is adequate for girls. Those who said 'no' found that education is an asset to the females, both in their single and married states. Education would enable women to become economically and socially independent; it would enhance the economy and the quality of life in households; it would enable them to become good role models as mothers and wives; modern men like to marry educated women and this enhances the women's marital status; it enables women to earn respect in the community; as women now enjoy a longer spinsterhood, it enables them to pursue their careers for a longer period.

The responses of the majority of the student coincide with the parents' (vide 6.2.3.2.3 and 6.2.3.2.11) and teachers' (vide 6.2.4.2.11) inputs.

6.2.5.1.2.20. Do you think that both male and female teachers give male students more attention than the female students? Why do you say this? (App C3,13).

Twenty percent of the male students and 70% of the female students said 'yes' but 80% of the males and 30% of the females said 'no'. Of those who said 'yes', both males and females said that the boys get more attention in the negative sense, that they are reprimanded or punished more often for misconduct and defaulting homework, but both the sexes receive an equal share of positive attention. Some female students said that the girls, sometimes, receive more attention from the male teachers, the boys receive more attention from the female teachers and that the girls receive more scolding from the female teachers. Those who said 'no' said that both the sexes receive equal attention from male and female teachers – be it negative or positive. However, some said that the male teachers are stricter with the boys and the female teachers are stricter with the girls – same-sex expectations.

In response to the issue raised in app A1,9 and C2,3,4 the majority of the JS students said that the males receive more attention, albeit, often in the negative sense. Most female

students perceive this treatment as an exercise to curb the male students so that they would do well academically – an indirect form of empowerment (vide 6.2.4.2.20).

6.2.5.1.2.21. Do you think that the male teachers know their subjects better, prepare their work more thoroughly, have a better control over their students and get better response from them? How can you say this? (app C3,14)

The male students were evenly divided in their opinions but 70% of the female students disagreed. Those who said 'yes', said that the male teachers are sterner with the students, they get better discipline and thereby produce better academic results. These students, however, could never completely agree that the male teachers are more well prepared for their lessons and therefore they are better teachers.

Most of the students who disagreed, whilst conceding that the male teachers get better discipline, emphatically stated that the female teachers teach as well as or better than the male teachers. Most of them find the women teachers to be more well prepared, to explain things better and to get better results.

Of the JS students (App C2,12), 60% of the males and 90% of the females said that both the sexes are equally good teachers; 40% of the males and 10% of the females said that the males are better teachers. The reasons given by both categories of respondents were similar to those by the SS students above.

6.2.5.1.2.22 What do you propose to do after you complete your matriculation course? Why did you choose this? (App C3,17)

Of the male students, 20% wanted to join the professions, 50% the technical field and 30% the commercial field. Of the females, 50% wanted to join the profession (mainly teaching and medicine) and the 50% wanted to join the caring, the community or catering services, for examples, as nurses and policewomen. They said that as policewomen they would enjoy authority and job security and as nurses they would be able to render humanitarian service to people.

There is a close correlation between the occupations of the parents and the ambitions of the students. There is a possibility that the students have mindsets of their own. These responses are similar to those given by the SS students in 6.2.5.2.16.

6.2.5.1.3 Summary

1. Most parents had a secondary education, 55,8% of the mothers are housewives, the remainder are engaged in salaried or waged labour ranging from the professions to semi-skilled work.
2. Influenced by parents, most students want to join the professions (doctors, teachers, lawyers etc); technicians (computer) and community services (nurses, policemen/women).

3. Most students rejected the sexual segregation at schools but 80% wanted the retention of school uniforms; most rejected the notion that the school inculcates sexist ways more strongly than the other institutions.
4. Many students agreed that the curricula are divided into 'male' and 'female' subjects at schools to meet demands of the job market; if students crossed the subject barrier, the females have difficulty in finding jobs in male dominated fields.
5. At school, it is considered more derogatory for a male students to behave like a female student than it is for a female student to behave like a male student.
6. Teachers do not overtly influence male students to become leaders and female students the followers but covertly the males are coaxed or coerced to achieve academically so that they are empowered in later life.
7. Teachers use sexist language and male biased literature in classroom most of time.
8. Teachers give equal attention to all students most of the time but sometimes the male students get more attention, especially of the negative kind.
9. Most students are gender-blind as to who teaches them; but the female teachers are popular.

6.2.5.2 The Junior Secondary Students

6.2.5.2.1 Background

The age of the JS students studied ranged from 11 to 15. Overall, 89,3% of the students were in the 11-13 year age group and 9,3% were in the 14-year age group.

Nine percent of the fathers and 14,7% of the mothers of the students had only a primary education, 81,4% of the fathers and 83% of the mothers had a secondary education, and 13,6% of the fathers and only 3,7% of the mothers had a tertiary education. Only 1 mother had no schooling at all.

Sixty-three percent of the mothers were involved in domestic work but no fathers were involved in this type of work; 20% of the fathers and 5% of the mothers were engaged in skilled work and 10% of the fathers and 15% of the mothers were engaged in semi-skilled or unskilled work; 11,9% of the fathers and 6,7% of the mothers were in the professions - mainly teachers and doctors; 3% of the fathers and 10% of the mothers were in the community services - nurses, policemen, policewomen etc., and 42,5% of the fathers but only 13,4% of the mothers were in the commercial and managerial fields.

The majority of the male students have outdoor hobbies. Sixty-percent of the females had reading as a hobby but only 28,3% of the males had this hobby.

Overall, 56,7% of the male students and 63,3% of the female students want to join the professions mainly as doctors, lawyers and teachers, 13,3% of the males and 20% of the females want to join the community services as air-hostesses, nurses, policemen, policewomen etc., 20% of the males but only 3% of the females want to join the technical fields as engineers, computer technicians etc.

On the question of whether their mothers should work outside their homes for a wage or salary, 60% of the male students and 50% of the female students said 'yes' and 40% of the males and 50% of the females said 'no'.

6.2.5.2.2 Attitude to School/Education

As the issues raised in the questionnaire (app A1) and the interview schedule (app C1) constructed for the JS pupils overlap with those prepared for the SS students, it was considered expedient and judicious that after incorporating most of the responses of JS students in the SS students' section, to present the findings in this part of the research in summarised form.

6.2.5.2.3 Summary

1. The majority of the parents had a secondary education and they were engaged in occupation ranging from the professions to housewifery; the ambitions of students are

strongly influenced by the occupations of their parents, the majority of the pupils favour the idea of their mothers working outside the home for wages or salaries.

2. The male students favour integration at schools but the female students favour segregation; sex-role stereotyping takes place in the classrooms; most of the males want the abolition of school uniforms but all the females favour the retention.
3. The curriculum is broadly divided into 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects (eg. Technical Drawing) being the domain of the males students and the languages, the Humanities and technology (eg. Domestic Science) being female dominated, the literature, the text books and other media resources used in the classroom have a male bias, there is no clear evidence of sexist language being used in the classrooms.
4. Teachers treat boys and girls fairly, although boys are reprimanded more often because they are more prone to misconduct and shirking of school work; the pupils have no special preferences with regard to the sex of their teachers since both sexes are regarded to be equally competent; the male teachers produce better results through sheer discipline and control but the female are better teachers, they treat the pupils more sympathetically and tactfully; the boys are expected to behave like 'boys' and the girls like 'girls'.

5. The tensions between the male and female students are intense, for the male students ridicule the efforts of the female students and vice versa, but there is also much mutual respect and goodwill among the students.
6. Generally the female students perform better in the academic aspect at schools but the male students are more visible in other aspects like public speaking, Maths Contests and sports.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the entire research in the form of general conclusions, make some recommendations and then offer some suggestions for further research around this theme.

7.2 Conclusions

7.2.1 The Purpose of the Study

This study was undertaken to measure the extent to which sexism and/or non-sexism exist in Indian education.

The research was conducted in an atmosphere of burgeoning feminism/non sexism in South Africa and the web created by the various interactions is not simple to unravel as there is a wide range of factors to be considered. The result is that some of the conclusions offered may be challenged. The researcher maintains, however, that they are justified and valid under most circumstances.

7.2.2 Statement of the Problem

The problem which led to this research project started as a result of the researcher's concern that sexism in Indian education is undermining the female students and teachers. Consequently, there was a need to investigate these problems as well as to seek more information and make suggestions that might help to solve some of the problems.

7.2.3 The Situation

For the under-mentioned reasons, Tongaat proved to be a suitable and viable locality for the conduct of the research.

- . The large Indian population was representative of the South African Indians.
- . The people (subjects) selected from the various social strata enriched the measurement of attitudes.
- . The large school population facilitated sampling.
- . The urban conditions facilitated the research to a great extent.

7.2.4 The History of the Education of Indian Girls

The reason to include of this chapter was to provide an overview of the attitudes and policies that affected the education of the Indian girls since 1860. The study established that the Indian parents and the different governments had discriminated against the Indian females and under-invested in their education:

The traditional values and the economic deprivations of the Indians had greatly disadvantaged the girls until the mid-1960's . The following factors affected the girls' education.

- . early and compulsory marriage, withdrawn from school at onset of puberty
- . parents' aversion to mixed schools where their daughters' chastity could be threatened
- . the girls' education was sacrificed to make way for their brothers
- . home-based to mind the house for working mothers
- . home-based religious education, preparation for marriage
- . no benefit to natal homes in educating girls
- . female drop-outs quickly absorbed by industry - cheap labour

The governments prior 1961 did little to improve the quality of education for the Indian girls. The attempts made by the Christian Missionaries to ameliorate the Indian girls' lot met with little success. Measures introduced by the authorities and educationists to attract the Indian girls to attend school were

- . enlisting of Indian women from India and local White women to teach the girls
- . introduction of needlework and domestic science at certain schools
- . reduction of school fees
- . establishment of single-sex girls' schools

These measures had little impact on the girls' attendance at school. The position only improved when the Indian parents' prejudices broke down. In the 1930's, when the Indian women crossed over to manufacturing industry from agriculture education became imperative. Girls attended school for a longer time to attain certification required by industrial labour. With the growth in education and earning power, the Indians' life-style changed and their living standards rose. Western education had begun making an impact on the traditional culture of the Indians. There was drastic improvement to the girls' education after the passing of the Indian Education Act in 1965, when free and compulsory educate was introduced for Indian children.

7.2.5 Education and Sexism

The aim of this chapter was to provide some insights into the theoretical aspects of the relationship between education and sexism.

This study established that sexism is the discrimination against females in favour of males, that maleness is regarded as superior to femaleness and that the perpetrators of sexism are males and females alike. Sexism exists in all kinds of communities, the illiterate ones as well as the most erudite ones. The male and female dichotomies are established and observed in various ways.

- . segregation of the sexes eg. at school
- . gender-appropriate behaviour
- . sex-role stereotyping
- . sexist language/literature
- . clothing, toys, games

- . sexual division of labour

All these factors interact in social, economic, educational and political settings wherein the males are influenced to function in a dominant sphere and the females in a subservient sphere.

This study also established that in South African education has been used as an important 'state apparatus' to enact and transmit every kind of discrimination or inequality against females. The school itself entrenches, legitimises and enforces sexism, and disseminates sexist ideas more rigidly than any other agent. The discriminatory measures adopted by schools are sometimes blatant but mostly very subtle. These measures include:

- . separation of boys and girls
- . single sex-schools
- . sexual division of labour
- . sexually differentiated curricula
- . use of sexist language and literature
- . discriminatory allocation of resources
- . discrimination against women teachers - service benefits and promotion opportunities
- . sexual harassment

Sexism in education is institutionalised discrimination which is hard to eradicate but harder to detect.

7.2.6 Review of Related Literature

Literature related to sexism/non-sexism in education was reviewed with the intention of providing insights into the problem of sexism with the writings of feminists and thereby illuminating the central argument of the study.

Much literature was found on sexist/feminist issues in general and a smaller proportion on sexist/non-sexist issues in education in particular. The literature in the former category was reviewed to gain insights into feminist philosophy and the feminists' claims and demands, as a background. The latter category was reviewed to glean ideas pertinent to sexist and non-sexist education. The works of the feminists are prolific and insightful. However, it was observed that there isn't adequate literature on teacher-student, teacher-teacher and student-student relationships available.

The researcher, also encountered difficulty in obtaining relevant literature on the education of the Indian girls. There is a paucity of writings on sexism in Indian education. Overseas publications, although, relevant to sexism/non-sexism in education in the universal perspective, showed no resemblance to the education of the South African Indian females. Although, literature in the form of articles and studies is available, little has been written specifically on the education of the Indian girls. This seems to have emanated from the lack of awareness of the sexism that exists in Indian education. Moreover, most of the available literature is dated. It would appear that the burgeoning education opportunities for the Indian children since 1965 has overshadowed the problem of sexism. Indian scholars

and educationists were so pre-occupied in researching and/or writing on other problems in Indian education that they seem to have neglected the theme of sexism. Furthermore, the available literature on sexism is descriptive rather than analytical. The writers had glossed over the subject of the Indian girls' education from historical and sociological perspectives, leading to some generalised conclusions.

7.2.7 Methodology

This chapter was included to tell the reader how the research was conducted. The subjects, the methods of data gathering and the method of analysing and interpreting the data were described in detail.

The size of the sample was judged to be sufficient to validate the results. A cross-section of the Tongaat Indian population, comprising parents, teachers and students, which was considered to be an appropriate sample, was approached for its views on educational matters related to the Indian girls. The various techniques employed in sampling appeared to have enhanced the representativeness of the sample. However, an important segment, that is the Administrators of Education in the HOD's Department of Education and Culture, was excluded in the anticipation that the principals and teachers would be an adequate representatives of Indian education. The feedbacks revealed that the principals and teachers are in fact powerless to change the sexist policies and curricula prescribed by this department for the Indian schools. The views of the HOD's Education Administrators on sexism/non-sexism

in education would have added another dimension to the research. The absence of their viewpoints, especially in the light of the changing trends in South African education, it is accepted, is a shortcoming of this study.

The multi-method of data gathering was judged to be useful since it had facilitated the study of the same phenomena from different perspectives, which improved the accuracy of the judgements made. There were many instances when the different categories of respondents gave totally different responses to questions asked on the same issues. For example, in 6.2.4.2.4., there was divergence in the opinions of the interviewees and the responses of the teachers who completed the questionnaires. Clearly, the methods of data gathering had affected the responses of the two categories of subjects to such a degree. The probing by the researcher seems to have had elicited from the interviewees responses which support widely-held beliefs by feminists that Maths and Science are male-dominated subjects. This could lead to the accusation that the probing had 'coloured' the responses. The researcher, having taken cognizance of the fact that the responses in interviews of this nature can never be free of subjectivity, took precautions to minimise his influence on interviewees. On the other hand, the data gathered with the use of the survey and questionnaire served to check the subjectivity in the responses from the interviewees. Consequently, the data gathered by the three methods and the literature review were analysed and interpreted by the 'Triangulation Technique', which enhanced the accuracy of the outcomes.

7.2.8 Analysis and Interpretation

The purpose of this chapter was to report the findings of the research that was undertaken.

The main objective of the research was to measure sexist and/or non-sexist attitudes of the participants in the education of the Indian girls. To a very large extent, the findings in the investigation confirmed the various assumptions which were made in the light of issues raised by universal feminist scholarship. Simultaneously some of these beliefs were contradicted by the findings. These findings have led to the following general conclusions.

- . The traditional prejudices of the Indian parents have broken down; they see education as 'supreme' security for their girls.
- . Teachers do not overtly influence the boys to become leaders and the girls the followers; at school both the sexes appear to receive equal attention and treatment. But the girls construe the teachers' negative attention given to the boys as an exercise to empower the males and disempower the girls. This means that the teachers coerce the boys to do well academically so that this achievement empowers the boys over the girls.
- . Little seems to have changed in the attitudes of the parents and teachers in their expectations of gender appropriate behaviour. Sex-role stereotyping which is begun at home is continued at school, the sexual division of work and games, and the division of knowledge form the principles and practices.

- . The present sexist curricula are unacceptable to the parents, teachers and students. They want an open curricular dispensation with a built-in stipulation that the basic skills required for the life-roles and life-chances be made compulsory for all students.
- . Equal access to education for both the sexes in the last 30 years had not granted equal opportunities for the Indian females; this is evident in the fewness of the Indian women in the positions of authority in Indian education alone. Research in other sectors of labour could reveal similar positions.
- . Teachers use sexist language and literature in their classrooms; the hidden curriculum in this practice is aimed at empowering the males and disempowering the females.
- . Indian parents have a contribution to make to non-sexist education in South Africa but no effective channels of communication exist for them to make their inputs.
- . There is a lack of communication between the primary and secondary schools. The teachers in one section are not fully aware of the type of work that is being done in the other.

Educators and students are not fully aware of the institutionalised sexism that is prevalent in Indian Education and its ramifications. The students are largely under the illusion that the males and females are treated equally in education but they are not aware of the hidden curriculum that discriminates against and undermines the females and empowers the males. The Department of Education and Culture is itself sexist. This is understandable since it is an appendage of the Calvinistic Christian National Education system that discriminates against

females. Recently, some changes in Indian education were effected but these changes appear to be cosmetic. Fundamental changes are needed to reach egalitarian status. With the demise of this department of education in 1995 and the impending implementation of the Government of National Unity's non-sexist educational policies, it is hoped that education for the Indian girls would reach this status eventually.

7.3 Recommendations

Against the background of the non-sexist policies of the Government of National Unity and the findings of this study the following recommendations are made.

7.3.1 Desegregation of Schools

The education authorities and educators at schools should work to eliminate single-sex schools and the segregation of boys and girls at co-education schools. The education system is responsible for the segregation of the sexes and the teachers enforce this segregation. This move might invite objections from conservative parents especially in areas where single-sex schooling is a tradition. This matter could be resolved by negotiations between the parents concerned and the education authorities.

7.3.2 Non-sexist School Curricula

The education authorities, parents, educators and other interested parties should draw up new non-sexist curricula to be implemented in schools. Teachers should be involved in the curriculum making process because they have first-hand information on their students' experiences, interests and aspiration. It is also important to include parents as they have a vested interest in their children's education. It is acknowledged that the people presently involved in curriculum-making might not be au fait with women's issues. A solution to this problem would be to co-opt feminists/non-sexists in teacher-bodies like SADTU to make inputs.

7.3.3 Women in Wage Labour

The husbands and the employers in the labour market should give women with skills, ability and expertise every opportunity to participate in wage labour to make their contributions. These two groups constitute the main obstacles to women's engaging gainfully in labour. They cite women's responsibilities such as family-builders and home-builders as impediments to their effectiveness as workers. The husbands and wives could overcome the home-building problem by working out strategies like purchasing labour-saving devices for the household. The employers could intervene to solve the family-building problems by providing creches at the workplace like the one at the University of Durban-Westville where the day-care mothers care for the children of working mothers. The motivation for

the latter is provided by Allen (1984), who argues that there is no psychological reason why the biological mother and the social mother should be the same person.

7.3.4 Empowerment of Female Teachers

The education authorities should promote women in the same way as they promote men to positions of power/authority on the education hierarchy. These authorities usually pander to the whims of the male-dominated teacher bodies which motivate for male empowerment over females on the grounds that males have families to support. If the education authorities do opt for a more egalitarian approach the conservative element in these teacher-bodies might object strongly against female empowerment over the males. The authorities need to impress upon these objectors that marriage is a partnership and women share the responsibility of rearing a family. The joint income of spouses is important for the support of the family.

7.3.5 Permanent Status for Married Women Teachers

The education authorities should retain women teachers who get married on the permanent staff. It is the authorities who place married women teachers on the temporary staff so that they could be dismissed at short notice when the need arises. They argue that married women are prone to absenting themselves from school for matters related to family-building and seek transfer to follow husbands who make geographical movements in search of better job opportunities; that these factors disrupt the process of teaching and

learning at schools. It was established from the reactions of mainly the male teachers that this kind of thinking is devoid of human sympathy and the treatment of the women is mechanistic. It is contended that the position can be reversed. Many married male teachers are prone to seek transfer to or promotion in other areas but they are not treated in this manner. Some firms now grant paternity leave during the wives' confinement period. This could cause disruptions in the work situation and yet this is accommodated by the firms.

7.3.6 Staffing of Schools on Non-Sexist Lines

The education authorities should make a conscious effort to staff the schools on non-sexist lines. It is this section of education which deploys staff based on gender-biased stereotypes. The parents and the authorities could find this recommendation a problem since they believe that young children need the motherly attention of the women and the senior children are better handled by men. What needs to be impressed on these groups is that rearing and educating children are dependent on a partnership of males and females; that for children's development fatherliness is as important as motherliness.

7.3.7 Non-sexist Language and Literature

The educators should desist from using sexist language and text books and other literature which have mainly male protagonists in their classrooms. Teachers are the ones who enforce sexist ways, yet they are the ones who can bring about the changes (Witcher, 1990). Two problems are envisaged in the implementation of these

recommendations - teachers' unawareness and the sexism in most of the books used at school. First, the women's groups in professional bodies and other interested persons could be co-opted to conscientize and transform the teachers. Second, the language teachers should make conscious efforts to point out the sexist aspect of the literature they teach. For example, in the study of a novel where there is a male hero, the possibility of a female protagonist should be discussed. Questions like: 'Is the writer sexist or non-sexist? Why?' could be asked to make students aware. Situations where sexism is evident should be sensitised and highlighted in this manner.

7.3.8 Male/Female Dichotomies and Sex-role Stereotyping

Parents and educators should desist from dichotomising individuals and training them for different roles in life. This study has established that these are the main groups who initiate, entrench and perpetuate male/female dichotomies and sex-role stereotypes. The biggest problem in implementing this recommendation is awareness. These groups need to be conscientized, pointing out the character building in terms of biological attributes is flexible. Point out that in Iran, men are known to be hysterical, emotional or reduced to tears as opposed to the women who are cool, calm and calculated; that in New Guinea, the Tchambuli women are said to be intelligent and enterprising but the men lack ability and concentration and are introspective (Allen, 1984).

7.3.9 Sexual Division of Labour

For reasons given in 7.3.8 the parents and teachers should desist from allocating duties to children based on gender. Parents and teachers would argue that the labour market requires different skills for 'men's' jobs and 'women's' jobs. It needs to be impressed on these groups that skilling is flexible. Quote Game and Pringle's (1984) study. These researchers found that a particular job was done by men in firm A and the identical job was done by women in firm B. This proves that skilling and job classifications are relative and arbitrary. Skilling is gender-biased and it is used arbitrarily in different situations to the empower males over the females.

7.3.10 Teenage Pregnancy

The education authorities and parents should allow and encourage pregnant school girls to return to school after confining to complete their studies. It is the education authorities and parents who take for granted that the education for girls ends at pregnancy. They argue that the returning 'young mothers' would have an adverse influence on the other girls and damage the reputation of the school. This is discriminatory as it always happens that the schools boys who impregnate these girls are allowed to continue their schooling without any impediments being imposed on them. One solution to the problem would be to admit these girls at other schools where their history is unknown or it is not an issue.

7.3.11.Liaison between Primary and Secondary Schools

The education authorities should co-ordinate awareness campaigns, eg. in the form of conferences and seminars where the curricula and the general activities of the two types of schools are discussed. The authorities are the best placed to educate the teachers. These campaigns could degenerate into discussing or revealing the status quo, but what needs to be highlighted is the sexism in education which empowers the males over the females.

For the above recommendations to receive satisfactory attention most of the participants in education need to be conscientized and transformed into non-sexist ways. It is acknowledged that this cannot happen overnight but feminists/non-sexists in teacher bodies need to work for this transformation.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Sexism in Indian education is under-researched. There is a lack of up-to-date researched information and literature on sexism in Indian education. The present study has addressed issues relating to education and economic empowerment, restricted to Indian teachers in particular and the Indian students in general. However, the study alludes to the parents' education and occupations and the students' ambitions, without providing any insights. Other issues related to sexism in Indian education - education and labour in the wider context, education and cultural transformation etc - were outside the scope of this study.

Against the background of these findings, the researcher is of the opinion that vast areas have still to be researched.

QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIUBTED TO STD 5 PUPILS IN SELECTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT

NAME OF SCHOOL: DATE:

BACKGROUND

1. SEX: MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐
2. AGE:
3. FATHERS' OCCUPATION:
4. FATHERS ' LEVEL OF EDUCATION:
5. MOTHERS' OCCUPATION:
6. MOTHERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION:
7. INTERESTS AND HOBBIES:
8. WHAT IS YOUR AMBITION?
(in terms of jobs)

APP A1

8.	Male pupils shout out the answers even if the teachers do not ask them			
9.	Male pupils are scolded by the teachers most of the time			
		ALL THE TIME	SOME OF THE TIME	UNCERTAIN
10.	How often do teachers choose books and stories which have males as the main characters?			
11.	How often do teachers and pupils use pronouns like he, him, his and himself without mentioning she, her, hers and herself?			
12.	How often do teachers and pupils use pronouns like she, her, hers and herself without mentioning he, him, his and himself?			

1.3 Which teachers do you prefer to teach you?

MALES ☐

FEMALES ☐

INDIFFERENT ☐

NAME OF SCHOOL: DATE:

BACKGROUND

1. SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐
2. AGE:
3. FATHER'S OCCUPATION:
4. FATHERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION:
5. MOTHER'S OCCUPATION:
6. MOTHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION:
7. INTERESTS AND HOBBIES:
8. WHAT IS OUR AMBITION?
(In terms of career)

ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL/EDUCATION/CAREER

1. Do you think male and female students should be segregated as they are at schools?
- YES ☐
- NO ☐
- INDIFFERENT ☐
2. The school influences the students more strongly than the home and the media to behave like and perform the roles of males and females.
- STRONGLY AGREE ☐
- AGREE ☐
- DISAGREE ☐
- STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐
- UNCERTAIN ☐

APP A2

3. The secondary school curriculum is divided in such a way that the female students are given subjects like Domestic Science and Typing so that they could become housewives or secretaries.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 4 At secondary schools, it is better for a female student to be called a "tomboy" than it is for a male student to be called a "sissie".

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. At school male students are influenced to become leaders and the female students are influenced to become followers in later life.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. How often do teachers use pronouns like he, his, him and himself in the classroom without mentioning she, her, hers and herself?

ALL THE TIME	<input type="checkbox"/>
MOST OF THE TIME	<input type="checkbox"/>
SOME OF THE TIME	<input type="checkbox"/>
SELDOM	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. How often do teachers use pronouns like she, her, hers and herself in the classrooms

without mentioning he, him, his and himself?

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| ALL THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MOST OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SOME OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SELDOM | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| UNCERTAIN | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. How often do teachers use books and other media materials in which males are the main characters?

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| ALL THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MOST OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SOME OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SELDOM | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| UNCERTAIN | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. How often do teachers use books and other media materials in which females are the main characters.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| ALL THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MOST OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SOME OF THE TIME | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SELDOM | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| UNCERTAIN | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. Which students talk out of turn in the classroom most of the time?

- | | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| MALE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FEMALE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BOTH | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. Whose responses do pupils and teachers pay more attention to?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| MALE STUDENTS' | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FEMALE STUDENTS' | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BOTH MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS' | <input type="checkbox"/> |

APP A2

12. Which students prefer subjects like English, Afrikaans and the Humanities (History, Geography etc). to Maths and Science?

MALE ☐

FEMALE ☐

BOTH ☐

13. Which students prefer Maths and Science to subjects like English, Afrikaans and Humanities (History, Geography etc)?

MALE ☐

FEMALE ☐

BOTH ☐

14. Do male students treat what female students say and do in the classroom as being trivial?

YES ☐

NO ☐

UNSURE ☐

15. Do female students allow male students to dominate class activities?

YES ☐

NO ☐

UNSURE ☐

16. After you complete your matriculation course, which of the following options would you like to take?

UNIVERSITY ☐

TECHNIKON ☐

TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE ☐

EMPLOYMENT ☐

QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED TO SELECTED TEACHERS IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT

NAME OF SCHOOL: DATE:.....

BACKGROUND

1. SEX: MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐
2. AGE:
3. SUBJECTS TAUGHT:
4. CLASSES/STDS. IN WHICH TAUGHT:
.....

ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL/EDUCATION /VOCATION

Place a cross (X) in the block of your choice.

1. Most pre-school and primary school teachers are women because their 'motherly and caring' attitude makes them more suited to teach little children.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Most of the secondary school teachers are males because they are more highly qualified and they can control students more effectively than females.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

APP A3

3. The allocation of form classes and subjects is sex biased.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Female students do not do as well as male students in Maths and Science because they believe these are 'male' subjects and that they do not have the ability to excel in them.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Even if we teach female students Metalwork, Woodwork etc. they will not be able to find jobs in these fields because they are females.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. It is better to educate males than females because they are going to be breadwinners.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

APP A3

3. The allocation of form classes and subjects is sex biased.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Female students do not do as well as male students in Maths and Science because they believe these are 'male' subjects and that they do not have the ability to excel in them.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Even if we teach female students Metalwork, Woodwork etc. they will not be able to find jobs in these fields because they are females.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. It is better to educate males than females because they are going to be breadwinners.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

APP A3

7. In the secondary school, the subject differentiation assumes a sex bias, that is, the subjects become 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. The standard 10 examination results give us a good idea of what kind of career a student is likely to have in the future.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Women are as good as men at complicated technical matters.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

APP A3

10. The saying 'A woman's place is in the home' is generally correct.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Teachers predict marriage and home-building for female students but careers and waged labour for the male students.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Female students fare better in the primary school but male students fare better in the secondary school.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Teachers and parents influence male students to be assertive so that they could become leaders and female students to be passive so that they would become followers in later life.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>

FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PLEASE CHOOSE THE ANSWER WHICH YOU THINK IS THE CLOSEST TO YOUR OPINION.

14. Why do female students drop out somewhere in their secondary school life?
- They have to mind the house for working mothers.
 - They have to make way for younger siblings (particularly brothers) because of economic deprivation
 - They have to go out to work and supplement the family income.
 - They develop such a low self-esteem that they become unable to cope with school work.
 - Other (please explain)
.....
.....
15. Why are there more female students in the Housecraft, Commerce and Arts streams than in the Maths and Science streams?
- Most female students find Maths and Science difficult to cope with.
 - Female students usually do not like Maths and Science.
 - Female students are not encouraged strongly enough by their teachers and parents to be in the Maths and Science streams.
 - Female students cannot find jobs easily in the Science fields.
 - Other (please explain)
.....
16. Housecraft or Domestic Science is seen as an easy subject by most students (particularly males) because
- it is traditionally women's work
 - the subject itself does not need too much studying
 - it is not a very important subject as compared to the others
 - Other (please explain):.....
.....
17. The reason why male students are not learning Housecraft or Domestic Science is

APP A3

- a. because it is not useful for males
- b. since it is considered women's work female students are the only ones who should learn it
- c. that male students will not be happy to learn it since it is a 'female' subject
- d. Other (please explain) :

18. The reason why girls are not learning Metalwork, Woodwork, Technical Drawing etc. is that

- a. they are not capable physically to do such work
- b. females do not like these subjects
- c. it is not useful for them to learn 'male' subjects
- d. Other (please explain);

19. The reason why male and female students do not have the same options available is

- a. since the curriculum comes from HOD's Department of Education and Culture, the schools cannot change it.
- b. it is not important at this point and time in South Africa to worry about what is available for males and females
- c. parents and students themselves prefer the existing curriculum
- d. Other (please explain):

20. Who normally talk out of turn in the classroom?

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Male students | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Female students | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Both | <input type="checkbox"/> |

21. Whose contributions to class lessons do teachers value more?

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Male students' | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Female students' | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Unsure | <input type="checkbox"/> |

APP A3

22. Do you think people assign a higher status to secondary school teachers than primary school teachers?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Unsure ☐

BACKGROUND

2. GRADE OF SCHOOL:

YES ☐

NO ☐

INDIFFERENT ☐

- YES ☐
- NO ☐
- UNSURE ☐

- MALES ☐
 FEMALES ☐
 INDIFFERENT ☐

- STRONGLY AGREE ☐
- AGREE ☐
- UNCERTAIN ☐
- DISAGREE ☐
- STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐

APP A4

- 5. Males are better administrators.**

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 6. The Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates is gender biased against women in terms of conditions of service and promotion opportunities.**

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 7. Male and female teachers with equal qualification should receive equal salaries and service benefits.**

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 8. Female students do not fare as well as male students in Maths and Science.**

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

APP A4

9. Even if we teach female students Metalwork, Woodwork, Technical Drawing etc. they will not be able to find jobs in these fields because they are females.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 10; Male students are influenced to be assertive so that they could become leaders and female students passive so that they would become followers in later life.

STRONGLY AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
AGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNCERTAIN	<input type="checkbox"/>
DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>
STRONGLY DISAGREE	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Male students perform better at secondary school but female students perform better at primary school.

TRUE	<input type="checkbox"/>
FALSE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNSURE	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. The school curriculum is gender biased, that is it has built in it 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects.

TRUE	<input type="checkbox"/>
FALSE	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNSURE	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. The HOD's Department of Education under invests in the education of Indian females, especially in the Sciences and Technology.

TRUE

☐

FALSE

☐

UNSURE

☐

FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PLEASE CHOOSE THE ANSWER WHICH IS CLOSED TO YOUR OPINION.

14. Why do some female students drop out somewhere in their secondary school life?

- a. They have to mind the house for working mothers.
- b. They have to make way for younger siblings (particularly brothers) because of economic deprivation
- c. They have to go out to work and supplement the family income.
- d. Other (please explain)
.....

15. Why do male and female students have to follow different curricular routes?

- a. Males are trained for the job market and females for domestic work
- b. Since the curriculum comes from HOD's Department of Education and Culture the schools cannot change it.
- c. Parents want an academic curriculum for male students and a diluted technical curriculum for the female students.
- d. Other (please explain):
.....
.....

APP B

SURVEY DISTRIBUTED TO THE PRINCIPALS OF THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT

NAME OF SCHOOL: DATE:

1. **STAFF DISPOSITION**

	NO. OF MALES	NO. OF FEMALES	N/A
1. Principal			
2. Senior Deputy Principal			
3. Deputy Principal			
4. HOD - Junior Primary			
5. HOD - Senior Primary			
6. HOD - English			
7. HOD - Afrikaans			
8. HOD - Humanities			
9. HOD - Maths			
10. HOD - Science			
11. HOD - Commerce			
12. HOD - Resource Centre			
13. HOD - Guidance - Counselling			
14. HOD - Technology			
15. HOD - Other			
TOTAL			

2. **QUALIFICATIONS**

Number of teachers (Administrators included) with.

	NO. OF MALES	NO. OF FEMALES	NA
2.1.1 DEGREE			
2.2 .2 DEGREES			
2.3.3 OR MORE DEGREES			

APP B

2.4.1 TEACHING DIPLOMA			
2.5.2 TEACHING DIPLOMAS			
2.6.3 OR MORE TEACHING DIP.			
2.7 NO PROF. QUALIFICATIONS			
TOTAL			

3. **CATEGORY CLASSIFICATION**

	NO. OF MALES	NO. OF FEMALES	N/A
3.1 M + 7			
3.2 M + 6			
3.3 M + 5			
3.4 M + 4			
3.5 M + 3			
3.6 M + 2			
3.7 M + 1			
3.8 OTHER			
TOTAL			

4. **FORM TEACHERS**

	NO. OF MALES	NO. OF FEMALES	N/A
4.1 Cti			
4.2 Cti			
4.3 STD 1			
4.4 STD 2			
4.5 STD 3			
4.6 STD 4			
4.7 STD 5			
4.8 STD 6			
4.9 STD 7			

APP B

4.10 STD 8			
4.11 STD 9			
4.12 STD 10			
4.13 OTHERS : REM ED			
SP ED			
BRIDGING MOD			
TOTAL			

5. STAFF DEPLOYMENT

No. of teachers teaching the following phases/classes.

	MALE	FEMALE	N/A
5.1 BRIDGING MODULE			
5.2 SPECIAL EDUCATION			
5.3 REMEDIAL EDUCATION			
5.4 JUNIOR PRIMARY			
5.5 SENIOR PRIMARY			
5.6 JUNIOR SECONDARY			
5.7 SENIOR SECONDARY			
5.8 OTHER			
TOTAL			

6. SUBJECT ALLOCATION:

No. of teachers teaching the following classes.

	MALE	FEMALE	NA
6.1 Cli/Clii/Std 1			
6.2 ENGLISH			
6.3 AFRIKAANS			
6.4 MATHS			
6.5 SCIENCE			

APP B

6.6 HISTORY			
6.7 GEOGRAPHY			
6.8 TECHNOLOGY (BOYS)			
6.9 TECHNOLOGY (GIRLS)			
6.10 COMMERCE			
6.11 PHYSICAL EDUCATION			
6.12 MUSIC			
6.13 OTHERS			

7. PUPIL ENROLMENT: On the last day of the year

YEAR

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
7.1 1982			
7.2 1983			
7.3 1984			
7.4 1985			
7.5 1986			
7.6 1987			
7.9 1988			
7.8 1989			
7.9 1990			
7.10 1991			
7.11 1992			
TOTAL			

8. SUBJECT CHOICES:

No of pupils taking the following subjects:

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
8.1 CII/Clii/Std 1			

APP B

8.2 ENGLISH			
8.3 AFRIKAANS			
8.4 MATHS			
8.5 SCIENCE			
8.6 HISTORY			
8.7 GEOGRAPHY			
8.8 TECHNOLOGY			
8.9 COMMERCE			
8.10 PHYSICAL EDUCATION			
8.11 MUSIC			
8.12 SPEECH AND DRAMA			
8.13 ZULU			
8.14 VERNACULAR LANG.			
TOTAL			

9. PREFECTS

9.1 NO. OF MALES

9.2 NO. OF FEMALES

9.3 HEAD PREFECT

MALE ☐

FEMALE ☐

BOTH ☐

10. PTA/PTSA

Applicable ☐

Not Applicable ☐

10.1 NO. OF MALES:

10.2 NO. OF FEMALES

APP B

10.3 CHAIRPERSON: MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

10.4 SECRETARY MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

11. CARETAKERS AND CLEANERS:

11.1 NO. OF MALES;

11.2 NO. OF FEMALES:

11.3 HEAD CARETAKER: MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

12. PRINCIPAL'S SECRETARY/CLERKS

12.1 NO. OF MALES

12.2 NO. OF FEMALES:

12.3 SENIOR SECRETARY/CLERK

MALE ☐

FEMALE ☐

BOTH ☐

GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING A SAMPLE OF PARENTS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS/STUDENTS IN TONGAAT

NAME OF SCHOOL:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

BACKGROUND

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | SEX: | 2. | AGE: |
| 3. | NO OF CHILDREN: BOYS:..... | | GIRLS:..... |
| 4. | LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF CHILDREN : | | |
| | PRIMARY : | BOYS:..... | GIRLS:..... |
| | SECONDARY : | BOYS: | GIRLS:..... |
| | POST SECONDARY: | BOYS: | GIRLS:..... |
| 5. | EDUCATION LEVEL: | SELF: | SPOUSE:..... |
| 6. | OCCUPATION: | SELF: | SPOUSE: |

ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION/CAREER

1. Do you think girls and boys should receive an equal education eg. Std 10, College education, university education?
Why?
2. Do you think that girls and boys should receive the same education eg. boys and girls should learn Sewing, Woodwork, Science, Maths etc.?
Why?.....
3. Do you think it is of any benefit to the family in educating girls when, after all, they are going to marry and go away to their husbands' homes?.....
Why do you say this?
4. Do you think that it is a good idea to send girls and boys to the same school?
Why?.....
5. Suppose there are separate schools for boys and girls in Tongaat to which schools would you send your child, single-sex or mixed schools?..... Why?.....
6. Suppose you had the opportunity to send ONE of your children to a private school like Uthongathi. Whom would you choose, your son or your daughter or neither?
Why?

APP C1

7. Suppose a family with two older children at school is experiencing financial problems and there is a need to withdraw one or two of these children from school so that they could work and bring some income. Whom, do you think, would they choose to withdraw, a son or a daughter? Why?.....
.....
.....
8. Suppose, in a family a daughter and a son passed Std 10 in the same year, and the family can afford to send only one child to a university. Whom, do you think, would they choose? Why?
.....
.....
9. Do you think Indian parents still choose careers for their daughters?
Why do you say this?
.....
10. In your opinion, who perform better at primary schools, girls or boys?
How can you say this?
.....
11. Suppose your 16 year old daughter who is in Standard nine, receives a marriage proposal. Would you encourage her to marry?..... Why?
.....
.....
12. How would you react to your daughter's complaints of sexual harassment by students or teachers? Would you
A. investigate the allegation?
B. transfer your daughter to another school?
C. make her leave school?.
13. Do you think that the woman's place is in the home?
.....
14. Give reasons for your answer to the above question.
.....
.....
.....
.....

**GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING A SAMPLE OF STD 5 PUPILS IN SELECTED
PRIMARY/SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT**

NAME OF SCHOOL:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

BACKGROUND

1. SEX: 2. AGE:
3. WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S OCCUPATION?
4. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S OCCUPATION?
5. WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
6. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
7. DO YOU THINK YOUR MOTHER SHOULD WORK OUTSIDE HOME FOR A
WAGE OR SALARY?
AND WHY?.....
.....

ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION/CAREER

1. Do you think that male and female pupils should be allowed to dress to school as they
wish?
Why do you say this?
.....
2. Do teachers scold male pupils for behaving like 'female pupils' and female pupils for
behaving like 'male pupils'?
Please explain:
.....
3. Are male teachers stricter with the male pupils than female pupils? Why, do
you think, is this so?.....
.....
4. Are the female teachers stricter with the female pupils than male pupils?
Why, do you think, is this so?
.....

APP C2

5. What subjects do you like most in school?
.....
Why?
6. What subject do you like least in school?.....
.....
Why?
.....
.....
7. Do you think that both male and female pupils should take Needlework, Handicraft, Technical Drawing etc.?
Why?
.....
8. Does it matter to you if male teachers or female teachers taught you Needlework, Handicraft, Technical Drawing and Physical Education? Why?
.....
.....
9. Do male pupils think that they are superior to female pupils?..... Why do you say this?
.....
.....
.....
10. Do male and female teachers regard male pupils as being superior to female pupils?
..... Why do you say this?
.....
.....
11. Do you think that both male and female teachers give male pupils more attention than female pupils?
Why do you say this?
12. Do you think that males are better teachers than females? Why do you say this?
.....
.....
.....
13. Do male pupils ridicule what female pupils say and do in the classroom?
Why do you say this?
.....
14. Do female pupils ridicule what male pupils say and do in the classroom?
Why do you say this?
.....

APP C2

15. Who you you think, perform better at schools, male or female pupils?
How can you say this?.....

.....
.....

**GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING A SAMPLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN
SELECTED SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT**

NAME OF SCHOOL:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

BACKGROUND

1. SEX: 2. AGE:
3. WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S OCCUPATION?
4. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S OCCUPATION?
5. WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
6. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
7. DO YOU THINK YOUR MOTHER SHOULD WORK OUTSIDE HOME FOR A
WAGE OR SALARY?
.....
.....

ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION/CAREER

1. Do you think that students should wear school uniforms as laid down by the schools in
Tonga? Why?
.....
.....
2. Do teachers reprimand the students if the males behave like 'sissies' or females behave like
'tomboys'?
And why?
.....
3. What is the gender of the students who are often reprimanded for misconduct?
.....
Why do you think this happens
.....
4. What subjects do you like most at school?
.....
Why is this so?
.....

APP C3

5. What subjects do you like least at school?
.....
Why is this so?
6. Which of the following subjects/courses, do you think, would be most useful for male students? A. Science B. Commerce C. Industrial Arts D. Housecraft
E. Maths F. Computer
.....
Why?
7. Which of the following subjects/courses, do you think, would be most useful for female students? A. Science B. Commerce C. Industrial Arts D. Housecraft
E. Maths F. Computer
.....
Why?
8. Do you think all games should be played and Physical Education taken in mixed groups of males and females?
Why?
9. Do you think it matters if your P.E. instructor is a male or a female? Why?
.....
10. Do you think all teachers expect male students to do better than female students at school? Why?
.....
11. Do you think female students believe that they are inferior to male students, to the extent that they become submissive in the classroom? Why do you say this?
.....
12. Parents, teachers and the female students themselves, believe that the female students will marry eventually and build their homes, and therefore achievement is unnecessary for them? Do you agree with this belief?
.....
13. Do you think that both male and female teachers give male students more attention than the female students?
Why do you say this?

.....

14. Do you think that the male teachers know their subjects better, prepare their work more thoroughly, have a better control over their students and get better response from them?

..... How can you say this?.....

.....

.....

15. Male students^{are} asked more questions, they answer most of the questions and the teachers value their answers more than those of the female students. Do you agree with this statement? Why?

.....

.....

GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING A SAMPLE OF TEACHERS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TONGAAT

NAME OF SCHOOLS:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

BACKGROUND

1. SEX: 2. AGE:
3. MAIN SUBJECTS TAUGHT:
4. EXTRA-CURRICULAR AND CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:.....
.....

ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL/EDUCATION

1. The Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates is gender biased in terms of conditions of service and promotion opportunities. Do you agree?
Why?
.....
2. The system of education as a whole is gender biased, subtly 'dishing out' separate menus which are aimed at domesticating females or reducing their life chances in favour of males. Do you agree?
Why?.....
.....
3. Male teachers and females teachers with equal qualifications should receive equal salaries and other service benefits? Do you agree? Why?
.....
.....
4. Do you think that teachers, guidance-counsellors and administrators are important in choosing a career for their students? Why?
.....
5. Do teachers give more attention to male students than female students in the classroom?
.....
If yes, why?
.....
6. In your opinion, do female students compete equally with male students in every field if they are given a chance? If not, why?
.....

7. Do you think that Housecraft, Domestic Science, Woodwork and other technical options should be given to both male and female students?
If not, why?.....
.....
8. If you feel that technology options should be open to both sexes, then what do you think, should be done by the teachers and administrators to change the existing curriculum in Indian schools?
.....
.....
.....
.....
9. In your opinion, in what subjects do male students do well?
.....
Why, do you think, is this so?
.....
.....
.....
10. In your opinion, in what subjects do female students do well?
.....
Why, do you think, is this so?
.....
.....
.....
11. In your opinion, who are the sexist teachers, males or females or both?
Why do you say this?
.....
.....
.....
12. In your opinion, who are the sexist teachers, the young ones or the older ones?
.....
Why do you say this?
.....
.....
13. In your opinion, who are the sexist teachers, those who have university degrees and diplomas or those who have lower qualifications than these?
Why do you say this?
.....
.....

APP C4

14. Do you think that female teachers should choose between their career and marriage if they want equality with male teachers?
Why do you say this?
.....
15. Do you think that married female teachers should return to teaching only after completing their family-building?
.....
16. Do you think that the women teachers' income is a supplementary income to the family?
Why?
.....
17. Do you think that women teachers should contribute to Widowers' Pension Fund?
Why?
.....
18. Who, do you think, make better administrators, women or men?
Why?
.....
19. What, do you think, men feel about serving under a female principal?
.....
.....
20. Do you think that teachers predict marriage for female students and therefore regard high academic achievement for them as necessary?
Why do you say this?
.....
.....
21. Do you think male students cleave to male teachers and female students to female teachers?
Why does this happen/does not happen?
.....
.....

APP D1

PHONE: SCHOOL : 23153

HOME: 21207

REF: M PONNUSAMY

TRUBEL PRIMARY SCHOOL

P O BOX 916

TONGAAT

4400

JUNE 1993

THROUGH THE PRINCIPAL

.....PRIMARY/SEC SCHOOL

TONGAAT

Dear Parent/Guardian

INTERVIEW FOR PURPOSE OF STUDY

I am a teacher at the above-mentioned school and I am presently conducting a study in education. For this purpose I need to interview your child/ward,, Std, on matters relating to education. The interview would be conducted either at school or at your house, whichever is more convenient to you and your child/ward.

I seek your kind permission to interview your child/ward. Please be assured that the information derived from the interview would be treated with the strictest of confidentiality and used for study purposes only.

If you grant permission for the interview kindly complete the attached portion and return it to the school with your child/ward.

I look forward to your kind co-operation.

Sincerely

M PONNUSAMY

APP D2

RETURN

I,, parent/guardian of,
Std....., School,
hereby grant permission for my child/ward to be interviewed by Mr M Ponnusamy of Trubel
Primary School for the purpose of study at school/my house.

.....
SIGNATURE

DATE:

ADDRESS:

.....

.....

.....

HOME PHONE NO:

REFERENCES

A. BOOKS, ARTICLES AND THESES

- Albert, A.A. and Porter J.R. (1983) : 'Age patterns in the Development of Children's Gender - role Stereotypess' in Sex roles, 9. London p 59-67.
- Allen, S. et al (1974) :
1. The Ideology of Sex Differences
2. Learning System and Femininity in Conditions of Illusion Feminist Books. U.S.A. p 128-140, 154-165.
- Amla, A.M.G. (1977) : Islamic Religious Education in State-Aided Indian Schools in Durban, B/Educ Mini-thesis, University of Durban Westville. p9-10
- Amos, V & Parmar, P. (1984): Challenging Imperial Feminism in Feminist Review, No. 17, July 1984, p. 13-19.
- Amsden, A (1980) : Introduction to The Economics of Women and Work. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth. p. 11-35.
- Arkin, A.J. (1989) : Economic Structure in The Indian South African. Owen Burgess Publications, Durban. p43-69.
- Arnot, M. & Weiner,G(1987): Gender and the Politics of Schooling, Hutchinson, London.
- Arnot, M. (1987) ; How shall we education our Sons? in Deem, R(ed). Co-education reconsidered. Open University Press, London. p38-42.
- Babbie, E. (1990) : Survey Research Methods. Second Edition. Wadsworth Publishing Co., Belmont, California. p. 36-48.
- Bailey, K.D. (1987) : Methods of Social Research. Macmillan, New York. p3-18.
- Bardwick, J.M. (1980) : Women in Transition. How Feminism, Sexual Liberation and the Search for Self-Fulfillment have altered our lives. The Harvester Press, London.
- Barrett, M. (1987) : Marxist-Feminism and the Work of Karl Marx in Anne Phillip (ed) : Feminism and Equality. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. p. 44-60.

- Barrett, M & McIntosh, M (1980) : The Family Wage in The Changing Experience of Women. The Open University, London. p. 71-87
- Barrett, M. (1988) : The Marxist/Feminist Encounter in Women's Oppression Today. Revised Edition. Verso, London. p.44-61.
- Beall, J.D. (1982) : Indian Women in Colonial Natal in Class, Race and Gender : The Political Economy in Colonial Natal. M.A. Thesis, Dept of Economic History, University of Natal, Durban. Ch.5. p. 135-183.
- Bem, S.L. (1981) : Gender Schema Theory : A cognitive account of sex typing in, Psychological Review 88, p 354-364.
- Berry, R. (1978) : How to Write a Research Paper. Biddles Ltd., Guilford, Surrey. p. 13-21.
- Best, J.W. (1977) : Research in Education. Third Edition. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. p.1-35.
- Beynon, J. et al (1984) : Pupils as data gatherers: mucking and sussing in Delamont, S.(ed) : Readings on Interaction in the Classroom. Methuen & Co (Pty) Ltd, London. p. 255-261.
- Blount, L. (1990) : National Case Studies of Equal Opportunities: The European Picture - Ireland in Weiner, G. (ed), The Primary School and Equal Opportunities. Cassell Education Ltd, Villiers House, Strand, London. p. 92-111.
- Borg, W.R. and Gall, M.D. (1989) : Educational Research : An Introduction : Longmans, 195 Church Street, White Plain, New York.
- Bouchier, D. (1983) : The Feminist Challenge : The Movement For Women's : Literation in Britain and the United States. Macmillan, London. p. 9-41, 63-92, 177-207.
- Braybond, G. (1987) : The Need for Women's Labour in the First World War in The Changing Experience of Women : New Feminist Perspective. Tavistock Publication. London. p. 90-103.
- Brehony, K. (1987) : Co-education: perspectives and debates in the early nineteenth century in Deem, R. (ed), Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, England. p.6-9.

- Brent Asian Women's
Refuge & Resource Centre
(1984) : Black Women Organising in
Feminist Review. Asian Women's
Resource Centre, London. p.96-99/
- Brophy, J (1985) : 'Under-participation and Under-achievement of Girls in
Secondary Schools' in Wilkinson L.C. et al (ed) Gender
Influences in Classroom Interaction. Academic Press Inc,
Orlando, Florida, US.
- Brijlal, P. (1989) : Demographic Profile in Arkin, A.J. et al (ed) The Indian
South African. Owen Burgess Publishers, Durban.
p. 27-36.
- Brittan, A. (1989) : Masculinity and Power. Basil Blackwell Ltd, 108 Cowley
Road, Oxford.
- Brixton Black Women's
Group (1984) : Black Women Organising in
Feminist Review. No. 17, July 1984, London, p. 84-89.
- Bruegel, I (1987) : Women as a Reserve Army : a note on Recent British
Experience in The Changing Experience of Women. The
Open University, U.K.
p.105-120.
- Bugwandeen, D (1989) : Historical Perspective in The Indian South African. Owen
Burgess Publishers, Durban.
p.3-22.
- Bullivant, B.M. (1984) : Knowledge at Lubavitscher School in Delamont, S. (ed),
Readings on Interaction in the Classroom. Metheun & Co
(Pty) Ltd, London, p. 99-106.
- Burt, S et al (1988) : Changing Patterns : Women in Canada. McClelland and
Steward Toronto. Canada.
- Burton, L. (1986) : Girls Into Maths Can Go. Cassell Educational Ltd,
Artillery House, Artillery Row, London.
- Byrne, E.M. (1978) : Women and Education. Tavistock Publication, London.
- Carby, H.V. (1982) : White Women Listen! Black Women and the Boundaries
of Sisterhood in CCCS The Empire Strikes Back, Race
and Racism in '70's Britain. Hutchinson. London. p. 212-
233.
- Carem, Gail, Shaila
& Pratibba (1984) : Becoming Visible, Black Lesbians'
Discussions in Feminist Review. No. 17 of 1984, London.
p. 52-74.

- Carter, A (1988) : Feminist Theory and Social Change in The Politics of Women's Rights. Longmans, London. p.166-193.
- Chandler, E.M. (1980) : Educating Adolescent Girls. Allen & Unwin Ltd, Museum Street London. p.1-21, 31-40, 52-83, 100-112, 147-154, 165-204.
- Charvet, J. (1982) : 1. Individual Feminism
2. Radical Feminism in Feminism. JM. Dent & Sons, London. p.5, 47,97-135.
- Chetty, T.D. (1983) : Job Satisfaction of Indian Married Women in Clothing Manufacturing Industry in Durban and its effects on their Interpersonal Relations. M.A. Thesis. University of Durban-Westville, Durban. p.13-38., 42-88, 12-151, 183-195.
- Chodorow, N. (1978) : The Reproduction of Mothering. University of California Press, Berkeley, US.
- Collini, S (1984) : J.S.Mill on the Subject of Women in History Today. Volume 34. London. p. 34-39.
- Cohen, L et al (1980) : Research Methods in Education. Second Edition, Croom-Helm, London. p. 269-286.
- Coote, A et al (1987) : "New Beginnings" in Sweet Freedom: The Struggle for Women's Liberation. Blackwell, London. p 9-47.
- Conveney, L et al (1989) : The Sexuality Papers : Male sexuality and the Social Control of Women. Hutchinson and Co. (Publishers) Ltd, 17-21 Conway Street, London.
- Daly, M. (1983) : Introduction to Gyn/Ecology : The Metaethics of Radical Feminism. Macmillan, London. p.1-34.
- Davin, A (1987) : 'Mind that you do as your are told': Reading books for board school girls in Weiner, G. et al (ed) Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p. 143-9.

- De Beauvoir, S. (1972) : The Second Sex. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- De Bruyn, A.C.S. (1985) : The Role of the Indian Women. MA. Thesis, Dept of Psychology. University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. p.32-42,82-97, 108-115.
- Deem, R (ed) (1980) : Schooling for Women's Work. Routledge & Regan Paul, London.
- Deem, R. (1987) : Introduction in Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, England, p xi-xix
- Delamont S, (1989) : Knowledgeable Women : Structuralism and the Reproduction of Elites. Routledge, New Fetter Lane, London. P. 53-54, 132-160, 273-276
- Delamont, S (ed) (1984) : Readings on Interactions in the Classroom. Methuen & Co Ltd, New Fetter Lane, London. p. 273-289
- Delamont, S. (1980) : Sex Roles and the schools. Methuen & Co (Pty) Ltd, New Fetter Lane, London. p. 10-20.
- Dex, S (1985) : What is Feminist Methodology? In Sexual Division of Labour, Harvester Press, United Kingdom. p.11-17.
- Dick, D. (1990) : National Case Studies of Equal Opportunities: The European Picture - Scotland in The Primary School and Equal Opportunity. Cassell Education Limited, Villiers House, Strand, Londong. p.52-63.
- Dill, B.T. (1983) : Race, Class and Gender : Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood in Feminist Studies Vol 9, No. 1 of 1983. p. 131-148.
- Dubois, E. (1987) : The Radicalism of the Women Suffrage Movement : notes Towards the Reconstruction of Nineteenth Century Feminism in Anne Phillip : Feminism and Equality. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. p. 127-138.
- Evans, M. (1987) : Engels : Materialism and Morality in Sayers et al: Engels Revisited : New Feminist Perspective. Tavistock Publishers, London. p. 81-97.
- Evans, T.D. (1988) : A Gender Agenda : A Sociological Study of Teachers, Parents and Pupils in their Primary Schools. Allen & Unwin Australia (Pty) Ltd., North Sydney, Australia. p.1-13, 55-73, 91-147.

- Eisenstein, H. (1983) : Patriarchy and Rediscovery of sex roles (and other extracts) in Contemporary Feminist Thought. G.K. Hall & Co., Boston, P5-13, 5-26, 125-145.
- Faith, K. (1988) : Towards New Horizon for Women in Distance Education : International Perspective. Routledge, London.
- Fennema, E and Patterson, M (1985) : 'Why Males surpass Females in high-level Cognitive Skills in Wilkinson L.C. et al (ed) Gender Influences in Classroom Interaction. Academic Press Inc, Orlando, Florida, US.
- Firth, G, (1990) : 'The Time of your Life' : The Meaning of the school story in Weiner Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p117-8.
- Fitzgibbon, C.J. et al (1978) : How to measure attitudes. Sage, Beverly Hills, U.S. p.57-83, 85-93, 92-103, 131-157.
- Freeman, J. (1984) : The origins of women's liberation movement in AJS, Vol. 78, No.4. University of Chicago, p.792-811
- French, J (1990) : The Education of Girls - A handbood for parents. Cassell Education Ltd, Villiers House, Strand, London.
- Freud, S. (1987) : Female Sexuality in Weiner, G. et al (ed): Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p. 19-25.
- Game, A et al (1984) : Introduction in Gender at Work. Pluto, London, p.14-24
- Graham, A. (1975) : The Making of a Non-sexist Dictionary in Thorne, B. et al (ed), Language and Sex. Newbury House, London, p. 58-63.
- Gericke, R.P. (1983) : An Investigation of some aspects of Personal status of Married Women Teachers in State Schools with Special Reference to the Situation in Natal and the Orange Free State. M.Educ. Thesis., Dept of Education, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Gordon, L.D. (1990) : Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era. Yale University Press, New Haven, A Connecticut.
- Hall, C. (1982) : The home turned upside down? The working class family in Cotton Textiles 1780-1850. In The Changing Experience of Women. The Open University, London. p. 17-29.

- Hamilton, R. (1978) : An Examination of the Marxist and Feminist Theories in The Liberation of Women. George Allen & Unwin, London. p. 83-93.
- Harding, S. (1991) : Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives. Open University Press, Buckingham, UK.
- Herbert, C.M.H. (1989) : Talking Of Silence : The Sexual Harassment of Schoolgirls. Lewes, Falmer Press, London.
- Holly, L. (1989) : Girls and Sexuality : Teachin and Learning. Open University Press, 12 Cofferdge Close, Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes, p7-9.
- Hooks, B (1987) : Feminism : A Movement to end Sexist Oppression in Anne Phillip (ed) : Feminism and Equality. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. P. 62-75.
- Hufton, O. et al (1983) : What is Women's History? in Hisotry Today. Vol. 35. London. p. 38-48.
- Hussain, S.S. & Ashraf, S.A. (eds) (1979) : Crisis in Muslim Education. King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah. P 23-24.
- Jonsdottir, S. (1990) : Equality between Boys and Girls : A Nordic Perspective in Weiner, G. (ed) The Primary School and Equal Opportunity. Cassell-Education Ltd, Villiers House, Strand, London p 52-63.
- Jones C et al (eds) 1989) : Learning Our Lines The Women's Press, London.
- Jones, C. (1985) : Sexual Tryanny : Male Violence in a Mixed Secondary School in Weiner G (ed) : Just a Bunch of Girls. The Open University Press, Milton Keynes. p 26-39.
- Kazi, H. (1986) : The Beginning of a Debate long due. Some Observations on Ethnoncentrism and Social-Feminist Theory. In Feminist Review. No 22, February 1986. p. 87-91.
- Kelly. A et al. (1987) : Traditionalists and Trendies : Teachers' attitudes to educational issues in Weiner, G. et al (ed): Gender Unders Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p233-242.
- Kenway, E et al. (1990) : Hearts and Minds : self-esteem and the Schooling of Girls. Falmer Press, Lewes. UK.

- Khan, M.V. (ed) (1981) : Education and the Society In the Muslim World. King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah. p 34-44, 100-125.
- Kidder, L.H. (ed) (1981) : Research Methods in Social Relations. Fourth Edition. Halt-Saunders Japan Ltd.; Tokyo p. 347-352.
- Kramer, C. (1975) : Women's Speech ! Separate but unequal in Thorne, B. et al (ed). Language and Sex. Newbury House, London. p44-55.
- Krause, C.A. (1991) : Grandmother, Mothers and Daughters : Oral Histories of Three Generations of Ethnic American Women. Twayne, Boston.
- Kuhn D et al (1978) : 'Sex role concepts of two-and three-year olds' in Child Development 49, London p 445-51.
- Lasser, C. (1987) : Introduction in Educating Men and Women Together : Co-education in a Changing World. University of Illinois Press and Oberline College, Urbana and Chicago, U.S. p 1-7.
- Leder, G. (1986) : Mathematics Learning and Socialization Processes in Burton, L. (ed) Girls into Match can go. Cassell Education Limited, Artillery Road, London, p 77-87.
- Lees, S. (1985) : Sex, Race and Culture: Feminism and the Limits of Cultural Pluralism in Feminist REview, No 22 of 1985. London. p. 103-105.
- Lie, S.S. et al (eds) (1990) : Storming the Tower-Women in the Academic World. Kogan Page, London.
- Lobban G (1987) : Sex roles in reading Schemes in Weiner G et al (eds) Gender Under Scrutiny. New Inquiries in Education. The Open University, London.
- Loftus, M. (1974) : Learning Sexism and Feminism in Allen, S. et al (ed) : Conditions of Illusion. Feminists Books, U.S.A. p 128-140.
- MacDonald, M. (1980) : Socio-cultural reproduction and women's education in Deem, R. (ed) Schooling for Women's Work. Routledge and Regan Paul, London. p 13-25.

- Maharaj, S.R. (197) : Education for South African Indians in Stepping into the Future, Durban, Part 3, p 123-152.
- Maharaj, P (1985) : Schools for Boys. Hutchinson, London.
- Mahony, P (1985) : Schools for Boys. Hutchinson, London.
- Mama, A. (1984) : Black Women, the Economic Crisis and the British State in Feminist Review, No. 17 of July 1984. London. p. 21-33.
- Measor, L (1989) : 'Are you coming to see some dirty films today' in Holly, L (ed) Girls Sexuality. Open University Press, 12 Cofferdge Close, Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes. P7-9.
- Mirza, H.S. (1985) : The Dilemma of Socialist Feminism: A Case for Black Feminism in Feminist Review, No. 22 of 1985. London. p. 103-105.
- Mitchell, J. (1976) : Women's Estate. Penguin Books, London.
- McNeill, R (1985) : Research Methods. Tavistock Publications Ltd, 11 New Fetter Lane, London.
- Meer, Y.S. et al (1980) : Documents of Indentured Labour : Natal 1851-1911. Unity Publication. Durban. p.1-2, 4-17,129-130. 258-266, 20-21, 295-296, 530, 561-569, p 659-659.
- Mischel, W. (1966) : A social - learning view of sex difference in behaviour in Maccoby, E.E., (ed), The Development of Sex Differences. Allen Lane, London.
- Moore, L (1991) : Bajanellas and Semilinas : Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920. Open University Press, London.
- Morgan, D.L. (1991) : Focus on Groups as Qualitative Research. Sage Publication Ltd, 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- Munnich E et al (ed) (1988) : Reconstructing the Academy : Women's Education and Women's Studies. University of Chicago, Chicago.US.
- Naidoo, M. (1989) : Education in The Indian South African. Owen Burgess Publishers, Durban. p. 103-123.
- Narek, D. (1970) : Women Rap : A Women Scientist Speaks in Leslie Turner (eds) : Voices From Women's Liberation. Mentor, U.S.A. p. 325-329.

- Neill, P. (1985) : Research Methods. Tavistock Publications, London, p.1-14.
- Ninas, C.F.F. (1990) : National Case Studies of Equal Opportunities : The European Picture - Spain in Weiner, G. (eg) The Primary School and Equal Opportunities. Cassell Educational Ltd, Villiers House, Strand, London. p 73-82.
- Northam, J. (1987) : Girls and Boys in Primary Maths Books in Weiner, J. et al (ed); Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p 155-159.
- Oakley, A. (1974) : The Ideology of Sex Differences in Allen, S. et al (ed). Conditions of Illusion. Feminist Books, U.S.A. p 154-165.
- Oakley, A. (1981) : A Subject Gender in Subject Women, Fontano, Great Britain. p. 317-334.
- Okely, J (1987) : Privileged, schooled and finished: Boarding education for girls in Weiner, G. et al (ed). Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p 101-112.
- Patton, M.Q. (1980) : Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. Sage Publications Ltd, 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- Pillay, U. (1972) : Education in A Comparative Study of Values, Attitudes and Folklore Across Three Generations of Hindu Tamil-Speaking Females in Durban. M.A. Thesis Dept. of Sociology. University of Durban-Westville. p 49-62.
- Phoenix, A. (1987) : Theories of Gender and Black Families in Weiner, G. et al (ed). Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p. 50-61.
- Pollert, A. (1981) : Girls, Wives and Factory Lives. Penguin Press, London.
- Powles, M. (1987) : Women's participation in Tertiary Education : A Review of Recent Australian Research. CSHE University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia.
- Purcell, K. & Wood, S. (1986) : Restructuring and Recession in The Changing Experience of Employment. Macmillan, London. p. 1-17.
- Ramazongolu, C. (1986) : Ethnocentrism and Socialist Feminist Theory : A response to Barrett and McIntosh in Feminist Review, No. 22 of February 1986, London. p. 83-86.

- Rambiritch, B. (1955) : An Investigation Into Some Aspects of the Education of Indian Girls In Natal : Unpublished M. Ed. Thesis. University of Natal, Durban.
- Rambiritch, B. (1959) : A Study of the Philosophy And Practice in the Education of the South African Hindu. P.H.D. Thesis, University of Natal, Durban. p. 2-13, 169-174, 197-252.
- Ramphal, R (1989) : Social Transition in Arkin, A.J. et al (ed). The Indian South African. Owen Burgess Publishers, Durban. p. 73-90.
- Randall, G.J. (1987) : Gender Differences in pupil-teachers interaction in workshops and laboratories in Weiner, G. et al (ed), Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p 163-171.
- Riordan, C. (1990) : Girls and Boys in School : Together or Separate? Teachers College Press, New York.
- Robin, W. (1986) : Girls and Technology in Burton, L. (ed), Girls into Maths can go. Cassell Education Ltd, Artillery Road, London. p 241-253.
- Roper, M et al (eds) (1991) : Manful Assertions : Masculinities in Britain since 1800. Routledge, London.
- Rose, B. (1977) : The Indian Community in South Africa : The Free World's Treasure. Broadside Publishers (Pty) Ltd : Sandton, South Africa. P. 61-64.
- Rowbotham, S. (1973) : Women's Consciousness, Man's World. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Rury, J.L (1991) : Education and Women's Work : Female Schooling and Division of Labour in Urban American, 1870-1930. State University of New York Press, Albany. US.
- Ruth, S. (1980) : Issues in Feminism : A First Course in Women's Studies, Houghton Mifflin, Boston. p 2-39.
- Sayers, J. (1987) : Psychology and Gender divisions in Weiner, G. et al (ed). Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p. 26-33.
- Schein, E.H. (1987) : The Clinical Perspective in Fieldwork. Sage Publication Inc., 2111 West Hillcrest Driver, Newbury Park, California.

- Schultz, M.R. (1975) : The Semantic Derogation of Women in Thorne, B. et al (ed). Language and Sex. Newbury House, London. p 64-73.
- Serbin, L.A. (1984) : Teachers, peers and play preferences: an environmental approach to sex-typing in the pre-school in Delamont, S. (ed). Readings on Interactions in the Classroom. Methuen & Co Ltd, London. p 273-289.
- Shapiro, J. et al (1981) : Equal their Chances - Children's Activities for Non-Sexist Learning. Prentice-Hall Inc, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Sharpe, S. (1976) : Just Like a Girl. Pelican Press, United Kingdom. p 61-88, 121-156, 158-181, 184-201.
- Shaw, J. (1987) : The politics of single-sex schools in Deem, R. (ed) Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, England. p 21-35.
- Shifferraw, M (1982) : Educational Policy and Practice Affecting Females in Zambian Secondary Schools. PHD Thesis. The University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, USA.
- Shipman, M (1992) : The Limitations of Social Research. Longman Group UK Ltd, Longman House, Burnt Hill, Harlow, Essex, London.
- Shuard, H. (1986) : The Relative Attainment of Girls and Boys in Mathematics in Primary years in Burton, L. (ed). Girls into Maths can go. Cassell Education Ltd, Artillery House, London p 22-37.
- Shulman, A.K. (1980) : Sex and Power : Sexual Bases of Radical Feminism in Signs. Summer 1980. p. 590-604.
- Smock, A (ed) (1977) : Ghana : From Autonomy to Subordination in Women's Roles and Status in Eight Countries. John Wiley & Sons, New York. p 271-336.
- Spear, M.G. (1985) : Teachers' attitudes towards girls and technology in Whyte, J. et al (ed), Girl Friendly Schooling. Methuen & Co Ltd, New Fetter Lane, London. p 36-43.
- Stanworth, M (1987) : Girls on the margin: A study of gender divisions in the classroom in Weiner, G. et al (ed). Gender Under Scrutiny. The Open University, London. p. 198-212.

- Steier, F (ed) 1991) : Research and Reflexibility. Sage Publication Ltd, 6 Bonhill Street, London.
- Strauss A and Corbin J (1990) : Basics of Qualitative Research. Publiccation Ltd, Bonhill Street, London.
- Sudman, S and Bradburn, N.M. (1983) : Asking Questions Jossey-Bass Ltd, 28 Banner Street, London.
- Sutherland, M. (1985) : Sex Bias in Education - at home and abroad in Watson, K. (ed) Key Issues in Education - Comparatice Perspective. Croom Helen Ltd, Provident House, Burrell Row, Beckenham, Kent, p 49-63.
- Thomas, K (1990) : Gender and Subject in Higher Education. Society for Research in Higher Education, Open University Press, Milton Keynes. p 10-23.
- Thorne, B. and Henley, N (1975) : Differences and Dominance : An Overview of Language, Gender and Society in Language and Sex. Newbury House, London, p 5-35.
- Tucker, R (ed) (1978) : 1. Marx on the history of his opinions.
2. Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx (By Friederich Engels) in The Marx and Engles Reader. W.W. Norton & CO., New York. p 3-6, 581-582.
- Tuckman, B.W. (1978) : Conducting Educational Research Second Edition. Harcourt Brace Jovanovick Inc, New York
- Turabian, K.L. (1987) : A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Turney, B. et al (1971) : Research in Education. Dryden Press, Hinsdale, Illinois. p 1-58.
- Walford, G. (1989) : Introduction in Private Schools in Ten Countries. Mackays of Chatham, Catham, Kent, Great Britain. p 1-7.
- Walkerdine, V. (1981) : Sex, power and pedagogy, Screen Education, 38, p 14-23.
- Waterfield, R (1968) : Education of Teenage Girls in Teachers' Journal. November 1968, Saita, Durban. p6-8.

- Weiner, G & Arnot, M. (ed) (1987) : Gender Under Scrutiny. New Inquiries In Education. The Open University, London.
- Weiner, G. (1990) : 1. Introduction
2. Developing Educational Policy on Gender in The Primary School and Equal Opportunities. Cassell Education Ltd, Villiers House, Strand, London p1-5, 35-51.
- Welman, A.K. (1988) : Guidelines for Writing Scientific Reports : Theory, Language and Technical Aspects. HSRC. Pretoria. p 1-81.
- Wiersma, W. (1980) : Research Methods In Education. An Introduction. Third Edition. F.E. Peacock Publication Inc., Itasca, Illinois. p. 1-89, 296-305.
- Weir, A & Wilson,E (1980) : The British Women's Movement in NLR, No. 148. December 1980. p. 74-102.
- Williams, J (1987) : 'Race and Gender in Education' in Arnot M et al (eds) Gender and the Politics of Schooling. Hutchinson, London.
- Whyte, J. (1985) : Girl Friendly Schooling. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 14 Leicester Square, London.
- Whyte, J (1986) : Girls Into Science and Technology. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 14 Leicester Square, London.
- Wilkinson, L.C. and Marrett C.B. (1985) : Gender Influences in Classroom Interaction. Academic Press Inc, Orlando, Florida, US.
- Van Maanen, G (1989) : Qualitative Method. Fourth Edition. Cornell University, Sage Publication Inc., Newbury Park, California. p. 9-18.

B. SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS, MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS

- Bekker, J (1992) : Girls Own in Cosmopolitan, September 1992. Johannesburg, South Africa. p 110-115.
- Coopan S (1955) : School Accommodation for Indian Children in Teachers Journal, February 195, Nits, Durban, p 5-11.

- Cooper, A.R., Gasa, F.X,
Poonsamy, R and Dickens S.
(1985) : Perspectives on Women Teachers in Teachers Journal,
Tasa, Durban. Vol. XXIV, No 2. 1985. p 16-21.
- David, M (1991) : A Gender Agenda : Women and Family in the New Era in
British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 12, No. 4,
1991. P 433-445.
- Dwyer, L.W. (1965) : Differentiated Educaiton in Teachers' Journal, June 1965,
Nits, Durban. p 6-9.
- Greed, C.H. (1991) : Review of Knowledgeable Women in British Journal of
Sociology of Education. Vol 12, No 1, 1991.
- Hayward, F (1965) : Programmed Instruction in Education and Training in
Teachers' Journal, June 1965, Nits, Durban. p 10-16.
- House of Delegates Dept.
of Educ & Culture (1987) : Guide : School Readiness in Regular School : Context -
Bridging Module for 5 year old. Re-issued with
amendments, January 1987.
- House of Delegates
Dept of Educ & Culture
(1982) : Principal's Handbook. As Amended Chapters B,C,D,E,F
and G. p B1-G6.
- Kichlu, K.P. (1928) : Memorandum of Indian Education in Natal (South Africa).
(Presented to the Natal Indian Education Inquiry
Commission at Pietermaritzburg, 17 April 1928.) p 24-25,
31-33.
- Kirkwood, J, (1991) : Canadian Women Slam Judges For Indiscretion in The
Daily News, Tuesday, July, 9, 1991. p. 11.
- Knowler, W. (1991) : Of Women and Gender in The Natal Mercury, Durban,
Tuesday, February, 5, 1991. p5.
- Lazarus, A.N (1966) : The Story of Indian Primary Education in The Teachers'
Journal, Natal Indian Teachers Society, Durban.
Part 1, October 1966, p. 17-24
Part 2, December 1966, p. 20-24
- Maasdorp, G.G. (1969) : The Education and Employment Position of Indian
Women In A Natal North Coast Area. Report.
Department of Economics. University of Natal, Durban.
p. 25-55.

- McConkey, W.C (1960) : Indian Education - The Past and the Future in Teachers' Journal, September 1960, Nits, p 13-16.
- Mulder, J.C. et al (1986) : Special Emperical Education. (B/Ed) : Guide for OSE401-D. University of South Africa, Muckleneuk, Pretoria. p.1-51.
- Naidoo, E. (1992) : School Rocked by Sex Scandal. Sunday Tribune Herald, Durban. 27 September 1992, p. 1
- Naidoo, K.P. (1967) : The Origin, Growth and Development of Secondary Education For Indian in Natal, 1860-1966, in The Teachers' Journal, Natal Indian Teachers' Society, May 1966. p. 12-21.
- Naidoo, V. (1961) : Higher Education Problems in Teachers' Journal, December 1961, Nits, Durban. p5-12.
- Pillay, M.G. (1967) : Education and the Indian Girl in Fiat Lux, Vol 2, No 7, Sept 1967. Dept of Indian Affairs, Durban. p 176-181.
- Pillay, N. (1989) : The Spare Rib in The Sunday Tribune Herald, Durban, Sunday, November, 26, 1989, p. 14.
- Paxton J, (ed) (1985) : The Statesman's Year Book : 1985:1986. Macmillan Press, London. p. 1083-1085.
- Ramphal, C (1955) : Co-education or Segregation in The Teachers' Journal, Natal Indian Teachers Society, Durban, June 1955. p 5-9.
- Rockhill, K. (1987) : Gender, Language and Politics of Literacy in British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 8, No 2, 1987, p 153-166.
- Singh S.S. (1966) : History of Indian Education in Teachers Journal, May 1966, Nits, Durban. p 19-24.
- Singh S.S. (1985) : History of Indian Education in Diamond Jubilee Brochure : 1925-1985. Teachers Association of South Africa, Durban. June 1985, p 4-12.
- Skeggs, B (1991) : Challenging Masculinity and Using Sexuality in British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 12 No 2, 1991 p 127-136.

South African Democratic Teachers Union (1991)

Empower the Women, Empower the Nation. SADTU Conference for the Empowerment of Women in Education, Durban, 5-7 July 1991.

South African Statistics 1990

Compiled by the Central Statistical Services, Pretoria. p 5. 20-5.25

South Africa 1991-2

: Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa. South African Communication Services. Compiled by Central Statistics. Pretoria. p 173-182.

Squirrell, G. (1990)

: Review on Issues of Sexuality Construction and Control in British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol II, No 4, 1990. p 466-483.

Stander, J.H. (1963)

: Indian Education - A Comparative Picture in Teachers' Journal, September 1963, Nits, Durban. p 3-5.

Stander, J.H. (1963)

: Indian Education - A Comparative Picture in Teachers' Journal, September 1963, Nits, Durban. p 3-5.

Tilak, M. (1975)

: An Examination of Some Religious Concepts of Urban Indian School Children. M.A. Thesis. Faculty of Arts. University of Durban-Westville. p. 72-86.

Venter, H.C.A. (1977)

: Equal Remuneration For Men and Women In the Teaching Profession. Institute for Educational Research. H.S.R.C. Pretoria. p 17-84.

Welman, A.K. (1988)

: Guidelines For Writing Scientific Reports : Theory, Language and Technical Aspects. H.S.R.C. Pretoria. p 1-81.

Steyn, G.H.A. (1981)

: Educantulus 4 : Research Methods in Education. H & R Academica (Pty) Ltd, Pretoria, p 9-16.

C. DIRECT INTERVIEWS

- Fakir, F (1992) : Pre-primary School Education, 30 September 1992
(Deputy Superintendent of Education - Pre-Primary Education, Dept of Education and Culture, House of Delegates).
- Greenway, R (1993) : Population of Tongaat. 21 October 1993 Dept of Statistics, Tongaat Town Board. Tongaat.
- Maharaj, D.H. (1992) : Indian Marriages and Religious Educaiton. 3 September 1992.
(Hindu priest and School Guidance-Counsellor, Buffelsdale Secondary School, Tongaat).
- Samuel, P.C. (1991) : Apartheid Education. 29 November 1991, Durban. (Ex-President of Teachers Association of South Africa).