

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PLACE OF WOMEN
IN BLACK EDUCATION AS PERCEIVED BY
STUDENTS WHO STUDY EXTRA-MURALLY

by

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DECLARATION

An Investigation into the place of women as perceived by students who study extramurally.

M.ED. 1991

I, Nokulunga Queeneth Mkabela, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work in conception and execution, and that the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of references.

Signed by me on the
day of 1992

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father Daniel Paul Mkabela for being a source of encouragement throughout my school life and who made me to understand that education leads to emancipation.

SUMMARY1. OUTLINE

Culture is man-made. Education is associated with man to imbue him into cultural norms; values and behaviour patterns. Education in helping the young to becoming an adult is strongly influenced by the existing culture of a given people.

Though formal western education is supposed to ignore sexual demands on helping the young to become adults, it has a very strong sexual inclination. In this study,, "An investigation into the place of women in black education", it became very clear that even formal education up to University level does discriminate against the female persons. This was discussed in Chapter 1.

For instance the survey of women's place in Western countries indicated this preferential inclination towards men. Examples are abundant in Greek education in Spartan education and also in Athenian education. People like Plato tried to put an end to this discriminatory practice but Rousseau perpetuated the practice.

Women's place from the missionaries' point of view and in traditional education in South Africa has been highlighted in this research. Because of the multidisciplinary nature of a study like this, it was discovered that other perspectives on women: the historico-legal, religious, political, psychological, can provide insight as far as the position of women in general is concerned.

In order to highlight the problem, education and gender had to be discussed, in Chapter 3, with a purpose of indicating the influence of education in positioning women. For instance, a survey of sexism in the curriculum and sexism in the hidden curriculum put women in formal education as second to men. Gender is equally dominant in the South Africa education systems.

2. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

In this study two methods were used; namely literature study and an empirical method. Literature was reviewed on the researched problem. A questionnaire designed to reveal some areas of concern on the question of the place of women in Black education in particular was designed and administered to post graduate part-time students.

In Chapter 5 the results of the investigation are presented, discussed and interpreted.

3. PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

3.1 Although the education of women has advanced in South Africa, there are still discriminatory and differentiated practices which are restricting the educational achievements as well as promotion chances of women.

3.2 There were indications in the research that some respondents could not visualize women filling certain promotion posts in the education departments. The lack of self-confidence and perseverance could have a negative effect on promotion potential.

3.3 The lack of time due to role overload was rated as the primary barrier.

3.4 The respondents expressed the opinion that societal pressures could create obstacles to the promotion of women educators.

In conclusion this research makes it evident that education as a vehicle through which culture is transmitted to the not-yet- mature plays a very important role in discriminating against the females.

OPSOMMING

1. OORSIG

Kultuur word deur die mens geskep. Opvoeding word met die mens gebruik om hom aan die kulturele norme, waardes en gedrags patrone van sy gemeenskap te voldoen opvoeding om die jong te help om 'n volwasse te word, word sterk beïnvloed deur die bestaande kultuur van die betrokke mense.

Alhoewel formele Westerse opvoeding veronderstel is om die seksuele vereistes te ignoreer waaneer die jong gehelp word om volwassenes te word, he dit in elk geval 'n groot geslagtelike neiging. In hierdie studie, "An investigation into the place of women in black education" ('n Ondersoek in die plek van vroue in Swart opvoeding), het die duidelik geword dat selfs formele opvoeding tot Universiteitsvlak teen vrouemense diskrimineer. Hierdie aangeteentheid word in Hoofstuk I bespreek.

Die ondersoek van 'n plek van vroue in Westerse Lande vir by voorbeeld, het hierdie gunstige neiging aan mans uitgewys. Daar is baie voorbeelde in Griekse Spartaanse en ook in Atheense opvoeding.

Mense soos Plato wou graag gehad het dat hierdie diskriminerende praktyk tot 'n einde te gebring moes word maar Rousseau het dit laat voortduur.

Die plek van 'n vrou volgens die sendelinge gesienswyse en tradisionele opvoeding in Suid Afrika is in hierdie navorsing na vore gebring. Weens die multidissiplinere aard van 'n studie soos hierdie, is dit bevind dat ander perspektiewe soos die geskiedkundige-regtelike, godsdienstige, staatkundige en sielkundige, insig kan verskaf so ver dit die posisie van die vroue in die algemeen betref.

Om die probleem na vore te bring, is opvoeding en geslag in Hoofstuk 3 bespreek met die doel om die invloed van opvoeding in die posisie van vrouens duideliker te stel. 'n Oorsig van byvoorbeeld seksisme in beide die leerplan en verborge leerplan, plaas vrouens in formele opvoeding tweede aan mans. Geslag is net so oorheersend in die opvoedingstelsels van Suid-Afrika.

2. ONDERSOEKSWYSE

In hierdie studie is twee metodes gebruik; nl. literatuurstudie en empiriese navorsing. Literatuur is nagegaan wat betrekking het op die probleem wat ondersoek word. 'n Vraelys bedoel om probleme van belang in verband met die plek van vroue in die Swart onderwys na vore te bring, is beplan en onder nagraadse deeltydse studente versprei.

In Hoofstuk 5 word die uitslae van die ondersoek uiteengesit bespreek en uitgele.

3 HOOF BEVINDINGE

- 3.1 Alhoewel die opvoeding van vrouens in Suid-Afrika gevorder het, is daar nog distriminerende en onderskeidende praktyke wat die vroumense se opvoedings prestasies so wel as hulle bevorderings geleentheid beperk.
- 3.2 Daar was tekens in die navorsing dat sommige proefpersone nie kon sien of die idee aanvaar dat vroue sekere bevorderingsposte in die departement van opvoeding nie kon vul nie. Die afwesigheid van selfvertroue en volharding kan 'n negatiewe uitwerking op bevorderingsvermoë he.
- 3.3 Die afwesigheid van die geleentheid weens die rol voorlading word as die grootste hindernis beskou.
- 3.4 Die mening van die proefpersone was dat gemeenskaplike drukke, probleme kan skep vir die bevordering van vroue opvoeders.

Ten slote maak hierdie navorsing dit duidelik dat opvoeding as 'n verkeer waarmee kultuur oorhandig word aan 'n onvolwasse 'n belangrike rol speel om teen die vroue te diskrimineer.

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

The role and position of women in society have in recent years come in for a re-appraisal. This in essence has definite implications for education. For centuries, education has been dominated by males operating within a male frame of reference. Echoing the same sentiments Hughes and Kennedy (1985) have the following to say:

"Women are not only disadvantaged because of their sex, but also of their age. As they grow older and become less sexually womanly, in male defined terms, so they are not seen to increase in experience as would be the case with men: The grey-haired man denotes wisdom but a grey-haired woman implies ageing." (Hughes and Kennedy 1985: 17-18)

Although this quotation may be controversial, depending upon the angle from which one looks at it, it does however paint a picture of the way in which women are perceived as socially disadvantaged.

Discrimination against women has been carried out for years in South African black culture and education. When Western education was introduced in Africa, it brought some changes in traditional education. Like the traditional education, Western education downgrades women as appendages to men, with a heavy emphasis on their sexuality rather than their human qualities and abilities. For instance, women in our society in most cases have a different and subordinate position in the division of labour compared with men. Some of the knowledge, skills, values, ideas and aspects of culture presented in schools are of no use to women except as confirmation of their position in the sexual division of labour. For example, history as a subject at school features mainly about male heroes and domination. This makes women to grow silent as it used to happen in the black culture where women were cast to a subservient position. Thus, education is not capable of generating change, that is, creating new opportunities for women which can lead to the improvement of their position in modern developing societies.

As it has already been alluded, inequality between men and women has been passed on from generation to generation and it was unquestioned. Byrne (1978: 30) explains inequality as follows:

"Inequality is generally inherited, environmental and passive, rarely accurately recognised by those who suffer it."

This explanation appears to be in line with the argument which has just been pursued regarding the apparent discrimination and oppression of women over the years. It also appears as if women have religiously accepted the status quo as providence. Deem (1978) reports that the roots of this are buried deep and are hard to dig out and even harder to remove altogether.

The general belief in the physical power of men vis-a-vis women also plays an important role in determining the status of women. Women are considered to be physically weak and are consequently regarded as inferior since they have to depend on men to do things which require great physical power for them.

The inequality between men and women also has its roots in religion. Practically all the great religious leaders recorded in history are men ..., Christ and Muhammad, for example. This attitude is even harder to dig out because religion is regarded as the 'pillar' of our philosophy of life (Luthuli: 1981) and is often accepted without proof.

This attitude of giving women an inferior status has been accepted and internalized by women. As it has been suggested, they think God has planned it this way. Thus Byrne (1978: 30) is correct when she states that, "inequality has its roots in social history which records the stereotyping of expected adult roles for men and women and the translation of these in different curricula."

Byrne (1978) further argues that the cultural gender expectation role has been taken into account in our education. For instance, all reading schemes currently used in Black schools show the most traditional male or female domestic roles. A reader will look in vain for a single picture of, or story about, the millions of working wives and mothers, the husbands who shop in the supermarket, the wives who drive cars, the women who put up shelves and put plugs on electrical appliances, male nurses and female doctors, women digging gardens and men cooking Sunday lunch, none of which is particularly uncommon. This has made men too secured in their identity or seem to be so. Their roles in life are less complex but carry greater status. This derives from their gender identity as males, as breadwinners, husbands and heads of the household. Their compartmental lives allow more space and time to perfect their skills, while having the support of women in all roles.

Women's roles are generally seen as unimportant, lacking purpose, fulfilling only in maternity and fragmented. The fragmentation in most women's lives is actually a positive and creative model. For example, within the home women are not only wives and mothers but also have an amazing number of jobs centred around the family: nurse, cook, teacher, gardener, lover, cleaner, childminder, economic adviser and therapist. They work outside the home either part-time or full-time. Yet even here, in spite of the double job burden, they still tend overwhelmingly to put home and family duties first.

For example, it is the mother who is absent from work to look after a sick child. It is hard to be a whole person when so many demands and expectations are made upon women. Thus women can tend to be 'Jack of all trades but master of none'. (Hughes and Kennedy, 1985: 14).

As it has previously been implied, women's low esteem of themselves and their skills is due to the fact that they have never fully recognised the complexities and value of their varied roles in life. Thus women need to be liberated from always being measured against men and therefore always being found deficient. They need to find their own yardstick and their own psychological space and identity.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In a society where most children of both sexes attend the same schools an exclusive discussion of girls education may seem unusual. The concern is with the arrangement that may encourage or hinder equal opportunities for self-fulfillment.

With a few minor exceptions, e.g. mines, all professions are open to men and women equally and no barriers are created on the ground of sex alone. The question that arises as far as this study is concerned is the actual opportunities given to women in education, especially Black education. This question has its

basis, inter alia, in the fact that in the South African education situation almost all the high educational ranks are occupied by men.

Figure 1.1 depicts the problem of what happens to educated black women, especially those from the universities.

FIGURE 1.1

SOURCE

INFORMATION ON THE HISTOGRAM HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM THE CONVONERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND (1986 - 1989)

Although it was obviously not possible to know about all graduates and diploma holders (convocans) the sample that has been used in the above figure shows the place of women in education. The figures in the histogram include the students who graduated and obtained diplomas during the period 1960-1988.

The histogram also indicates the post-levels occupied by men and women. The post-levels are from the higher to lower posts (from left to right). In the first four higher posts on the right there are no women. However, there are more women in the lowest post (assistant teachers). This shows the uneven distribution of posts based on gender discrimination, which is in conformity with the placement of women in the lower strata of the educational hierarchy.

For instance, Byrne (1978: 13) echoes this plight of women in education in the following manner:

"But in adult education women are present, therefore, we have the problem of convincing men and women that there is discrimination and that the kind of education women have is not necessarily appropriate; neither in the present nor for the future. We cannot know exactly what the end product might look like if women determined their own education. But we predict that being involved in the

process, planning and deciding upon their own learning would make women aware of the limited choices open to them at present. We suspect they would insist on doing things differently"

This statement reflects poorly on the South African education system where education is planned by men who are in the majority in the management of education. The problem may be the cause of an inferior education which is planned perhaps with no conscious ill-intent, by men which possibly gives no foundation for a later career for women in either work or government.

The argument that follows on the teachers' service conditions gives testimony to the discriminatory educational practices against women. The South African government's condition of service also confirms Byrne's (1978) statement. According to the Education and Training Act R819 No. 90 of 1979 teachers have twelve days per annum accumulative leave excluding holidays and Sundays. Married female teachers are entitled to a maternity leave period of ninety days without pay. They have to apply for leave when they commence their sixth month of pregnancy. If the applicant has thirty days credit she will receive thirty days leave with pay and sixty days without pay or she may have sixty days with half pay and thirty days without pay if so requested. Unmarried female teachers do not qualify for maternity leave. All they can use is their accumulative leave days, and they are forced to resign. It is thus apparent that according to the

South African conditions of service for black teachers, child bearing is not a right for women teachers. It also shows that women are not represented in the process of educational planning and decision making which affect them. In addition women are not equally remunerated as men. This inequality of some kind relegates women to a subservient position.

The problem therefore, as far as the study is concerned, hinges on whether black women are accorded their rightful status and thus properly positioned in education.

On this point Deem (1980) argues that some scholars suggest that opportunities are there, and are there for both sexes. In essence this means that if any under-achieving group (women) does not take advantage of them, it is because they do not wish to.

1.3 THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is as follows:

1. To determine the relationship between personal particulars and factors hindering women in the occupation hierarchy.
2. To determine sex-type roles.
3. To determine professional women's aspirations.

4. To determine the barriers in the professional women's vertical mobility.

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.4.1 Black woman

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 'woman' refers to an adult female human being. Whilst 'black' on the other hand symbolises the darker skin coloured people and other physical and cultural features.

For the purposes of this study the term Black woman is used without any political or ideological significance attached to it. It is used to mean an African female, i.e. an aboriginal female of Africa, excluding whites, coloureds and orientals.

1.4.2 Place

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary 'place' refers to rank or position in society. For the purposes of this study the place of women refers to the rank or position of authority, in terms of posts or hierarchical level, on which the women find themselves in education.

1.4.3 Extramural

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary 'extramural' refers to studies for people who are not full-time residential members of a university. In terms of this study students who study extramurally at the University of Zululand are those who attend lectures in the evening on part-time basis. By definition the study will include those students who do B.Ed on a part-time basis. The rationale for the selection of this population to form a sample is explained in chapter 4.

1.5 METHOD OF STUDY

The information and data which form the foundation of this study are derived from two main sources.

1.5.1 Literature study

A survey of relevant literature on the place of women in education has in the first place been taken. As the emphasis is on the plight of women in education, it has been found necessary to pay special attention to literature and documents in which women's place in education was assessed.

1.5.2 Questionnaire

The empirical part of this study has been done by means of questionnaires. Questionnaires were given to female students in order to obtain data about how they see themselves within the education situation. A critical analysis of these responses constitutes an important part of this study.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 presents an orientation and overview of the study. It sets out the scope and the objective of the study as well as the method of investigation that was employed in the study.

Chapter 2 is a theoretical exposition on the place of women in education. Views of some scholars on women education are reviewed. Different perspectives, i.e. educational - historical, religious, political, historico-legal, psychological, were also discussed.

In chapter 3 some ideas on the South African education situation concerning the promotion of sexism in education are investigated.

Chapter 4 is an exposition of the empirical research design and procedure followed in this study.

In chapter 5 the results of investigation are presented, discussed and interpreted. The aim of this chapter is to assess how women find identity within the education situation in which they are defined and confined.

Chapter 6 aims at giving a synthesis of different findings. Summary and recommendations emanating from this study is also given in this chapter.

1.7 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Bearing in mind the nature and purpose of this study, it was necessary to limit the scope of the research. Due to the exigencies of time and distance it was decided to select as the research instrument, the questionnaire, some of the limitations of which were outlined in chapter 4.

As regards the scope of the study; while it was considered that a wider population group would have given a more complete picture of the attitudes and aspirations of women educators towards promotional hierarchies and opportunities, some circumscription of the population was unavoidable. However, it is realised that this restriction narrows the applicability of the research finding to selected B.Ed women students in the employ of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

While limitations in both the scope and methodology of research are acknowledged, it may be suggested that the findings of the investigation might have some wider applicability than initially foreseen. The research could therefore benefit from an analysis of the situation in a wider field.

1.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Black culture and education are man-made. The production of knowledge and therefore the making of culture - art, literature, politics, science - is determined by those who make it, order it, and dispense it. Education, especially, university education is claimed and believed to be an asexual objective and a universal process. The concern of the researcher is that women have not played a major role in producing the concepts and curricula which are the backbone of our education. It means that the concerns, interests and experiences forming our education are those of men in positions of dominance (planners) whose perspectives are built on the silence of women. The researcher seeks to find out about how women see themselves, find an identify in educational positions within the maze of ways in which they are defined and confined. The researcher also wants to find out about the role that education does and could play in creating a gap between women and men.

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CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON SOME PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst the thrust of this research project is on the place of women in black education, it is in the opinion of the researcher that other perspectives on women can provide further insight as far as this study is concerned. That is why the perspectives that are discussed hereunder do not suggest that the present researcher has lost sight of the real problem, that is women in education, under investigation, but on the contrary such discussion will hopefully clarify the argument on the topic in question.

2.2 WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.2.1 WOMEN'S PLACE IN EDUCATION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

2.2.1.1 Early Greek education

For the purpose of this study the two most important city states in Greece, Sparta and Athens, will be discussed because these are foundations and sometimes models for present day cultural ideals and educational practices. To emphasize this point Power (1962) points out that the history of education in the West really begins with Greeks, for to them the Western World owes its idea and ideal of culture.

The South African education system is Western-oriented and, as the was the case in Greek education, makes a clear distinction between boys and girls which has relevance to this study.

2.2.1.1.1 Education in Sparta

Freeman (1922) maintains that nowhere was education considered more important than in Sparta. Life in Sparta was directed primarily at preserving the status quo. Boys and girls were born and bred to serve the state. This subservience to the state was called citizenship. Severe penalties were visited upon young people who failed in the patriotic duty to dedicate their energy and their lives to the interest of the state. The state's welfare was guaranteed best by military strength and Sparta became an army camp where everybody put the state first and the individual second. Consequently education became geared to help people to adore the state.

With great practical wisdom Sparta recognised the fundamental importance of education in conformity with the military aims of the State. Sparta made proper training in accordance with Spartan traditions obligatory on every citizen. In other Greek States parents were allowed to educate their families much as they pleased. But in Sparta no one who had not undergone the statutory training could be a member of the citizen's clubs or get a state allotment, and every

detail of the child's life was controlled by the State. The new-born child was examined by local elders, and if found weak, was either left to die of exposure or given over to helots. The boys who were approved were brought up by their mothers for the first seven years of life, and then passed from the control of the family to the control of the community (Boyd and King, 1980).

From seven to eighteen they went through a graduated course of training, which grew more severe at each new stage. At eighteen they became 'ephebi' (cadets) and the menial part of the discipline was dropped. They were then sent out into the country on secret service to spy on the helots, and get their first experience of soldiering on garrison duty. This probationary drill ended at twenty, and they became eligible for the election to men's clubs, but it was ten years more before they could enjoy the full rights of citizenship. Even then their training was not finished. They were under obligation to go on practising the arts of war, and to keep themselves in instant readiness for active service until incapacitated by old age.

The whole character of the Spartan training was determined by the desire for military efficiency. From birth to death, the daily life of both children and adults was as rigorous as the life of the camp. The boys had to go barefoot in all weather, and were clad in a single garment. Their food was coarse and their beds hard, as befitted those who were to

spend their lives in fighting. Everyday they were kept busy at work at gymnastic exercises and outdoor pursuits like swimming and hunting and nothing was left undone to make them strong and hardy. From their infancy they were under constant supervision.

A distinctive feature of the Spartan system that deserves mention was the attention paid to the training of women. According to Power (1962) although patriotism and obedience were virtues expected of both men and women, the means used to inculcate these and subsidiary virtues were different for boys and girls. A Spartan woman was not considered a man's equal, but neither was she doomed to a role of servitude. Her first duty was to bear strong, healthy children, her second was to show, by example of deed and word, her complete devotion to the state. Wives and mothers did not engage in actual combat on the field of battle, but with moral strength and resolute patriotism they supported their soldier husbands and sons and encouraged them to give, if need be, their last full measure of devotion to the state. Woody as cited by Power (1962) maintains that so drilled were women in this sacrificial attitude and so high was the premium placed on fortitude that a Spartan mother could fearlessly advise her son about to leave for the frontier and battle to come home with his shield or on it.

Boyd and King (1980) further state that elsewhere in Greece the girls were brought up in the seclusion of the home and received no education outside the sphere of domestic occupation. Thus Spartan education promoted gender roles which enhanced sexism. The Spartans, with a clearer view of the value of education, allowed girls to live a free outdoor life, and trained them in much the same way as they trained the boys in order that they might be worthy mothers of brave and resolute men. This shows that their education was planned in relation to men. Women were trained for the benefit of men which shows that they were less important (inferior to) men. Their education prepared them to comply. They had exercise grounds of their own where they learned to jump and run, play ball, throw the javelin, wrestle, dance and sing, just like boys. The only difference was that they were allowed to remain at home instead of being segregated in packs, and that their exercises were less strenuous.

From the above exposition it is clear that the Spartans' code of life gave the training of boys precedence and the education of girls was carried on informally and somewhat incidentally. There was stress and emphasis on boys' education, girls were not given a place than to be prepared for the future. This affected the status of women because Spartan men were soldiers and were the only Greeks who practiced the art of war with diligence, they were the people who maintained the superiority of Sparta and remained in the

lime light. Thus their status was elevated and women remained in inferior positions as facilitators of men's status.

2.2.1.1.2 Athenian Education

The ideas that follow deal mainly with boys' education. They have been deliberately discussed here in order to throw some light on the extent to which women were not taken seriously in Athens.

2.2.1.1.2.1 Before the sophists

Graves (1970) maintains that Athenian Education differed very considerably from Spartan education and the difference steadily increased as time went on. However, both had one thing in common: both were thoroughly practical and aimed directly at preparing the boy for his adult activities as a member of the state. There was a difference in the Spartan and Athenian outlooks on education. In Sparta the boy was trained not only for war but also for peace, that is, he was trained for public usefulness.

In the first period of training gymnastics was the most important part of Athenian education, and the only part of which the State took direct cognisance. To get this training the boys went to some private palestra or wrestling school, while the youth just out of boyhood went to one of

the two public gymnasia, the Academy and the Cynosarges, which had been established in the time of Solon. The seven-year-old boys who had just begun their education, being physically unfit for the strenuous exercises, were taught good deportment and light physical drill, and were encouraged to play ball and other games dear to the children of all lands. The real gymnastic training did not begin till they were able to profit by it about the age of twelve or thirteen. They also attended the musical school for musical education and literary instruction. In the music school the boys were taught reading, recitation, writing and simple arithmetic. Their training in music comprised singing and playing the seven-stringed lyre and the aulos. The school day was long lasting, from early morning until late in the afternoon.

Steyn (1984) states that reading was difficult to learn and took a long time. As neither accenting nor punctuation had yet been introduced, there was no spacing between words. The attention given to the subject, however, resulted in the boy reading with remarkable accuracy and expression. Elementary education ceased for most Athenian boys at fourteen, but those who belonged to the wealthy continued higher education, which carries with it the probability of being elected to positions of leadership. Instruction in music and letters was replaced by training in citizenship. They were taught the law of the city-state, they were introduced to the law courts, they listened to political discussions,

and they attended dramatic productions. From age eighteen to twenty the final stage of higher education was embarked upon. This took the form of military training, on the completion of which the youth became an Ephebos, i.e, citizen novice. On completion of his military training, and as a result of an examination on the duties of citizenship, he became a full-fledged citizen.

No mention is made about girls education except that their education was restricted to training in domestic duties. This clearly indicated that they didn't play any role in the history of Athens, instead they were the facilitators in a male-dominated history. The relegation of women to inferior status is thus not a new thing in history.

2.2.1.1.1.2.2 The Era of the Sophists

Steyn (1984) states that when Athenian trade grew rapidly, foreigners in large numbers settled within her walls to take advantage of the opportunities for acquiring wealth. These foreigners brought with them new customs and ideas, and new teachers.

These teachers, called sophists, were learned, well-travelled men. The sophists were well paid for their services by the aristocratic and wealthy parents of Athens who were eager to prepare their sons for political leadership. The sophists, who were the

first professional teachers in higher education, are best described as professors of practical wisdom. They taught by lecturing. They were good lecturers and made use of dialectic, the art of persuasion, and rhetoric, the art of speaking effectively.

The teaching given by the sophists had its effect particularly on the education of the older boys. Although education between fifteen and eighteen years was voluntary, ambitious men as well as the intellectually curious attended their lectures. Young men who would once have volunteered for military training preferred to stay in Athens to participate in the teachings of the sophists. The emphasis in education shifted from training in civic duties to training for personal advancement and pleasure. Physical training was no longer emphasized. Although the sophists did not engage in elementary education this did not remain unaffected. In the palestra physical training was much relaxed and in the music school musical education was indulged in more for its pleasurable effects, and literature was studied with the emphasis on style and form rather than content.

The women in Athens, as it was in Sparta, did not play any role in the education of Athens except that they were nurses of young boys. The whole education was

directed to boys. Thus women were excluded from Athenian history and girls were not given any major role except to be prepared to observe the status quo.

2.2.2 Women's place in education as perceived by Philosophers

The views of philosophers will hopefully provide insight into the way women were perceived by them. Their views are considered relevant to this research as their ideas are still prevalent today and still have influence on our education. It should be noted that philosophers are the product of their culture and social circumstances, and this also affects their philosophy. Boyd and King (1980) argue that it should be noted that educational theories are associated with times of upheaval and violent change, when men were reaching out after new institutions and looking to the right training of the young for the foundations of social order. Therefore, their perception of women should be seen from this perspective.

2.2.2.2.1 Plato (427-347 B.C.)

Power (1962) maintains that in Plato's own right he was one of the world's foremost philosophers, perhaps the foremost. He was a teacher and an education philosopher. In his thought and work he organised and promoted a philosophic approach to education. In his book, The Republic, education is given a great deal of attention.

Power (1962) points out that, as an Athenian, Plato's principal educational objectives did not differ from those accepted in early Athens. Social as well as educational traditions had regularly recommended various kinds of training of girls. Females, however, according to the same tradition, were not thought to be equally capable as boys in mastering the intricacies of education.

Plato propagated a different education system from the existing practice of girls' education. Boyd and King (1980) contend that the subjects of instruction for which provision was made in Plato's educational scheme were much the same as those followed by the more intelligent of the Athenian youth. Up to seventeen or eighteen, the children of the class from which the future rulers would be drawn, girls as well as boys, were all to devote themselves to gymnastics and music. Following on that were some two years of physical training similar in general character to the customary ephebic discipline. From twenty to thirty, the youth of both sexes who had proved themselves capable of more advance studies were to do mathematical sciences arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and harmonics. And finally, at thirty, a select company who had shown distinction both of mind and character throughout the whole course of their previous training were to spend five years in the study of dialectic (or philosophy), the science of the good, before taking their place in the ranks of 'guardians' of the State.

Boyd and King (1980) further state that this is the idea that underlies the education system of The Republic. Every person in the State, irrespective of sex and of social rank, was to receive the training which enabled him to play the part for which he was best fitted. All forms of culture were to be regulated and censored in view of their education effects. The common people, who lacked capacity for government, were to get no education beyond what comes to them living in a beautiful, well-ordered community; the main virtue required for the duties of their station is the self control that is made by the very fact their rulers are wise. Those members of the outing class who show practical ability but lack philosophical insight get a training that equips them for military service and for subordinate positions as 'helpers' in the work of the government. Only men and women of true wisdom who have risen above the limitations of their own particular experience to a knowledge of the supreme good through the study of dialectic are judged capable of acting as the guardians of the State. They are the true philosopher - kings on whose wisdom the security and the well-being of the whole state depends.

From the foregoing exposition it can be assumed that theoretically Plato's assignment of an equal place to women in the educational scheme put him far in advance of his time. Davis (1971) maintains that it seemed impossible that the Greeks, among the most civilised of all the people, could fail in this one most important mark of civilisation,

the elevation of woman. Davis (1971) further states that the writings of the Ancient Greeks themselves do not indicate any suppression of the right of women. This shows that women were not viewed as inferior to men. She further maintains that Greek women of the classical age enjoyed rights and privileges under the Athenian law because when two such prominent men as Socrates and Plato proclaimed the equality of women, it would have been hard for mere citizens to confute them.

In the Republic, Plato as cited by Davis, (1971: 191) says: "No calling in the life of the city belongs to woman or to man as man, by nature the woman has a share in all practices, and so has shown the man. For a woman to hold the guardianship (public office) she will need special education. We will be dealing with the same nature in woman as in man and the same education will be required for both. For the only difference between the sexes is that "men beget and women bear children."

The above quotation indicates Plato's positive attitude towards the status of women. This point is emphasized by Davis (1971) when she states that Plato consulted Aspasia, a woman of great knowledge and skill in politics. He consulted her for her wisdom and brought his students to visit her. Anthon (1943) states that the period in which Plato lived did not suppress the rights of women and this is indicated

by the Pythagorean prayer which speaks more vocally for the Greek attitude towards women than all the nineteenth century scholarship combined:

"Honor be to woman on earth as in Heaven, and may she be sanctified, and help us to mount to the Great Soul of the world who gives birth, preserves and renews the divine Goddess who bears along all souls in her mantle of light." (Davis 1971: 192).

2.2.2.2 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778)

According to Hughes and Kennedy (1985: 2) the French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, has the following to say in his book Emile:

"A woman's education must therefore be planned in relation to man. To be pleasing in his right, to win his respect and love, to train him in childhood, to tend him in manhood, to counsel and console him, to make his life pleasant and happy, these are the duties of a woman for all time, and this is what she should be taught while she is young. The further we depart from this principle, the further we shall be from our goal, and all our precepts will fail to secure her happiness or our own."

In many ways Rousseau's ideas influence education even today. It is a dominant (male) ideology providing its own interpretation of the purposes of education which neglects women's views and needs. Hughes and Kennedy (1985) maintain that today the debates over education for women differ in content from those of earlier centuries. These were originally concerned with whether women were educable (did they have minds?). What kind of education was suitable for them and to what end, and at what level? If they were to be admitted to higher education would this over-tax their brains and bodies, unwoman them? Or at the other end of the class scale, would general education lead them to neglect their female duties in life?

In his book Emile Rousseau states: "It is not good that man should be alone. Emile is a man. We have promised him a companion and we must give him one. That companion is Sophy". (Claydon, 1969: 138).

"Sophy ought to be truly a woman as Emile is truly a man, that is to say, that she should have all the attributes of her species and her sex which enable her to fill her place in the physical and moral order." (Claydon, 1969: 138)

Rousseau's statement downgrades women, it is a statement of male superiority and radical underestimation of the possibilities of women in terms of intellectual capacity. But Claydon (1969: 138) interpretes it in this way: "it would seem fair to say that Rousseau's account would be unacceptable in the twentieth century

in a great many details. It might even be said that it is something of frank recognition that men and women are different in important ways which are not merely anatomical, but might profitably be restated in the present to counteract some of more extreme pleadings for equality".

It is clear that Rousseau differentiates between the two sexes. From this diversity arises the first assignable difference between the moral relations of the one with the other. The one should be active and strong, the other passive and weak. This principle ensures that the woman is made especially to please the man. If man ought to be pleasing to her in his turn the necessity is less direct; he pleases by the very fact that he is strong.

Then the entire education of women ought to be in relation to man, to please him, to be of use to him, to love and honour him, to rear his children, to tend him in manhood, to counsel him, make life pleasant and sweet for him, these are the duties of woman in all ages and what they should learn in their infancy (Claydon, 1969).

Boyd and King (1980) maintain that Rousseau in his book, *Emile*, states that the educator must begin by studying the child. He must take account first of all the generic characters of mankind, those characters which are variously manifested in the disposition or inclinations. Then there are the differences of sex: once it is

demonstrated that men and women are not and ought not to be constituted alike in character or temperament, it follows that they ought not to have the same education.

It is the first principle of natural education as Rousseau understands it, that sex should be taken into account in the upbringing of boys and girls. According to him, the nature of the two sexes is fundamentally different from every beginning, and that makes necessary a corresponding difference in their education.

The view Rousseau takes is that sex is only an incident in the life of man, whereas a woman is always a woman, for which reason he would have the boy educated to be a complete human being with a world wide interest, and let the girl be trained exclusively for wifehood and motherhood. It is a significant illustration of his point of view that his discussion of the education of girls comes near the end of *Emile*, where he has brought the hero to his educational romance to his entire of life when he is ready for marriage, and some account has to be given of the upbringing of Sophiy, the girl worthy to be married to this paragon. In view of that the whole education of woman should be relative to man.

The two philosophers, Plato and Rousseau, lived during different periods where the influence of their cultures towards women were not the same. According to Davis (1971) Plato lived during the time when the status of women in Greece was superior. While on the other hand Rousseau lived in the period when women were taken

as inferior to men. This attitude was to some extent due to the influence of the Christian religion. Thus, their perspective on women education is also different.

2.2.3. Women's place in traditional education - The case of South Africa

Traditional education refers to the process of socialization or upbringing of the child and existing practices, customs and mannerisms before the White man came to Africa. Reference is made to traditional education because the researcher wants to highlight the position of women before Western education was introduced in Africa, particularly South Africa.

Krige (1974) argues that in traditional society the sexes were clearly differentiated in every way. From early childhood boys and girls were separated. This differentiation was carried to daily life so that men and women were bound by custom even to sit directly and wash at different places. There was segregation in every sphere.

As Sibisi (1990) testifies the role played by sex is still prevalent today. Deep-seated beliefs in sex differences exist among black people. The belief is clearly associated with the authority of men over women from childhood to adulthood and this was perpetuated by their education.

2.2.3.1 Organization of education

According to Steyn (1984) traditional education was differentiated in accordance with the child's physical and mental development.

2.2.3.1.1 First age group 0-6 years

During this period the education of the child was the responsibility of the mother, and took place within the framework of the family. The father had relatively little to do with the young child during the first years.

The mother fed the infant and cared for him. The infant was breast-fed for a long time and was carried by her every where on her back. (Steyn, 1987)

2.2.3.1.2 Second age group 7 - 10 years

When they were six, children were normally separated according to sex. The boys were educated by men and girls by women. The father and mother ensured that the child, through his active participation in life situations, benefitted from them according to his aptitudes and capabilities. Children participated in more and more productive work around the house under the guidance of their parents or elder brothers and sisters. For example, the boy

would cut grass for the goat and care for the family's animals, while the small girl would fetch water with her mother, sweep or wash utensils or take care of her younger brothers or sisters. This is where gender roles were enforced on the children of both sexes, and they internalised it and accepted it as the order of the day. This was also reflected in their games, which were effective methods of learning, where children acted the role of father or mother. Imitations of real-life situations served as a kind of pre-apprenticeship carried on without adult interference.

2.2.3.1.3 Third age group: 11-15 years

Children of both sexes were increasingly involved in the life of men and women and called on to accomplish adult jobs in a more complete manner. They were gradually given more and more independence, with its attendant responsibilities. They led a collective life with their contemporaries in the same age group and of the same sex which strengthened their solidarity (Krige, 1974).

2.2.3.2 Formal Education

Steyn (1987) maintains that aspects of formal education were evident at the age of puberty or soon thereafter. It is called initiation.

Initiation took place when a child reached the age of puberty or soon thereafter. Young men and women were grouped separately into groups of thirty to forty for a period of time. They were taken to secluded areas under the care of elders specially selected for their wisdom, knowledge and ability to teach. They were deliberately instructed in a variety of life situations that would be of importance in the future. A spirit of comradeship and solidarity was actively encouraged so that the individual would lose himself in the group. When the young men emerged from initiation they were men and as such allowed to participate more fully in the life and social activities of adults. In general the young man was ready to get married.

2.2.3.3 Women's status in the black community and implications for education

The adult male was considered as superior to woman. Ezewu (1983) argues that a woman was regarded as the person who could bear children and so ensure the immortality of the husband's spirit after death, as it was the task of the descendants to take care of the father's spirit. The mother could not become an ancestral spirit. From the foregoing it is clear that the adult male dominated the man image of traditional society. This is also reflected in their education since education was carried out to preserve their culture, that is, male domination.

2.2.4 Black women's place in education from the missionaries' point of view

Missionary education will be discussed in order to highlight how Western education was introduced in South Africa. This will hopefully help the researcher to find out how women's education was effected, since present day education is a continuation of missionary education. It is a continuation in the sense that missionaries were the people who established Western education. The state took over and still follows some of their basic educational patterns.

Christie (1985) mentions that missionaries came to South Africa from different European countries. Among them, Britain, Germany, France, Norway and Sweden and also from America. And they represented different church groups: there were Methodists, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians and others. They set up mission stations first in the Cape and Natal, and then further inland.

Different missionary groups had different approaches towards their missionary work among the people. But generally their aims were the same: to establish themselves and their work and to convert people to Christianity. Luthuli (1981) states that the missionaries who came in South Africa aimed at converting the Blacks to Christianity. To succeed in this aim they used the medium of education - hence the missionaries saw education as a means of achieving their aim, converting people into Christians because it

was easier for literate people to absorb religious ideas by reading the Bible and taking part in hymn-singing. Basic education became an important means of conversion.

The missionaries also brought Western ideas about the place of women in society. Missionary education was open to men and women, but higher levels of education, for catechists and teachers, were aimed mainly at men. Thus Cock (1980) as cited by Christie (1985) rightly states that the education of black women was largely aimed at socialization in domestic roles, both in their own homes and as servants of other people. He further states that sometimes missionaries were openly sexist. This fact is supported by Cock as cited by Christie (1985: 76) when he states: "instruct only the Kaffir boys in reading, writing and arithmetic, and train them to manual labour. Do not teach girls any English reading and very little Kaffir. Give them as little education as possible. The system of cramming is too much for the intellect of Kaffir girls. My experience is this: the more that the Kaffir girls learn in school, the less they are inclined to work, and the more insolent and dissatisfied they are."

The views were often rooted in a class bias and the ideology of subordination. Walker (1990) argues that for the British settlers, the education of working - class girls in the nineteenth century Britain became increasingly vocational and directed to their domestic roles as servants and housewives, so the education of Xhosa girls was linked to their subordinate class position. Their education was aimed at socializing the girls into domestic roles

both in girls' own homes and as servants in those of other people. According to Walker (1990) this education for domesticity fitted in with the ideology of subordination, which the colonists saw as appropriate to all blacks, males as well as females.

The missionaries had certain ideas about what girls should learn and they based those ideas on Western views about the role of women in society. They ignored the contrasting gender roles prevalent in precolonial African society. These did not stress dependence and passivity in women. African women's role in economic production demanded high levels of competence. Qualities of energy, self-reliance, stoicism, courage and endurance were demanded from peasant women everywhere. But in missionary education, Western gender role definitions predominated while indigenous female responsibilities were ignored. This point is supported by Christie (1985) when he states that in mission schools women were not taught agriculture though this had long been women's work in African society.

Industrial education for boys taught a variety of tasks; for example, carpentry, wagon building, stone masonry, blacksmithing, printing, and so on. But industrial education for girls taught only domestic skills, like cooking, laundry-work, dressmaking and home nursing.

So, missionary education promoted the domesticity of women in the sense that for them, women's role was a domestic one, it was their influence as wives and mothers that was important. The different cultural meanings attached to this domestic role in African society was overridden.

2.3 The Historico -Legal Perspective in South Africa

All South African human beings have legal personality, whether male or female, become bearers of rights and duties. Their legal status is dependent upon various factors, their sex being one of these. Steyn (1984: 29) for example, points to a discrepancy between the man's position and the women's in the following terms:

"In principle, the old law distinguishes little between unmarried women and men. But when a woman marries, her status is affected to a greater extent than that of a man. If she marries in community of property she becomes subject to her husband's marital power, which put her in a position similar to that of a minor. This means that she has limited capacity to act". He further argues that, although the woman's status is affected less drastically if she marries out of community of property, it nevertheless is affected by her husband's marital power in this case too. This relates to the situation in common law and is applicable to marriages contracted before commencement of the recent Matrimonial Property Act for as far as it relates to civil marriages between Whites, Coloured and Indians. The obviously patriarchal nature of marriage as an institution of our culture is highlighted by the

following comment by Hahlo (1969: 35). "Consideration of public policy demand that marriage, as an institution necessary for the maintainance of social life, should be protected by the law and

that nothing should be allowed to impair the sanctity of its solemn obligations or to weaken the loyalty one spouse owes to the other."

The Administration Act (Section 22 of Act 38 of 1937) brought about a different situation. Section 22 provided that any black male could marry civilly any non-white woman, that such a marriage would have the consequences of a marriage out of community of property, and that only an antenuptial contract would produce the consequences of a marriage in community of property. What is interesting is that even a black male who had earlier concluded polygamous customary unions was not precluded from marrying one of his customary 'wives' or any other woman civilly; the condition was that such a civil marriage had to be out of community of property and that the man had, prior to its solemnization, to declare the names of all 'wives' and children in such customary unions and, in addition, all movable property allocated to them. The civil marriage put an end to all customary unions, since the civil marriage cannot co-exist with any prior union or subsequent marriage law accordingly. This made it possible for each customary wife to be abandoned and her status was reduced to that of virtually an unmarried mother. Her children, though legitimate, practically became illegitimate children with only a claim for maintenance against their fathers in terms of the Maintenance Act of 1963. Mqeke (1980: 597) also dwells on this plight of the cus-

tomary 'wife' as follows, "A great deal has been written about the pathetic position of a customary union wife in South Africa and the anomalies created by the statutory provision dealing with the subject.... . On the face of it, it would seem as if the husband of a customary union can easily dissolve his marriage by contracting a civil marriage with a third party."

An element in our law that affects the civil-law wife and the customary 'wife' equally is the concept of marital power. In the words of Hahlo (1969: 147) marital power may be explained as follows;

"In the absence of an antenuptial contract providing otherwise, the husband acquires the marital power over his wife, who is reduced to a legal position analogous to that of a minor under guardianship. This holds true even where the husband is a minor in age, for marriage makes him a major. This marital power enhances a husband's decisive say in all matters concerning the common life of spouse power over the person and property of the wife."

He concludes: "... the legal disabilities of a married woman are the reserve side of the marital power," (Hahlo, 1969: 151). She cannot sue or be sued unassisted; she cannot, subject to a few exceptions, bind herself or her husband by contract; she cannot alienate or encumber property, irrespective of whether it forms part of the joint estate.

In terms of the recent Matrimonial Act changes to the current common-law matrimonial regime were introduced. This act provides for an accrual regime to apply in marriages out of community of property unless the accrual is expressly excluded in the antenuptial contract, under which the spouse whose estate shows no accrual or less accrual than the estate of the other spouse's estate. It further provides for abolition of the husband's marital power in marriage in and out of community of property. The Act further introduces a new system of administration whereby the matrimonial property of spouses married in community of property is arranged. The Act provides for equal and independent powers in relation to the joint estate subject to certain restrictions. The Act gives the spouses the power to change the matrimonial property regime. There are two possibilities, by notarial deed to abolish the marital power in existing marriages to make the accrual system applicable to a marriage out of community of property. In both cases the procedure is available for two years from the date of coming into operation of the Act and by joint application to the court to change a marriage in community of property to a marriage out of community of property and vice versa. (Hlahlo, 1969).

It may be noted that White women in South Africa have shaken off the limitations traditionally imposed on them by marriage without her husband's consent unless in due course of trade or for household expenses. The evolution of women's legal position away from these earlier conceptions, an evolution that has culminated

in, amongst other things, the enactment of the recent Matrimonial Property Act, can be attributed to women's struggle against the original restrictions upon their status.

Bulbulia (1983: 434) commented (before the enactment of the Matrimonial Property Act) on South African law as follows: "The existing property laws are regarded as an anachronism because they ignore the economic independence of women". Admittedly, these laws have provided women with certain exceptions to relieve them of the hardships entailed by the restrictions on their proprietary capacity or their total lack of such capacity. Examples of such relief are provided by the Matrimonial Affairs Act (no. 37 of 1953), which excluded from the marital power of the husband the wife's personal savings, claims tools of trade and related income.

There are further facets of women's legal position in South African law, and tax law is one of the interesting realities for South African married women in particular. Danziger (1981: 276) remarks, "... in recent years the independent status of women has enjoyed increasing recognition and the bottle for women's rights has inevitably spilled over into the income tax arena"! The reference here is to section 7 (2) of the Income Tax Act 88 of 1962, under which the income tax of a married woman who is living with her husband is deemed to have accrued to her husband. Danziger (1981: 276) goes on to point out that "The effect of this deemed accrual is that the income of both spouses is aggregated and taxed and aggravated by the marital power except in the case of existing marriages where parties or one of the parties does not wish to

make use of the procedure in the consensus between the parties. But the plight of black women continues as before. Peart (1982: 76) comments as follows: "Regrettably, the Law Commission appears' not to have taken the position of Blacks into consideration when drafting its Bill". She comments that apart from the provision Section 22 (6) of Act 38 of 1927 relating to the exclusion of community of property and of profit and loss, '... a civil or Christian marriage between Blacks has the usual consequences of a marriage at common Law ". (Peart, 1982: 76).

From Peart's comment it follows that the woman's status is determined not only on the basis of her sex but also on the basis of her race and recognition given by the law to such systems as may be applicable to her.

It would appear that most of the effects that South African law still hopes to achieve by the abolition of marital power is standard practice in the Islamic system. Hahlo (1969) speaks of the marriage relationship as involving a status of a public character. In similar vein Bulbulia (1983: 431) has the following to say: "Islam sees marriage as a means of preserving the social fabric of society. It is opposed to celibacy and encourages persons to enter into marriage with chaste and suitable partners as soon as possible! Consent of the parties to the Islamic marriage is requisite. Comparable with the black's customary lobola, Islam provides for 'maher' which the wife (not her maiden family) receives from the husband "as a token of respect for the bride".

This is similar to the common law situation, where the husband is obliged to support his wife and to provide her with necessities and with the "comforts of life to which she is accustomed" (Bulbulia, 1983: 431). It is further stated that "the responsibility for earning a living rests with the husband, while that of proper education, training and upbringing of the children and supervision of the home and wider family relationship rests with the wife".

With all the remarkable features which this system exhibits, Bulbulia (1983: 432) suggests:

"In South Africa the courts have refused to extend recognition to Muslim marriages on the ground that such marriages are potential-polygamous. In my submission the time is ripe to review this attitude."

The effect of the marital power or lack of it leads to the conclusion that South African family law, in keeping with the patriarchal order it recognised, saw a woman's role as that of merely participating in the marital game, whose champion was the male.

An awareness of the contrast between the roles of husband and wife as conceived of in South African family law is evident from the following comment by Lee (1946: 67). "He (the husband) is not accountable for his marital administration, nor can he be required to indemnify his wife, or her heirs for his negligence. The wife, on the other hand, may not alienate or encumber her property in

the hands of the husband, while the wife is effectively ignored by the income tax system." Then the husband, who is legally deemed to be the taxpayer of the household becomes entitled to a deduction in respect of the wife's earnings and permissible rebates. One of the notable objections by women to this system which Danziger (1981: 276) notes is that "joint taxation insults the dignity of the married woman by implying that she is subservient to her husband, who is obliged by the system to handle her tax affairs for her. In addition ... the system denies the wife financial privacy within the marriage, as it necessitates that her income be laid bare to the husband, while he is at liberty to withhold details of his own income from her". This argument was attacked based on the fact that most marriage relationships are relatively free of secrecy and stealth, and indeed the essence of marriage implies sharing of the couples' economic resources to provide for the common household. The conventional view of marriage is that the husband bears responsibility for the well-being of the family unit, while the wife contributes to this joint effort to whatever extent she is able (Danziger, 1981).

Danziger's (1981) attempt to weaken the woman's argument is feeble and fails to take account of a number of circumstances: With the pending promulgation of the Matrimonial Property Act and consequent abolition of marital power, it is a fact that a wife will be entitled to financial privacy by virtue of her proprietary and contractual capacities and this does not in any way imply 'stealth'. There seems to be an impression that the husbands, in practice, do account to their wives for their incomes and possibly

the amounts refunded by the Receiver of Revenue. There is no basis for the impression, since, in the words of Lee (1946: 67) the husband "is not accountable for his marital administration." In fact, divorce courts abound with cases in which husbands are proven not to have attempted responsibility for the financial well-being of the family unit. In fact the law becomes responsible for the most immoral effect on her, that is, the rebates in respect of her children accrue to the new estate of the civil-law wife. With the advent of the accrual regime, the husband would be equally favoured where the wife's estates shows more accrual; hence there cannot be justification for reference to the conventional view of marriage which does not conform to the standards and requirements of today's woman.

Women's legal position has evolved considerably, but some elements of these achievements have not yet found their rightful place among the conventional standards. New situations are brought about by the legislation such as the Abortion and Sterilization legislation. In an English case, *Paton vs British Pregnancy Advisory Services Trustees* (1978), a husband claimed an injunction preventing the lawful termination of his wife's pregnancy. It was held, inter alia, that since the English Abortion Act conferred on a husband no right to be consulted, the husband therefore had no right, legal or equitable, upon which an injunction could be founded and that therefore his application failed.

Steyn (1984) argues that South African Law is still less flexible on certain issues which common law previously held to be 'contra bonos more'. For instance, it prescribes strict procedures where a legal abortion is sought. In Holland, after more than ten years of heated debates, the Dutch Parliament finally legalized abortion 'on demand' in 1980, the statute in question providing that each abortion is to be carried out in licensed clinics and hospitals; that the doctor and the woman are to be jointly responsible for deciding on the operation; that the doctor is to be fully satisfied that the abortion is warranted, that, if indirectly approached by a woman wanting an abortion, the doctor is to decide within five days.

South Africa law in contrast, has traditionally upheld discriminatory measures on the basis of sex. In particular the labour statutes, impose unequal wages for the same job. However, such provisions are steadily disappearing from the statute - book. Although women have infiltrated most jobs that used to be specifically reserved for males, South African law continues to reserve certain jobs for males, which bars females in mines and Boxing and Wrestling Control Act.

South Africa has not introduced any act to remove sex discrimination. In the case of women, this serves as legal constraints operating within the educational institution and a barrier to upward mobility as far as promotions are concerned. In some adver-

tisements it is permissible to request that all candidates of only one sex apply, and this system is widely used by government agencies as well as in the private sector.

Steyn (1984) further argues that another significant aspect of sex discrimination is that of dismissal from work of women on marriage. In some countries women were at some time excluded from the teaching profession once they had fallen pregnant and South Africa was no exception. Married women moved into teaching to fill the gaps left by men teachers during the second World War and found that the position linked well with their roles of wives and mothers. They became a strong lobbying group and after the early 1960's married teachers in Natal could hold permanent positions in the profession. In many ways Natal was a leader in this field as it was only in 1970 that the Transvaal Education Department allowed the permanent appointment of married teachers. However, married teachers were still bound by many regulations; one of the most problematic being that in order to remain permanent staff they had to stay at a particular post. Consequently their geographical mobility was restricted.

However this discriminatory practice has now been removed (Steyn 1984). The situation now exists that certain posts in schools are designated 'permanent' while others are designated 'temporary'. In this way marital status no longer creates a legal barriers to promotion in schools. South African law is constantly changing as changes became manifest in our society. But variation in the scope of women's rights exemplified in the course of the discus-

sion shows clearly that change is held back, depending on factors such as race. If the law lags too far behind changes in social conditions and positive morality, it runs the risk of becoming merely a dead letter to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

2.4 THE RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE

In the following paragraphs an analysis of the Bible will be dealt with in order to highlight the fact that it perpetuates the idea of women's inferiority. The analysis is important for purposes of this dissertation since South African education is Christian oriented.

Ruether (1974) states that for most of us the image of women in the Old Testament is the image of Eve, augmented by a handful of Bible-story book "heroines" as the case may be (Sarah, Deborah, Ruth, Esther, Jezebel, Delilah). These few great women, together with the first woman, fill the void that looms when we consider the image of women in the Old Testament. The Old Testament is a man's book where women appear for the most part simply as adjuncts of men, significant only in the context of men's activities (Rogers: 1980).

This perception is fundamental, for it describes the terms of the Old Testament about women. The Old Testament is a collection of writings by males from a society dominated by males. These writings portray a man's world. They speak of events and activities

engaged in primarily or exclusively by males e.g. cults, wars and government, and of a jealous singular God, who is described and addressed in terms normally used for males. History as a subject taught at schools has taken this trend as well. It is the history about male heroes, about male governments, about male diplomats and male statesmen. This is obvious because much of history has been written by males.

The image of women in the Old Testament laws, especially those formulated in the so-called opodict law, addresses the community through its male members:

"You shall not afflict any widow or ophan. If you do ... your wives shall become widow and your children fatherless."
(Exodus 22: 22-24).

The basic presupposition of laws is a society in which full membership is limited to males, in which only a male is judged a responsible person. He is responsible not only for his own acts but for those of his dependents as well. These include his wife children and even livestock, in the extended and fluid understanding of household that pertain in ancient Israel. This has contributed no little to the oppression of women in our present education system since it is based on Christianity.

Ruether (1974) points out that the wife's primary contribution to the family was her sexuality, which was regarded as the exclusive property of her husband, both in respect to its pleasure and its

fruit. Sexual differences and sexual stereotypes are promoted by the Bible and depicts women as objects of men. Gender roles are promoted and this is reflected in the education hierarchy where women are not found in the managerial positions.

The Old Testament laws reflect her as a legal non-person and she becomes visible only as a dependent and usually an inferior one, in a male - centered and male dominated society. This has influenced the history of education system which is male dominated, the implication being that women are not involved in the planning of their education and this affects them even in their working positions. The working positions are dominated by men.

In the third chapter of the book of Genesis there is a story of a serpent which engages a woman in conversation and induces her to eat the fruit of the only forbidden tree in the garden, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. According to Ruether (1974) two features of this Hebrew fall story are common, namely the agency of woman in the cause of evil and the acquisition of knowledge as the means of temptation to it. God confronts the woman and asks her what she has done, she replies, "The Serpent beguiled me, and I ate", (Gen 3: 13). After cursing the serpent God turns to the woman. "I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you", (Gen 3: 16). Here the woman is taken as a seductive siren and a source of sin. The Bible states it clearly that God authorized women's subjugation to men, when He states that "he shall rule over you".

Field (1983) argues that God himself was against sexism. The creation story of Genesis leaves no room at all for sexist discrimination. When God created human beings, he made them like himself. He created them male and female, blessed them, and named them "Mankind" (Genesis 5: 1-2). He further states that from the moment of creation, according to the Bible, man and woman were made absolutely equal. Moreover, God gave both sexes together the responsibilities of home - making and creative work (Genesis 1: 28). The modern vision between having a satisfying career (men's department) and looking after children (women's department) with all its sexist implications was not there at the beginning in the creator's plan.

Field (1983) maintains that division and conflict between the sexes, as contained in Genesis, arose directly from the rebellion against God. Field (1983: 32) further states that "one of the most interesting comments that the book of Genesis makes about the impact of sin in human relationship concerns nudity. Before their fall into sin, the man and his wife were both naked, and they felt no shame. Afterwards 'the eyes of both of them were 'opened', and they realised they were naked (Genesis 2: 25 and 3: 7). From that time on, they saw each other in a new way. When man looked at woman, he now saw a sex-object first, not a person. And from that moment, according to the Bible, conflict between the sexes was born. 'Your desire will be for your husband', God predicted to woman, 'and he will rule over you'.

Field (1983: 32) finds himself in an ambiguous position when it comes to the Bible and the promotion of sexism. At one time he totally disagrees that the Bible does promote sexism but later he writes "and from that moment conflict between the sexes was born and the husband had to rule over the wife". It is clear that from the first book of the bible, Genesis, sex discrimination and female inferiority is promoted.

It should be noted that the Genesis stories and all the myths that apocalyptic literature developed from them were written in a period of patriarchal culture. Women had been excluded from any public role and men retained dominance over civil and religious society. To emphasize this point Ruether (1974: 131) states:

"The religious writers of that time created myths that flowed from and buttressed their prejudices. Early Christianity's prejudice flowed from those same myths. Today the prejudices often exist apart from the myths. It is time to show that there is no foundation for the prejudice."

It must not be forgotten that the leaders of the early church were Jews bred in the Hebraic tradition that women were of no souls. Then, as now, the Jewish prayer of thanks-giving included the words. "Blessed art thou, Lord, that thou has not made me a woman." (Davis, 1971: 230). He further argues that the Jew, saint Paul, first spokesman for the Christian Church, stressed over and over again in his letters the accepted Jewish concept:

"let the women be silent." "The man is the head of the woman."
"The man is the servant of God, but the woman is the servant of man."

"Woman was made for man." Wives submit to your husbands," and so on. Thus, De Beavior as cited by Davis (1971) emphasises this fact when he states that Christian ideology has contributed no little to the oppression of women. Through St Paul the Jewish, savegely antifeminist attitude was confirmed.

This has also influenced some philosophers and their educational ideals. For instance, Davis (1971: 297) points out that Jean-Jacques Rousseau's book, *Emile*, was saturated with the Old Testament patriarchalism and Judeo-Christian misogony. She cited from Rousseau's Emile:

"Girls must subject all their lives to the most constant and severe restraint, ... that they may be more readily learn to submit to the will of others. But it is not just that this sex should partake of the suffering which arise from those evils it hath caused us? (Davis, 1971: 298)

2.5 THE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.5.1 The political theories

This perspective details the development of a revealing strand of argument on the nature of politics and political leaders. Brown (1988: 4) states, "More than any other human activity, politics has historically borne an explicitly masculine identity". She interpretes the texts by Aristocle, Michiaveli and Weber to understand their intertwined notion of manhood and politics and the exclusion of women from politics.

Brown (1988) states that Aristotle is the first one who unapologetically establishes politics as a distinctly male sphere of activity and insists on the naturalness of human political association. His transcendent political organization is an aesthetic ideal, distanced from common life and human need, to "rule with mind and 'purified' of body" (Brown, 1988: 40). Despite Ancient Greece's well-known cultivation and glorification of bodily beauty, strength and skill, Brown (1985: 55) emphasizes Aristotle's view that "a real man is independent of the realm of necessity, of constraints by others, and of the needs and desires of his own body." He resists entrapment by women unable to escape their physiological nature, and gain fulfillment in the polis. He strives for excellence, virtuosity in performance and the superiority through athletic prowess, exhibiting a willingness to risk

life for abstract aims to gain fame. Political life may include pursuit of the highest good, rational contemplation; it also requires recognition through victory over the enemy in the battle.

Machiavelli takes the view that politics emerges from the nature of man: not his superiority but his weakness as one with animalistic and bestial tendencies, living by desire and not need. Man's essence includes a raw drive toward power; he "strives to conquer, master, dominate or control all that threatens his precarious freedom from the body ... " (Brown, 1988: 80). Women, nature and the 'uncontrollable' are bound together as the fortuna cast as antagonist to the political man in search of glory, freedom, and power through competition. Brown (1988) extracts a vision of Machiavellian political life that is war like. Even if guided by purposive reasoning, it is still dominated by ambition, aggression and brutality in the quest for power.

Weber's views are more perplexing and evocative because his personal letters disclose contrasts with his political essays. He writes of yearning to pursue "great tasks of a purely human nature though less impressive" by the masculine "profession", with external life to understand the "inner side", which he ascribes to women. But he confesses that politics originates in organisations of young men involved in marauding raids of armed rape and pillage, developing into inevitable political "domination" and "legitimate" monopoly of violence in society. Brown (1988) argues that for Weber the value of politics lies not in addressing collective needs or well-being, it is autonomous from economic and

social life. An association is made political through the use of force. Its goal is the power, prestige and glory of the state through organized domination. The tension in Weber's thought is evident in his defence of institutionalized expression of manhood as domination, despite his keen perception of its danger of evolving into a political economic system out of control because it destroys personal values and let means become ends. The political leader seeks freedom, but despite his personal responsibility for his actions, it is freedom to control and dominate.

Brown (1988) abstracts the common thread woven throughout, a conception of ideal masculine political life driven by a desire for power, unharnessed by human need, with no purpose save fulfillment of its own ideals of individual and national power and prestige. Although outrageous depiction of women and historical division between men and women in political thought and institutions, are now well documented, yet Brown (1988) argues that continued focus on the exclusion of women from politics and justifications for their relegation to subordinate status emphasize the most foolish, anachronistic or blatantly misogynist features of a theorist's account. Others investigate whether a theory is viable if women are added to the 'men' who are allowed to govern. Scholars such as Susan Okin (1979) have argued that for many theories, such modifications generate incoherence.

Brown (1988) further exposes the rich depiction of masculinist public power, and the relationship between manliness and politics in these traditional political theories. Her goal is to under-

stand the world and discourse that produced women's omission or subjugation, and to evaluate ways of constructing politics divorced from its historical identification with manhood. Despite the devastating consequences of masculine political dominance, she also notes its compelling features to support her provocative conclusion endorsing transformation, not thorough-going abolition or condemnation of politics rooted in masculinity.

Brown (1988) also charges that Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, and Margaret Thatcher are almost parodies of modern day manliness in politics, women gaining entry into the political system by accepting the required standards of machismo. He rejects merely substituting "feminine values" for masculine ones in the public sphere as impossible and inappropriate. "Feminine values" have not been shaped for public purposes, and it is unlikely there are distinctly female values given differences of race, class, culture and religion (Spelman, 1989).

An alternative transformation Brown (1988) sketches dictates integration of bodily needs intimately tied to women's experiences through reproduction, reaffirmation of values of sustaining life and human projects, and revitalization of power in women and men. She advocates changing political commitments from narrow conceptions of heroic conquest, domination and destruction toward meeting needs, enhancing life, and developing creative activity. But there is a limitation to Brown's (1988) theory. For instance, she didn't give a more specific vision of a nonmasculine political order. Her explanation is that feminist attempts to articulate

theories of political power lack success not only because power is complex and elusive, but also due to adaptation of an insight of Machiavelli : women cannot understand power without experiencing themselves as bearing power.

2.5.2 Gender and politics in the South African context

In a country in which political struggle and the political future dominate not only the daily newspapers but also scholarly analysis, there is suprisingly little attempt to understand women's relationship to the political process. Hassim (1991) states that it is not simply that women are invisible in politics, women are rendered invisible, both in the media as well as in surveys of the resistance movements, but in both cases this occurs with a very specific patriarchal discourse.

A major part of the explanation for this gap in the nature of South African politics must lie in the absence of any organised feminist movement in the country. Jagger (1983) maintains that the importance of the impact of a feminist movement on political processes and debates is evident in other parts of the world. There have been three main challenges to the structure of male dominance in the advanced capitalist countries. Firstly, the greater ease and availability of contraception gave women greater control over their bodies and freed them from motherhood if they so desired. Secondly, the growth of women's higher education on a mass scale gave women more opportunities in the labour market and put them in positions where they challenged male authority

directly. Thirdly in the period of the civil rights movement and anti-war demonstrations in the United States, the contradiction between rhetoric of equality and the persistence of sexual oppression both in society generally as well as within radical movements themselves, was sharpened. A similar dialogue emerged between struggles for civil rights and struggles for women's emancipation in Europe. These conditions facilitated the emergence of a strong movement among women, committed to exposing and eradicating gender oppression (Jaggar, 1983).

Hassim (1991) states that in South Africa, however, while similar conditions may have existed for white women, they have not for black women. Race, class and gender identities have been inextricably intertwined and this connection has undermined any notion of common gender oppression. Thus, even the limited notion that the fight to establish civil liberties at the legal level has a trickle down effect that benefits all women has not had great currency. While the struggles of white women for equality in the labour market and for political rights have had some positive spin-offs for women generally in establishing legal equality in many spheres of society, their success has been limited by an overriding apartheid order which has developed a very different set of legislation for blacks. At the same time much of the reform was financed and made possible politically at the expense of opportunities and civil liberties for blacks. White women's successful fight for the suffrage, for instance, is a classic example of the dominance of racial concerns above gender solidarity. Walker (1990) maintains that white women's organizations have

emerged among whites and, of late, among bourgeois women of all colours and has tended to take up a limited range of issues of interest to professional women.

Fairweather, et al (1984) argue that issues that have elsewhere united women at the broadest level, such as women's concern for children and legal sexual discrimination, have in South Africa been fraught by racial schisms that ensure that White 'madams' have little in common with her black 'maids'. A notable exception here is the Black Sash, which has attempted to bridge the racial barriers and use the privileges of time, money and access to government that white women possess to fight for civil liberties for all. However, even the Black Sash remains 'white' in its membership and political culture.

Hassim (1991) argues that the centrality of the national question in South African politics has left little space for an autonomous movement of women. Black women who have been politically active have tended to get involved in broader campaigns against apartheid, or in the trade unions, rather than take up women's issues per se. This position on the priorities of opposition movements has marginalised issues which are central to feminism, such as the control of individuals over their lives and bodies, the insistence of a direct link between the politics of personal and familial relations with wider social struggles and the critique of hierarchical, centralised decision - making within organizations. Kgositsile (1989) emphasises the point when she states that, at the same time, there has been a refusal by many organizations

(including women's) to engage with feminism. As she (1989: 4) has argued, "men are so comfortable with being waited on that many are not particularly keen to discuss women's emancipation even if they are supposed to be revolutionaries. Women, on the other hand, are so used to 'catering' for others that they tend to hold on to the roles that retarded their development." To begin to engage with questions of gender power relation is in itself to begin to break patriarchal chains. Nompikazi (1989: 8) says: 'As a black woman ... I've had my fair share of suffering and fighting. One of the most difficult and serious of these fights has always been with myself. Centuries of women's oppression, Africa traditions and prejudices against women too, had left their indelible mark on me, resulting in an inferiority complex that needed a bulldozer to move".

2.6 The psychological perspective

The foregoing argument attempts to show that predominantly matriarchal and patriarchal system differ. Gerdes (1984) argues that in making such comparisons cognisance should, however, be taken of certain pitfalls. The first is that contextual influences may be ignored. The second is that of comparing the best features of a matriarchal society with the worst features of a patriarchal one. Despite enormous differences in context, certain similarities are found, this would argue in favour of their being fundamental to nature of men and women.

Freud, as cited by Gerdes (1984), whose theory of female psychology has had far reaching consequences, represents an extreme example of a patriarchal, male-oriented phallogentric view. In brief, Freud asserts that the genital anatomical difference and inferiority of women, compared with men, inevitably damages a woman's psyche and development - she is more prone to envy and jealousy and does not reach the same moral heights as man. In stressing the significance of biological factors for psychological development, Freud as further cited by Gerdes (1984) undoubtedly created a new kind of awareness of their interaction. However his interpretations reflect his strong male bias. Furthermore, any generalizability of his findings is doubtful since they are based on a highly selective sample of neurotic women, living at the time when "Remarkable duplicity and contradictions characterised the relations between men and women: women were simultaneously degraded and worshipped, sex was openly denied and secretly indulged in "(Gerdes et al, 1981: 102).

Jung (1950) stressed the polarity of psychic life, including the masculine-feminine polarity. He did not see masculinity and femininity as mutually exclusive or as the sole preserve of either men or women, but as differing in dominance in them. Hence femininity is predominant in women and masculinity in men.

Jung (1950) further attributed the fundamental difference between men and the tendency for men to be dominated by 'logos' an interest in the objective. He elaborated on this, stressing its components of power and action (Jung, 1957). By contrast, women tend

to be dominated by 'eros' which is defined as 'psychic and emotional relatedness' to people. To love and to be loved are central to a woman's life.

Jung (1950) believed that each sex bears within itself the qualities of the opposite sex which, if consciously accepted and utilized, can enrich the personality, but if repressed will reveal themselves in a negative form.

The unconscious masculinity in a woman, Jung (1950) calls the 'animus' and it manifests itself in rigidly held opinions, i.e., intellectual pettiness, aggressive eroticism, various forms of obsessiveness, argumentativeness, over-activity and obsession with achievement. By contrast the consciously accepted masculine component will be positively manifested in involvement and identification with occupations, interest and causes (Gerdes, 1972).

The man who has not come to terms with the feminine in himself, that is the animal, will manifest this in negative forms such as moodiness, anxiety, displaced sentimentality, pettiness, vacillation and dependence. The man who has accepted the feminine in himself would reveal it in more positive form as in empathy and understanding of the laws of nature and in patience (Gerdes, 1972). In a society in which characteristics seen as masculine are highly rated but those perceived as feminine are accorded little value, it is probable that men will repress their feminine characteristics, and women, too, may under-value them.

Bem (1974) has developed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), in terms of which the masculinity and femininity ratio serves as basis for classification of persons, irrespective of sex into:

- feminine, who are high in femininity and low in masculinity.
- Masculine, who are high in masculinity and low in femininity.
- undifferentiated, who are low in both masculinity and femininity.

Bem's (1974) categories are based on commonly held stereotypes reflected in an equal number of feminine and masculine adjectives. Feminine adjectives amongst others, include affectionate, understanding, sensitive to the needs of others, warm, yielding, flatterable, gullible, childlike. It can be seen that these categories focus essentially on two dimensions: people centeredness and the other to what Jung (1950) called submissiveness and dependence. Masculine adjectives include qualities which epitomize power and independence.

Gonzalez (1978) stresses the need for men and women to attain greater wholeness and points out both male and female barriers to its attainment. Male barriers are: (i) the assumption that their perceptions of women are accurate, (ii) the assumption that pride

is man's basic form of sin, (iii) men's tendency to forget that women's interpretation of revelation has everything to do with women's situation.

By contrast female barriers are : (i) women's historic refusal to challenge what they were taught and this demands their repentance; (ii) women's excessive dependence, which is their basic form of sin; (iii) women's tendency to become over - concerned with a situational or contextual interpretation of Bible, thus failing to recognise that theology has its basis in revelation. These barriers in themselves are informative about the nature of men and women.

From what has been discussed so far, it is evident that a woman's strength lies in her people centredness and in the qualities of the fruit of the spirit, hence in fostering human development and emotional security.

The scarcity of women in managerial positions in education can be attributed to this psychological matter (Sutherland 1981). Kruse and Wintermantel (1986) emphasise the point that there has been a tendency to ignore women administrators, either alleging that their experience would not differ significantly from that of men, or by considering that as they appear in such small numbers their influence is unimportant. This has led to the development of the Male Managerial Model (Kruse and Wintermantel, 1986; O'Leary, 1974). Characteristics such as sensitivity, emotionality, gentleness and intuitiveness are seen as being typically female and

non-managerial, whereas the perceived managerial characteristics of aggressiveness, objectivity, decisiveness, competitiveness and independence are considered to be typical male traits. This view-point has led to the phrase: 'Think manager - think male', (Andruskiw and Howes, 1980).

In addition to women's alleged emotional frailty, they have also been thought to be both physically and intellectually incapable of handling administrative functions (Trotman, 1984). Perhaps the genesis of this idea is based on the cliché that during the Industrial Revolution work was taken out of the home. This effectively made women 'invisible', thereby undermining their confidence and self-esteem (Spender, 1982).

There is evidence that women have internalised cultural and sociological attitudes so that external barriers have become internal barriers. This has led to them having doubts about their ability and competence. Sutherland (1981) notes that in a number of investigations it has been found that girls tend to be more anxious than boys. Anxiety is used here to describe:

"... not a pathological state but rather to indicate feelings of uneasiness about ability to cope with certain situations, a lack of confidence in oneself in certain circumstances (Sutherland, 1981: 89).

Although it must be accepted that such findings might not be accurate as females would more readily admit to such feelings than males, there does appear to be a definite tendency for women to display more anxiety than men.

One area where this anxiety is said to manifest itself is in fear of success. In 1968, Horner assessed women's and men's attitudes towards success and concluded that women shy away from successful achievement as it may result in loss of affiliation (Johnson, 1980; Sassen, 1980). They however further averred that it is not the possibility of success that is in question, but its desirability (Johnson, 1980). A different perspective is adopted by Andruskiw and Howes (1980) who concluded that the problem lies in the perception of what has resulted in the successful performance. In women it was attributed to luck or perhaps in some cases effort, while in men it was related to their ability. Van der Merwe (1979) suggests that women, through their internalization of the Male Managerial Model, have developed a negative image of their self-worth, undermined their abilities and magnified their limitations until they now are too insecure to ask for promotion and accept the second best as a guard against possible failure. Davis (1975: 13) therefore concludes that women have been "conditioned to think themselves unsuitable for position of skills and authority."

2.7 CONCLUSION

The five perspectives that have been discussed aimed at looking into sexism in many spheres of life. The objective was to identify the influence they have on women. The discussion of these perspectives revealed that the exclusion of women from participating in the culture (education in particular) of the society is in this day and age largely organised by the ordinary social processes of socialization, education, work, law, religion and communication. These perform a routine, generalised, and effective repression. The educational system is an important aspect of this. It trains people in skills they need to participate at various levels in the ideological structuring of the society; it teaches them the ideas, the vocabularies, images, beliefs; it trains them to recognise and approve ideological sources.

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CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION AND GENDER

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The major concern of the argument put forward so far has been to suggest that both education and society, that is, church, political system, law and family are instrumental in reproducing the existing sexual division of labour in society. In this chapter emphasis will be laid on education (the school) and its role for the present inequalities of education of women.

3.2 SEXISM IN THE CURRICULUM

What exactly constitutes the curriculum of a school is the subject of some controversy. For example, Deem (1978) maintains that the curriculum is sometimes understood simply as that which is officially taught in lessons. A broader definition is used by some educationalists like Kerr (1968) who conceptualizes the curriculum as all the learning which is planned or guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups or individually inside or outside the school. Lawton (1975: 6) extends the definition of curriculum still further, by arguing that it is 'essentially a selection from the culture of a society', which is precisely the point which theorists like Bourdieu (1973) make about educational institutions when they contend that these institutions transmit the dominant culture of a society. Deem further (1978) argues that the problems which girls, particularly working class girls, face with regard to the curriculum of a school include not only

the fact that the selected culture is inappropriate to their own class position, practices and beliefs (a contradiction also faced by working class boys), but also that the selected culture is inappropriate to their position in the sexual division of labour.

Fairbairns (1975) states that sexism in the curriculum is something to which particular attention has been drawn both by Women's Movements and also by development of courses, mainly at post-school level, in Women's Studies. These courses focus on women and women's interests, whether in literature, history, the arts, the social sciences or other areas of culture, and in so doing they and their compilers have made apparent the extent to which most subjects and area of learning neglect the role of women and women's interests. Geography as taught in many schools, for example, deals mainly with the activities of men; literature is quite often concerned only or mostly with works written by men.

Fairbairns (1975) further argues that where subjects or areas of learning do relate to women and women's interests, they do so in a very restricted manner. For example, home economics and needlework are considered to be 'feminine' subjects, but are concerned mainly with teaching girls how to be efficient housewives and mothers - not with instructing them in aesthetic or general skills whilst at the same time boys may be discouraged from taking such subjects, as the skills involved are considered unnecessary for men. The Department of Education and Science of Britain (1975) discovered that other subjects may have 'neutral' content in the sense that they relate to phenomena and skills which are not designed especially for either sex, but they may be taught in a sexist way with girls being encouraged not to take them, because they are 'masculine' subjects. Dale's research as

cited by Sharpe (1976) suggests that when girls do display an interest in sciences, they are often most fascinated by those aspects dealing with people, rather than with the parts which concern the mechanics and explanation of non-human phenomena.

Deem (1978) argues that a study of curricular differences between boys and girls at secondary schools carried out by a team of school inspectors found that many schools, whether unintentionally or deliberately, channel girls into separate areas of the curriculum from boys. Girls may end up taking traditionally 'feminine' subjects like cookery, and also congregate in the arts disciplines, whilst boys gravitate towards practical, technical, mathematical and scientific subjects. In games and physical education boys and girls often undertake separate activities. The 'blocking' together of optional subjects often prevents pupils from mixing arts and sciences in the later years of secondary schooling. Byrne (1978) states that girls who want to study science are often encouraged to take biology, a 'human interest' science dealing with animals and people; but on its own, without physics or chemistry, biology is of limited use (compared with other sciences) in gaining entry to higher and further education, or a job. Dale's (1974) work on mixed and single sex schools claims that all pupils are likely to achieve a higher level of academic performance in co-educational rather than single sex schools. Other research like the Department of Education and Science of Britain (1975) indicates that whether this is so or not, girls are more likely to choose mixed schools, despite the fact that girls in co-educational schools are more likely to be offered the chance of taking sciences.

Sharpe (1976) observes that girls may be discouraged from studying sciences because the teachers are frequently males, rather than females. This may combine with girls' lack of experience or skill in the subject matter of sciences.

"It is not surprising that many girls have relatively little interest in or understanding of, scientific or technical subjects. Their lack of experience of these at home, the absence in their character of independence associated with analytic abilities, and the apparent non-scientific nature of women's adult role also contributes to this." (Sharpe, 1976: 148)

Deem (1978) further argues that some subjects which are not traditionally 'feminine' do take into account the role of women in society. Such subjects facilitate discussion on women's position in society. Social sciences and social studies courses may provide an ideal vehicle for this. Yet in practice, these courses may do no more than examine women in relation to their traditional role within the family. This may have the effect of confirming women's existing position in society, rather than questioning it. Keddie (1971) states that even courses which do raise such questions may run into problems if they are given to pupils who have previously been taught in a sexist way. Griffiths (1977) found that when teaching a course called 'Learning for life' pupils were often reluctant to give up their traditional views on men and women in society and disliked thinking about the possibility of finding ways of living outside the nuclear family. Literature which approached problems in a non-sexist way was unpopular with male students, who found such writing uninteresting. As the course was seen by other teachers in the

school as unconventional, discipline problems arising elsewhere amongst children taking the course were blamed on the course's subversive intentions.

Even seemingly innocuous courses, such as those dealing with sex education, may be taught in a sexist way. Davies (1976) has argued that such courses see sexuality in females only in relation to love and family while not treating male sexuality in this way at all. This view of women as different from men, and less free than them, is likely to confirm stereotypes.

Deem (1978) also states that other courses are sexist in their content because they are taken only, or mainly, by one sex. For example, technical drawing, woodwork and metal work, are often oriented towards boys, although there is an increasing number of schools which do try to ensure that everyone has a chance to take all kinds of practical and craft subjects. A boy encounters problems like being faced with questions from a 'Housecraft' paper taken from Adams and Laurikietis (1979: 29):

"Your brother and his friend are arriving home for breakfast after walking all night on a sponsored walk. Iron his shirt that you have previously washed, and press a pair of trousers ready for him to change into. Cook and serve a substantial breakfast for them, including toast. Lay the table ready for the meal... .

Describe how to clean the following (i) a non-stick frying pan (ii) an ovenware glass casserole (iii) a thermoplastic tiled floor (iv) a thinly covered floor (v) a lavatory pan". Sexism in learning is much more apparent in secondary schooling than in

primary schools. The Plowden Report taken from the Central Advisory Council for education (1967) found little evidence of girls and boys taking separate subjects at the primary level, except in games. This, of course, does not preclude elements of sexism in the teaching of basic subjects like history, but because the range of subjects, is smaller than in the secondary school, and because many primary schools place a strong emphasis on individual rather than class learning, the extent of such sexism is probably much less than in the secondary school.

However, in one particular area of school learning and reading, much interest and concern has been shown about the extent of sexism (also class-bias and racism) found in reading schemes. Byrne (1975) states that research has been carried out which pin-points the elements of sexism in children's literature. It has been noted that reading schemes and books for young children rarely contain women as central characters. Where they do, women are often portrayed as playing passive roles, as princesses or 'damsels in distress', or are helped and advised in their exploits by men. Less important female characters are most often described in domestic roles, engaging in tasks like cooking, washing up, ironing or cleaning floors, while menfolk look on. Men and boys usually have a more interesting time, even if they are shown within a family context, because they are able to go on outings, make models, take motor bikes and cars to pieces, never cook, wash-up or clean, and are the only people who drive cars. In her study of English reading schemes, Lobban (1976) found hardly any working mothers in them, and rigid distinction between masculine outdoor, instrumental activities and feminine, indoor, domestic activities. Lobban (1976: 42) states:

"the reading schemes showed a 'real world peopled by women and girls who were almost solely involved with domestic activity and whom the adventurous and innovative males might occasionally allow into their world (the rest of human activity and achievement) in a helpmate capacity."

Of course, it is arguable to what extent reading schemes influence children's perceptions of the world, but since Deem (1978) maintains that girls learn to read earlier than boys, it might be expected that any adverse effects would be felt more by girls than by boys. Certainly girls who have already been socialized into thinking that women's roles are rigidly separated from men's will have these beliefs confirmed by the sexist content of reading schemes. And for those girls who have different experiences of the roles of women to those portrayed, the reading schemes are likely to cause some bewilderment about what exactly does the society expect of women.

In the curriculum then, sexism is apparent in a number of ways: it is present in the characterization of some subjects as male and some subjects as female; it is found in the content of some disciplines, which emphasize male rather than female endeavour, or which take for granted the existing position of women in society; it is found in the orientation of subjects towards boys and girls.

Learning is not the only aspect of schooling which is sexist. There is another and more subtle way in which education may be sexist, and that is in the hidden curriculum, in other words the 'invisible' manner in which learning is organised and shaped.

3.3 SEXISM IN THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

The emphasis placed by Marxist theorists on the functions of schooling in capitalist society in reproducing the social relations of production has caused attention to be directed not only at what children learn in school, but also at how they learn, that is the 'hidden' aspects of learning on the hidden curriculum Vallance (1974: 13) says:

"the functions of the hidden curriculum have been variously identified as the inculcation of values, political socialization training in obedience and docility, the perpetuation of the class structure..... I use the term to refer to these non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not explicit at any level to the public rationales for education."

A Black girl will be told hlala kahlè (seat up correctly while in class). The teacher may just look at her thighs and she will automatically sit correctly. This does not apply to boys. This is also not written in any curriculum.

If the aspects of the hidden curriculum are sexist, and indeed if schools are reproducing the existing sexual division of labour, then it is likely that the hidden curriculum will be sexist so that, even if the curriculum itself becomes or is less explicit, pupils will continue to act and think in sex-stereotyped ways.

There are many aspects of the school and school day which incorporate some element of sexism. Adams and Laurikietis (1976) suggest a variety of means by which girls may be made to feel inferior to, or different from boys. Boys' names may be placed first on class registers, followed by girls' names. Girls may be lined up in separate rows from boys. In sports or in academic learning and examinations, girls may be urged to compete against boys and vice versa. In terms of uniform, girls are often required to wear restricting and impracticable skirts or gymslips whilst only boys were allowed to wear trousers. School playgrounds are often segregated into areas for boys and areas for girls, with boys playing boisterous games in their selection and girls behaving quietly on theirs. Describing one school where this is the case Wolpe (1977: 39) points out that although the pupils had chosen to have segregated play areas, the girls' play ground was thought to be boring because nothing exciting ever happened on it. She goes on to say:

"There are in fact no chances for girls to participate or to be physically active during the school breaks. Their own quiet playground precludes this as all balls are banished from it. They cannot join in with the boys in football. The situation is structured in such a way that they have little alternative but to be onlookers. The game is a socially prescribed activity for boys." (Wolpe, 1977: 39)

This of course, is encouraged by rigid separation, in many secondary schools of girl's games from that of boys, something which often begins in primary schools. In assemblies girls may be allowed to sit whilst boys remain standing.

Deem (1978) argues that for children who attended mixed schools, the sex balance of the school staff may also reflect a separatist view of the capabilities of men and women replicating the sexual division of labour in the wider society. Belotti(1975) emphasises this point by giving the following example: for instance, only a small number of heads of mixed comprehensive schools are women. Most heads of sciences and maths departments are male, whilst there are more likely to be female heads of departments in subjects like English, history or language and most likely to be women heads of department in home economics or girls' games. Clerical and typing staff are almost certainly female in most schools, as are cleaners, cooks and meal supervisors; caretakers, on the other hand, who do 'heavy' work, will all be male. Conversely, however, children in primary schools may find quite a different situation since teaching young children has long been regarded as women's work - an extension of their 'caring' role from home to the school. Whereas being a head teacher or a head of department in the secondary school is seen to require authority and 'masculine' skills, there are not thought necessary in a primary school. Indeed, for many years one union of male teachers had as one of its objectives the achievement of a situation in which boys over the age of seven years should be taught only or mainly by men.

Sharpe (1976) suggests that one reason why boys do less well in primary schools than they do in secondary school may be that primary schools confront them with a 'feminine' environment, not only in terms of the sex of the teachers, but also in terms of the behaviour which is required of them. Sharpe (1976: 145-6) says:

"In fact, the primary school values directly contradict the the independent assertiveness that parents usually try to encourage in their sons. Although teachers may obtain some obedience and conformity from boys, it is likely that they see primary school as being a much more appropriate environment for girls. As a result boys have less incentive to work hard, and become more difficult to control."

Once children move on to a secondary school, women teachers may be seen by both girls and boys as less appropriate to the situation. Dale's (1974) study of mixed and single - sex schools gives some strong indications that this is frequently the case. Here are just three of the comments made by pupils in that research about women teachers:

"Women teachers were not respected by the boys!"

"Boys did not like the mistresses telling them what to do and what not to do."

"Women teachers are far more changeable in temperament than men. You know where you stand with men - no bitchiness"
(Dale 1974: 100).

Some boys in Dale's (1974) study felt that women teachers were unable to control their classes effectively and girls, particularly those from single - sex schools, felt that women were often harsh and unpleasant teachers. Dale's (1969: 175) own opinions about women teachers are made quite clear in his research:

"it is generally acknowledged that the feminine mind takes great care of detail and if anything is over conscientious (which leads to fussiness). In the mixed school the men on the staff would keep such process in check."

Dales' (1974) argument is that no secondary school should be single sex or staffed by men or women only. The presence of male teachers makes women teachers less particular and stringent, and makes female pupils less silly and giggle and more co-operative. At the same time boys become less boisterous in the presence of girls.

Dale (1974) sees as desirable staff-student relationship in a school may encompass exactly that sexism in behaviour which schools ought to be aiming to get always from, that is a belief that women should behave in a deferential way towards men: As Wolpe (1977) notes in her study of a mixed secondary school, all that the presence of male teachers in a school may do is to teach girl pupils to behave in a traditionally stereotyped way, and reward them for so doing. Wolpe (1977: 36) cites one case where, in relation to a male teacher:

"girls adopted a very 'coy' manner ... when bringing up work to the desk or calling, him over to discuss a particular aspect. 'Oh Sir', would be accompanied by a giggle, a fluttering of the eyes and a movement closer towards him. This type of behaviour did not occur in classes with older male teachers who distanced themselves from children... ."

There remains a suspicion then, that when Dale (1974) argues that male teachers modify the behaviour of female pupils and teachers, it is modification in terms of the traditional stereotypes of female behaviour in relation to men which he has in mind. It is not only male teachers who help to create or confirm stereotype behaviour, it is also sometimes encouraged by female teachers. Harrison (1974), for example, suggests that female teachers may reinforce their female pupils' perceptions of themselves as pretty, submissive and unintellectual in relation to boys.

Sexism may also operate unconsciously in the classroom by virtue of the degree of attention which teachers pay to male or female pupils. Frazier and Sadker (1973) argue that in mixed classes boys may often claim more of a teacher's attention than girls, because their behaviour is noisier and potentially more disruptive than that of girls. The consequences of paying more attention to boys than girls may mean not only that boys take up more of their teachers' time and energy, whilst girls may be neglected, but may also result in girls failing to ask sufficient questions about their work and about the problems they encounter in that work, because they are used to working with less help from their teachers. Obviously not all teachers spend more time teaching or disciplining male than female pupils, and for some of those teachers who do, their action may be quite unintentional. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that this kind of strategy is adopted by some teachers. Equally important to realize that it may have serious consequences for girls and boys in school, both in terms of understanding the work that they do and in relation to their own concept of themselves as worthwhile pupils.

The relationships between school, the economy and the labour market are, of course, crucial aspects of education in a capitalist society, and the mechanisms whereby schools filter their pupils into jobs or impart ideas about appropriate jobs are often sexist, precisely because this is one way in which schools reproduce both the social relations of production and more specifically, the sexual division of labour. Deem (1978) further argues that since the "real" place of women in capitalist societies is in the family, any careers advice which girls receive at school is likely to be limited in extent, and frequently not taken seriously either by those offering it or those receiving it. The more academically successful, middle-class school girls are 'less likely to experience sexism in careers advice than are working - class girls, since there is some provision for the former to enter the labour market in a serious way. Working - class girls, on the other hand, may be channelled into a narrow avenue of unskilled or temporary work. When doing a research on two girls' secondary schools, Llewellyn (1977) once listened to a careers talk given to modern school girls by a careers adviser, in which the latter outlined two main criteria for choosing a job: whether a pupil shared a preference for liking people or things. Those who liked people were advised to enter shop or office work; those who preferred things were advised to seek jobs in factories.

Of course, many working - class boys have an equally limited choice of work, but that choice is determined mainly by their class position and not by their sex. In a study of working - class schoolgirls Sharpe (1976) found that their career choice included jobs like office work, teaching, nursing, shopwork, air hostessing, hairdressing and reception work. She comments (1976: 164).

"The jobs they chose reflected, of course, the jobs that were normally open to them; these, in turn, were usually extensions of their 'feminine' role and exploited some supposedly 'feminine' characteristics."

These feminine characteristics included meeting new people, caring for others, looking well-groomed, and enjoyment of travel.

Hussain (1976) points out that education itself is not entirely responsible for channelling individuals into occupations, since much of the selection of personnel is carried on outside of educational establishments, and educational qualifications are not, in themselves, entitlements to jobs. Careers advice and the kind of qualifications acquired at school are relevant to the occupations which children decide to try to enter, and girls are often thus doubly disadvantaged. Employers, of course, do not want those who aspire to greater things than their class position and sex should allow. As a training officer in a retail store, said:

"Our girls need to be able to read and write well, to add up, and to have the right manners. 'A' levels would simply give them ideas and make them restless." (Hussain, 1976: 25).

There seems little difference between that kind of sentiments and the concern shown by industrialists lest their employees should, by attending school, learn to think for themselves.

3.4 SEXISM AND ITS CHALLENGES IN THE CURRICULUM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Just as many schools offer and teach subjects which are sexist in their content or in their underlying assumptions, so higher education continues this trend. Deem (1978) emphasises this point by asking these questions: 'How many universities or polytechnics study women writers or poets, examine the history of working class women rather than working class men or are concerned with 'economic women' as well as economic man? Where the interests, concerns and achievements of women are taken into account, it is often in the context of a specialized Women's Studies courses, mainly taken and taught by women, rather than as part of ordinary, core courses taken by all students".

The importance of sexism in areas of knowledge in higher - education can only be understood fully in relation to the ways in which educational institutions are organised. As Bernstein (1971) has argued, traditional educational systems are characterized by strong authority, value and boundaries, such that Bernstein (1971: 56) remarks:

"Knowledge transmitted within such systems is private property with its own power structure and market situation."

Althusser (1971) says that the ideology of the social relations of production, including the sexual division of labour is based heavily on the content of education as well as on its authority relationships and the values which it transmits. If the content is

altered, then the ideology of the existing social relationship of production is threatened, as well as the identity and status of those who teach the traditional conceptions of knowledge.

Althusser (1971) further states that it is precisely this kind of threat which is provided by demands to move to non-sexist forms of knowledge in higher education. Whether these demands take the form of specialized Women's Studies courses, or whether they affect courses taken by all students, they effectively challenge the legitimacy of the existing power structures in higher education to transmit sexist knowledge, by offering alternative definitions of reality. Secondly, challenges to the transmission of sexist knowledge question the validity of claims made by academics that knowledge transmitted in higher education is objective truth; their own admittance of subjectivity causes other claims to objectivity to be examined more closely.

Coussins (1976) argues that Women Studies courses themselves are usually interdisciplinary attempts to look at issues and themes of concern to women. They may, because of their interdisciplinary character, threaten the property claims and subject identities of those who have carved careers out of hiding behind subject boundaries. There is often no reluctance to allow Women's Studies courses to be taught, providing that they are optional and/or non-examinable; and as such they are thought likely to attract only committed feminists and even provide male lecturers with an excuse for continuing to teach in a sexist way, because 'the women are already catered for'. Only if Women's Studies courses demand compulsory status are they seen as threatening, because then uncommitted students may begin to develop critical views of the rest of the curriculum in particular and of academe in general.

Sexism is strong not only in the arts and social sciences, where the main focus of attention is on male philosophies, creativity, theories and actions, but in the sciences too. MacIntosh (1975) argues that with the exception of biology, botany and zoology which women tend to prefer to other science subjects in higher education, most science subjects are taught in close relationship to their role in capitalist societies. Those subjects have no relevance to those who reject capitalism or who are not allowed to participate to those who reject capitalism or who are not allowed to participate in its economic production.

Coussins (1976: 10-11) further remarks: "(Science) no longer corresponds to the Socratic desire for knowledge alone. It functions as an aspect of production (production of truth) itself serving the higher goal of production."

Science has a masculine image, from its introduction into the secondary school up to the level of university or polytechnic. This image, presented by the ways in which it is taught, the manner in which scientific textbooks are illustrated, and its content, often does discourage girls from taking it seriously as Sharpe's (1976) study of working - class school girls demonstrates.

The sexism of the curricula in higher education is of importance not just within its own sphere of influence, but also because of its influence on other sectors of education. As Bernstein (1971: 69) says:

"The major control on the structuring of knowledge at the secondary level is the structuring of knowledge at the tertiary level, specifically the university. Only if there is a major change in the structuring of knowledge at this level can there be effective ... change at lower levels."

Althusser (1971) concludes by saying that a higher education system which continues to permit the transmission of sexist knowledge not only fails to contribute to the intellectual potential and development of its own students, but also helps to perpetuate the transmission of sexist knowledge in other sectors of education. Furthermore, the teaching of sexist knowledge reinforces the ideological reproduction of the social relations of production which is begun in the school.

3.5 GENDER AND SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

3.5.1 The changing position of women before 1930 in higher education

Walker (1979) maintains that higher education has always been made of status and position in society. Thus the extension of university education to women, - once considerably suitable for men only, was a clear indication that their status in society was being modified and upgraded. At the same time, this development itself enhanced the status of women by putting new occupations within their reach, for example professions, undermining notions of their intellectual inferiority and stimulating women to become more critical of their junior role in society.

Walker (1979) further maintains that university education in South Africa grew very slowly. The first institution offering post - matriculation courses of study (the South Africa College at Cape Town), was only founded in 1829. In the nineteenth century, the population of Southern Africa was too small and poor to support higher education adequately. The early histories of the South African College (forerunner of the university of Cape Town) and its near neighbour founded in 1866, the Victoria College (forerunner of the University of Stellenbosch) consisted of years of struggle to stay solvent and attract students. By 1890, some 60 years after its foundation, the South African College had only 96 students enrolled for its classes. By the early 20th century, some improvement had taken place, stimulated in part by the economic developments, the increased prosperity and population. Between 1904 and 1910, university colleges were established in Grahamstown, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg. But numbers of students were still small, standing in 1910 at a total of 1,171 for all of South Africa.

Women benefited from the establishment of facilities for higher education later than did men, an indication of inferior position they occupied in society. As it was assumed that women were destined for marriage and domesticity, most parents considered higher education for their daughters a waste of time and money; furthermore, an interest in knowledge was considered somehow unladylike and unsuitable for women. Bertha Solomon (1968: 34) has described the reaction in her family when in 1906 she wanted to go to college

"The news that I had passed matriculation brought no joy, but precipitated a crisis in our family. My father, believing in higher education for girls as well as boys, a rarity for those days, wanted me to go on to college... . But my mother ... did not see it that way. Times were hard she felt, and the sooner I was out in the world earning my keep, the better. Anyway she said she did not believe in university education for girls She wanted me to take a year's pupil - teacher's course, and then get a teaching job as my sister had done."

Walker (1979) further argues that the breakthrough for women occurred in the late 19th century. In 1881, women had been admitted to Botany lectures held by the Curator of the Cape Town Botanical Gardens for the South African College. However, since these lectures were not held on college grounds they were considered extra-collegiate and the women who attended them were not official College students. The first steps to allow women to register officially at the South African College came five years later, under the inspiration of Professor P.D. Hahn, of the Chemistry Department. In 1876, this seemed a very radical step with unforeseeable consequences; thus it was decided by the Senate to admit women on a trial basis first for a year, to chemistry classes only. The following year (1887) all classes were made available for women. The first women students numbered 10.

Brookes (1966) states that by the twentieth century the idea of higher education for women no longer seemed so revolutionary. The first woman graduate at Victoria College (Stellenbosch) took her degree in 1897; by 1905, there were fourteen women enrolled there

for degree courses. All colleges founded after 1900 admitted women students right from the beginning. Thus Rhodes started in 1904 with fifty students, of whom four were women; the University College of Natal at Pietermaritzburg opened in 1910 with fourty nine men and eight women students, Pretoria University College started in 1908 with thirty two students of whom nine were women.

Walker (1929) also maintains that the first figures are very small and the number of women students considerably less than men. Nevertheless, these women were preparing the way and over the years, more followed their example. In 1917, out of a total of 1,616 students in South Africa, 412 were women. The official yearbook of the Union (1918) reveals that in 1916, the gap between men and women had narrowed and there were about 700 women out of a total of 2000 students at what was by then the University of Cape Town.

Attitudes towards the early women students varied. Ideas that women as a sex had certain 'special qualitie reinforces a kind of chilvary. To emphasize this point Ritchie (1918: 303) gives the following verse which was added to the South African College song to commemorate the admission of women:

"Some students are girls
South African Pearls,
And ladies of high degree,
They blend sweetness with light,
Mingle meekness with might,
And add grace to the grave Q.E.D." (Ritchie, 1918:
303)

Walker (1979) further argues that a corollary of this however was that many people did not take women seriously as academics. The first women students had to contend with considerable prejudice against their academic ability and the propriety of their being at college. Hugo as cited by Walker (1979: 73) states "We were on our mettle to give the lie to our intellectual inferiority", commented a women student at Victoria College in 1910. He further states that an example of the prejudice that women students met was given by the Debating Union of Victoria College which did not allow women students to become members. They were welcome as guests only.

The prejudice women encountered at college was a product of a society which had not yet adjusted to the idea of women as equal partners of men. However, the very fact that women were admitted to the colleges after 1880's was an indication that social pressures against non-conformist women (women who wanted and could afford to explore areas of experience outside domestic life) were being relaxed.

3.5.2 Women and South African Education: in the late 1980's and early 1990's

South Africa has in the last two years experienced important, and arguable fundamental, political changes. The African National Congress, Pan African Congress and South African Communist Party have been unbanned. The National Party has begun to break up and be reconstituted, and progressive movements have begun to accommodate themselves to a new style of politics which holds out hope of negotiated solutions. Education has not been immuned from these changes. Indeed, educational organisations have been very

prominent in responding to new challenges. In the past year (1990), the rebirth of the South African Democratic Teacher's Union (SADTU) and the emergence of the National Education Policy Initiative testify to the steps taken by progressive educators to catch the winds of change. In the light of these changes it is intriguing to note the absence of deliberations concerning gender and education and worthwhile to raise some important issues in this regard.

Morrel (1991) argues that historically, education has not been particularly concerned with questions of gender. Education activists have for decades, but particularly since the drawing of the Freedom Charter (1955), demanded that the "doors of learning and culture shall be open to all." By extension the expectation exists that all children should have the right to attend school, regardless of race, class, sex and religion. These schools should have basically the same human and material resources and therefore capacities. Predictably, the major concern in education is and has been how to improve the applying education currently provided for blacks, and particularly those still living in rural areas. What is absent, however, is a recognition of the need to correct imbalances which result from gender. Thus the discussion of the interest, concerns and experience of black women in education is imperative in this chapter.

3.5.2.1 Black women as teachers

According to Morrel (1991) the teaching profession in twentieth century South Africa has been dominated, in numerical terms by women. 70% of black and white teachers are women, as stated by the Cosmopolitan, April 1990.

Although precise figures are not at hand, it is well known that women teachers are not proportionately represented in positions of authority in schools and that the bulk of female teachers occur in primary schools. It is important, however, to gain a comparative perspective on this, because it is common for the negative associations of black women in teaching to be emphasized to the exclusion of the positive aspects. Hughes (1990) points out that in South Africa women have had greater access than men to professional jobs through their access to nursing and primary school work. This has strengthened their domestic situation as they are able to use their wage in the process of domestic bargaining with the male household head. It has also consolidated them as an important constituent of the black middle class.

While a job may be a powerful inducement for black women to take up teaching, those in employment are not without grievances. In 1986 a study by Simon and Beard (1986), black women teachers enrolled for the B.Ed. degree at the university of Natal identified a range of problems including sexually temporary staff. In addition, they found the double load (mother/teacher) difficult to bear and felt that they had to take credit for their work. Some students also complained about the regulation which made unmarried teachers who fell pregnant guilty of misconduct.

3.5.2.2 South African women in higher education

Some women do of course get into higher education, both as students and more exceptionally as teachers, and numbers are growing slowly. Between 1988 and 1991 the percentage of women admitted to the University of Zululand increased from 46,5 percent to 51,9 per cent.

Although numbers have increased, women who do get into higher education display, on the whole, patterns of subject choice which are different from those of men in higher education. The pattern of curricular differentiation established between the sexes in schools is thus carried on. Women in the University of Zululand are found mostly in courses of arts, social science, education and Home Economics. Sciences, Law and Maths courses all have a preponderance of male students. For example, in 1991, 1282 women were in arts but only 819 men, in education 1043 women and 1029 men, in law 63 women and 221 men, and in Science 96 women and 172 men (SAPSE, 1991). In certain subjects, for instance in Languages and in some of the Social Sciences, women do comprise a major part of the student body. But in postgraduate even in subjects where women make up a large percentage of undergraduate population, they comprise a limited number.

And if women are few in number amongst post graduate students, it stands to reason that amongst academic staff of institutions of higher education they are even more rare. Middleton (1983) argues that the position of women in

universities reflects and reinforces their position in schools. As in schools, women are concentrated in lower levels of teaching and administrative hierarchies and are clustered in few fields, while avoiding the expanding scientific and technical disciplines. Unlike in school - teaching, where women do at least constitute a majority at the lower levels, women in university lecturing are very much in a minority *vide infra*. 3.1.

Middleton (1983) further argues that these facts have a number of implications for the education system as a whole. The first derives from women's subordination to men in the policy-making processes of these institutions: women's lack of representation in senior positions transmit an insidious influence to students, teachers-in-training and colleagues. The University of Zululand figures taken from the SAPSE (1990) shows that women constitute only 12,5% of Professors, 0% of Associate Professors 19% Senior Lecturers, 44,1 of Lecturers and 91,7 per cent of Junior Lecturers. Figure 3.1 illustrates this:-

Figure 3.1: A HISTOGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE ACADEMIC POSITIONS IN BOTH MEN AND WOMEN STAFF.

Source of 1990 figures:

SAPSE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

The histogram could be further simplified with the following line graph. See Figure 3: 2

Figure 3.2: A LINEGRAPH TO ILLUSTRATE PERCENTAGE OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS.

= Females
= Males

The graph indicates the inverse relationship between males and females with regard to their occupational positions. There is an increase in the graph of males from low occupational status to high occupational status. On the other hand there is an increase for females from high to low occupational status, which means they form a low percentage in higher occupational status and yet a high percentage in low occupational status. From the point of intersection we find out that only 18% of the female academic staff (as indicated in the polygon) occupy the high occupational status (Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor. The rest of 82 percent of women are Lecturers and Junior Lecturers.

The study of the 1991 University of Zululand SAPSE shows that when one examines the subjects taught by women in this institution, the expected pattern emerges. Women tend to cluster in the subjects traditional to their sex: such which Bunkle (1975) has pointed out prepare them either for a life of elegant and cultivated gentility or jobs in the 'nurturant' professions.

At the University of Zululand of five women out of thirty six men lecturing in the Physical Sciences, four are in the more 'people - oriented' field of Home - Economics and one in Mathematics. It is also interesting to note women's severe under - representation in university departments of Business Management, with women constituting only 15 percent of the lecturing staff, although there is evidence that a few more women are beginning to enter this field as students. The absence of women teaching staff in these fields may well discourage girls students and, no doubt, influences the expectations that both men and women university students develop with respect to the abilities of girls and women in these fields. Since some secondary school teachers and some

primary teachers undergo a good part of their academic apprenticeship within universities, women's lack of representation in these fields may be a powerful sharper of expectations school teachers hold and transmit to their pupils.

When one looks at the position of women in the social sciences in the University of Zululand, a discrepancy can be observed, as women make up 19,4 percent of the lecturers in this field (Social Sciences for the purpose of this study include History, Geography, Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Political Science). When one breaks down this category into its separate subject components, the results are interesting. Of the six women lecturing in the social sciences in this university, two are lecturing in history. In Sociology there are no women. One would expect that these two disciplines would provided a pool of graduates who would enter primary school teaching with a strong interest in social studies. On the other hand the Geography department is not staffed by women, there are no women in this department. There are four women in Psychology, no women in Anthropology and in Political Science. This is illustrated in figure 3: 3

Figure 3.3. A HISTOGRAM SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN LECTURING IN UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND SUBJECT AREAS.

SOURCE OF 1991 FIGURES: SAPSE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

If women student enrolments in social sciences in this university are high, there should be a growing pool of women qualified to teach social sciences in the university.

Middleton (1983) states that the entry of women into certain academic fields, more particularly the social sciences, can throw into question not only the hidden curriculum of a bureaucracy structured according to what is essentially a masculine mode of existence, it can also transform the intellectual style of the institution. As communities of scholars, academics within a

discipline develop continually evolving theoretical frameworks, cognitive styles and research methodologies. It is sometimes argued that because most of these bodies of knowledge have evolved in male - dominated institutions, they create and reflect a rather top-sided intellectually: the experience of one half of humanity, women, is to a large extent, not visible in either current styles of thinking, the choice of topics for research, or the patterning of human relations within educational institutions. These are some of the subtle omissions which form the hidden curriculum transmitted subliminally and unwittingly by both men and women students in our university and teachers' colleges. These omissions at the highest levels of academic creativity and productivity are reflected in the curricula and hidden curricula of our schools.

3.5 CONCLUSION

It is clear, although most educational theorists ignore this point, that schools and families transmit different cultures to boys and to girls. These in essence reflect the sexual division of labour in society as well as the class relationships. The socialization of girls and the cultures into which they become absorbed, frequently result in fairly rigid sex - stereotyping of skills and activities. This is made apparent by the academic fields occupied by women at the University of Zululand (vide supra figure 3.3). The sexism of the curriculum, and the hidden curriculum, and the different patterns of interaction between female pupils and teachers, combine to ensure that girls mainly specialize in different areas of learning from boys and that they are treated and seen in quite separate ways from male pupils.

Thus, on leaving school, most girls are prepared only or mainly for the traditional place of women in the sexual division of labour, vide infra 5.3.3.1.

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CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

After a detailed survey of relevant literature on the different aspects of the place of the women in society in general and particularly in black education researcher will now focus on the problem that will be investigated in this study. In Chapter 1 it was indicated that use would be made of a descriptive method of research. In order to meet this requirement, questionnaires were sent to B.Ed. students and women lecturers (University of Zululand) in order to obtain an objective view of the problem of the place of women in Black education. This objective understanding of the problem would be brought about by the availability of quantitative data that would be obtained from empirical study.

A comprehensive view of the problem is only possible when both the empirical and the theoretical approaches are used. This approach has been adhered to by the researcher because of the belief that it is through the utilization of the quantitative quantitative coupling that a near-to-real appraisal can be made.

4.2 THE PILOT STUDY

Researchers generally agree that a pilot study, a preliminary trial of research measures and techniques, is essential for the development of a sound research plan. It is, as a rule carried out with fewer subjects than will be employed in the main study.

To adhere to this rule, the pilot study was carried out at the University of Zululand. Initially the sample was to be B.Ed. women students who study extramurally and those who are full-time students. Due to a limited number of full-time women students, the researcher used women lecturers as the sample for the pilot study. The researcher chose this sample because they were qualified and promotable. They suited the population the researcher was concerned with.

As for as the pilot study is concerned Ngcobo (1986: 137) argues as follows:

"It provides the opportunity to assess the appropriateness and particularly of data collection instruments. It permits a preliminary testing of the hypothesis which may give some indication of its tenability and suggests whether or not further refinement is needed."

4.2.1 Initial trial run of Questionnaire

The initial trial run of questionnaires was done at the University of Zululand. This was done by the researcher herself. A sample of ten women lecturers was drawn from the Faculty of Education. When analysing their responses it became very clear that they had very high aspirations. The possible reason advanced by one of them is that their rank (place) was high. She further argued that being lecturers it is unlikely that their aspirations would be the same as those of B.Ed. students.

Because of the above-mentioned reason the researcher decided to conduct another initial trial run of questionnaires that would include the B.Ed. full-time students. From this trial run it became clear that both the lecturers and students had some problems with questions concerning their motivation and in questions that required the ranking. Another problem is that some of the B.Ed. full-time students have never been employed before, so most of the questions were irrelevant to them. This, therefore, called for the inclusion of B.Ed. part-time students, and these became the main focus of the final trial run of questionnaires.

4.2.2 Final trial run of questionnaires

Before the final application, the adopted questionnaires were given a final trial run to the part-time students. At this stage the researcher was able to establish the :

4.2.2.1 time that it took the respondents to complete the questionnaires:

4.2.2.2 the difficulties that arose during the administration, with the object of eliminating them beforehand.

In connection with 4.2.2.1 it was discovered that an optimum time of 15 minutes was necessary for the completion of the questionnaire.

Concerning 4.2.2.2 very few problems were encountered at that stage. Consequently it became clear that the final administration would proceed without any serious problems.

4.3 Research Assistance

The supervision of the questionnaire administration was mainly the personal responsibility of the researcher, but the researcher involved a research assistant in this study. Initially the researcher had not planned to involve research assistants but this became necessary as the researcher noticed that the group was big and she may encounter problems. The research assistant was a lecturer who offered a period to the researcher. As a result it was not necessary to train him as far as the questionnaire was concerned since he had done research before.

4.4 SAMPLING

4.4.1 Selection of the population sample

According to Helmstader (1970) a sample is a representative of the population with subset elements from the population. For a sample to be truly representative the analysis made on its elements should produce results equivalent to those as would be obtained if the entire population had been used. The researcher tried to comply with this rule in this study.

The researcher had learnt from research that in order to understand the roots of and the reason for the subordinate position of women in black education it was necessary to conduct the study without the presence of men. At the same time she has learnt that promotion and even appointments into the teaching field was through merit. Then it meant that degreed women would form the population. The researcher intended conducting research

in all universities in Natal, but it was impossible because of limited time, and financial implications. Then the part-time B.Ed of University of Zululand suited as a sample since they had degrees and at the same time they were employed. So in that way they were promotable. Obviously it could have been an unrealistic ambition and unnecessary to visit all university B.Ed. part-time students. The researcher, therefore, decided to use the University of Zululand as a matter of convenience.

Sax (1979) maintains that a simple random sample is a sample where every member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample. Since the study was about women students who study extramurally they had to be represented fairly, thus they were randomly selected. They formed a sample of 50.

4.5 DRAFTING OF QUESTIONNAIRES

To emphasize this point Sax as cited by Ngcobo (1986: 150) states:

"Another advantage claimed for the questionnaire is that each respondent receives the same set of questions phrased exactly in the same way, as they are on standardized tests. Questionnaires are thus supposed to yield more comparable data than do interviews."

On this issue Mason and Bramble as cited by Mncwabe (1985) argue that the researcher in conducting an investigation should select from among the variety of procedures available, those most supportive of the research objectives. It is usually a good idea

to explore several existing measurement instruments before selecting one or designing a new one to use in a research investigation.

Oppenheim as cited by Mncwabe (1985) lists and discusses four methods of data collection viz, interviews, mail questionnaire, observation techniques and the study of documents.

In the context of the nature of the investigation envisaged, the questionnaire became the prime research tool in this study, and considerable attention was therefore focussed on drawing it up. The main reasons for choosing the questionnaire were the following:

- It was impractical and less efficient to interview many women teachers in the university because of the time involved. In this case it took 15 minute to complete the questionnaire.
- Fieldwork has to be completed within a brief period of time in order not to disturb the curricular programme of the university.
- The questionnaire method affords a good measure of objectivity in soliciting and coding the responses of the population sample. It also enables the members of population sample to react to identical stimuli in their particular categories and record them.

This study was conducted at the beginning of the semester. Lecturers do not favour interference with lecturing time.

The questionnaire allows greater uniformity in the way the questions are asked thus ensuring greater comparability in the responses.

4.6 COLLECTION OF DATA

Questionnaires were administered personally to the population sample selected. Since the research was to be conducted in one institution, that is, University of Zululand the researcher, for the purpose of making arrangements for a programme of personal visit to collect data, personally approached the lecturer concerned. Excellent co-operation was received from them.

4.6.1 Administration of the Questionnaire

The administration of the questionnaire was as arranged and planned. The reason being:

- ready co-operation from respondents
- prior arrangements made with lecturers.

The researcher required 50 part-time women students. The required number was drawn from this group. The lecturer concerned introduced the students to the researcher and stated the reason and purpose of the visit. The lecturer did not leave because he was also the researcher's assistant.

Generally, the students had no problems with responding to questionnaires. It is only in a few cases that a brief explanation had to be given. Although the instructions were clear in question 2.4. and 2.5 some students needed some brief explanation.

In question 2.4 and 2.5 they were given four types of work which they had to rank according to frequency in their preference. In this case a few had a problem of responding to the questions. This also happened in some cases during a pilot study.

4.6.2 Problems experienced during administration of the Questionnaire

Students were reluctant to complete the questionnaire. The reason for that was based on the fact that as B.Ed students they were conducting research projects themselves. They felt that they had nothing to gain from this research. But because of the presence of their lecturer they did complete it.

4.7 RETURNED AND SPOILED QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaires were was returned at the same time. The advantage being the fact they were administered personally and the students were adults. Spoiled questionnaires were replaced immediately.

4.8 DATA PROCESSING

The data was processed by the computer, although few open ended questions had to be processed manually.

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CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned before, the aim of the study is to look at realization of women aspirations in education in as far as the occupational hierarchy is concerned (vide supra 1.3). This chapter is concerned with reporting on the results of the research conducted by means of questionnaires which, as indicated in the previous chapter, was given to women B.Ed students attending at University of Zululand.

The findings are in the same sequence as the items appear in the questionnaire. Each section relates to the section with the same heading in the questionnaire. Each section will conclude with a brief summary, while at the end of the chapter the findings will be articulated, discussed and interpreted.

5.2 Response Data

5.2.1 Response Rate

Of the 50 questionnaires distributed 50 responses were received, but four responses did not qualify for inclusion in the analysis because they had been spoilt. This reduced the number of the respondents to 92 percent of the total number. Such a high percentage of the respondents is an indication of the advantage of administering questionnaires personally (vide supra 4.6) as compared to mailed questionnaires. Concerning low response rate in

mailed questionnaires Bailey (1982: 157) has the following to say: "..... mailed studies sometimes receive response rates as low as 10 percent".

5.3 Analysis of response

5.3.1 Section One - Personal Particulars

The items in this section were aimed at determining some of the general characteristic of the respondents.

5.3.1.1 Present Age and Teaching Experience

Information relating to the present age and experience categories of the respondents (questionnaire items 1.1. and 1.2) have been aligned and presented in the form of a table showing the percentage of response in each category. (Table 5.1.)

Table 5:1 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN B.ED STUDENTS IN EACH AGE AND EXPERIENCE CATEGORY

LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS	AGE IN YEARS				N
	25 AND BELOW	26 TO 30	31 TO 35	36 TO 40	
5 And Below	26.9	34.78	-	-	28
6 to 10	-	13.04	4.35	13.4	14
11 to 15	-	4.35	-	4.35	4
A	12	24	2	8	N=46

Data indicate that the median length of service was 5 to 20 years; over half of the respondents had 5 years and below teaching experience and only 8.70 percent of the respondents had 11 to 15 years experience. It was noted that only 8 respondents were over 35 years of age, while over half were 26 to 30 years old.

A positive relationship between age and teaching experience was discovered, unless respondents had experience in another field prior to entering teaching or had interrupted their career. The evidence suggested a high level of connection, the trend was sustained in respect of 34.78 percent of respondents who were between 26 to 30 years of age and had 5 years and below teaching experience. The connection is : most of the B.Ed students completed their degree (B.Paed) and then registered for B.Ed part - time the following year whilst continuing teaching. So their age is compatible with their teaching experience. Over a half of the respondents were 26 to 30 years of age, on the other hand, over a half had 5 years and below teaching experience.

5.3.1.2 Qualification in terms of category classification

Another demographic feature which was considered to be of value in an analysis of the characteristics of the respondents was that of their educational level. Respondents indicated their category classification, based on their post-matriculation qualifications. A category classification of C indicates a three - year post - matriculation qualification such as an undergraduate teaching diploma or university degree without a professional qualification. 21,7 respondents fell into this category. With these respondents, the

issue was they had Primary Teacher's Certificates and a degree (B.A). The certificates were not considered to make them fall into category D, on the other hand, they were allowed to do B.Ed because they majored in Pedagogics. 73,9 percent of women held category D qualifications. A category D qualification, usually a university degree plus a post-graduate teaching diploma or a senior secondary teacher's diploma is generally accepted minimum qualification for entry to the B.Ed class. A total of 4,3 percent of the respondents held a category E qualification. The reason being that they had honours degrees. Therefore, all women B.Ed students held qualifications of a standard fitting them for progress in higher post levels.

5.3.1.3 What is your present occupational post?

This was an item of great value because it indicated their place in the educational hierarchy. The respondents indicated their positions according to educational ranks, as indicated in table 5.2.

Diagram 5.1 Percentage of B.Ed women in each occupational rank.

OCCUPATIONAL RANKS

From the study data outlined in Table 5.2 it would appear that the 40 respondents 87,0 percent were assistant teachers. It is interesting to note that no respondent was a principal or inspector, only 2 of the respondents were vice principals. This gives an impression that more women occupy the lowest occupational rank in schools as was indicated in Table 1: 1.

5.3.1.4 Marital status

The final item in this category was directed at obtaining details of social commitments the respondents had, as it was thought that these might have some bearing on the aspirations of the respondents. It was calculated that 43,5 percent of the respondents were single, 47,8 percent were married and 8,7 were divorced.

In summary the majority of respondents were 26 to 30 years of ages had 5 and below years teaching experience and held a four - year post - matriculation qualification. No respondent was 41 years of age and over and had 16 years or over teaching experience and only 2 people held a category E qualification. A high proportion of the respondents were single and 22 respondents were married, indicating that more than a half of respondents did have social commitments.

5.3.2 Section Two - Sex type roles

All the questions dealt with the perception of the respondents in regard to sex type positions or ranks to reveal the respondents' attitude toward high occupational ranks.

5.3.2.1 Which occupational positions do you think are suitable for women?

Table 5.2 Occupational positions suitable for women

OCCUPATION	RESPONSE	RANKS
Assistant Teacher	30	1
Principal	28	2
Lecturer	24	3
Rector	22	4
H.O.D.	20	5
Professor	20	5

The occupational position which was most frequently alluded for was being an assistant teacher. Although 47,8 of the respondents thought that rectorship was a suitable position for women 65,2 respondents thought that to be an assistant teacher was best position for women. 43,5 of the respondents opted for professorship. This response is similar to the position held by women (vide supra Table 1: 1) and can be related to occupational positions of women. From inspection of ranking in order of preference it would appear that many of the respondents have a positive career drive but the evidence also suggests that most of them have accepted the lowest occupational position in education because two thirds indicated 'assistant teacher' as the first preferred position for women.

5.3.2.2 Is administrative work good for women?

The following table depicts the findings in this category.

Table 5.3 Administrative work

Value Label	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	16	34.8
Agree	26	56.8
Undecided	-	-
Disagree	2	4.3
Strongly disagree	2	4.3
	46	100.0

Out of 46 respondents 91,6 agreed that administrative work was good for women. It was interesting to note that 16 of the respondents strongly agreed and 26 agreed as reflected on the table above. Only 17,4 percent disagreed. This shows a positive attitude towards administrative work which traditionally belongs to men. It shows that the respondents had high self-esteem as far as administrative work is concerned. This tallies with Byrne's (1978) research where a majority of girls agreed that women can do everything that men can do.

5.3.2.3 Do some ranks suit women better than men?

This can be tabularized in the following manner:

Table 5.4 RANKS THAT SUIT WOMEN THAN MEN

VALUE LABEL	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	16	34.8
Agree	16	34.8
Undecided	2	4.3
Disagree	10	21.7
Strongly disagree	2	4.3
	46	100.0

What is interesting here is that 69,6% agreed that some ranks suit women better than men, vide supra Table 5.3. This indicates that the masculine and feminine stereotypes are accepted by the respondents. Only 4.3 percent strongly disagreed as reflected on the table above. The following quotation is characteristic of over half of responses by girls discovered by Bryne (1978):

"It has been proved that men are more suited for doing jobs that need physical strength and on the other hand women do jobs in which more emotion and intelligence is needed. However, I think education should be the same in both case to provide for the extreme of job choice".

5.3.2.4 Which type of work suit women?

The respondents were asked to rank it in order of preference.

Table 5.5 TYPE OF WORK FOR WOMEN

Type of work for women	Total score	Rank Position
Primary school	1,4	1
Tertiary Institution	2.0	2
High School	2,1	3
Administrative work	3.7	4

Table 5.6 will be discussed later together with Table 5.7. because they are related.

5.3.2.5 Which type of work suit men?

The respondents were asked to rank it in order of preference.

Table 5.6 TYPE OF WORK THAT SUIT MEN

Type of work for men	Total rank score	Rank Position
Primary school	1,6	1
Tertiary Institution	2,0	2
High School	2,7	3
Administrative work	3,7	4

The respondents ranked teaching at primary school as the first position for women which is the lowest rank in educational occupation (vide supra Table 5.6). While in Table 5.7. administrative work was ranked as the first position for men which is the top position in the educational occupation. It is apparent that women staff tend to create self-barriers unconsciously. This evidence shows that the respondents are less willing to relinquish the personal satisfaction of teaching, for the chimaera of administration.

SECTION C

5.3.3 Women's Aspirations

This section dealt with various aspects related to the promotion potential or interest of the respondents to higher positions. While a full personality assessment of the respondents might have provided insight into their promotional attitudes, this was not possible as not only was it beyond the scope of inquiry, but should also be conducted by suitably qualified personnel. However it was decided that some tentative investigation into the perseverance of the respondents was possible.

5.3.3.1 How many times did you apply for promotion?

Respondents were asked to note down the number of times they had applied for advancement.

Table 5.7: APPLICATION FOR PROMOTION

APPLICATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
None	26	56.5
Once	16	34.8
Twice	2	4.3
Thrice	2	4.3

On analysis of the responses obtained it was apparent that 56,5 percent of the respondents apparently never applied. 34,8 percent applied once, 4,3 percent applied twice and 2

respondents applied thrice. It is apparent, vide supra 5.3.1.3, that most of them did not get promotion because a large proportion of the respondents did not apply thus only 6 women were occupying position higher than being an assistant teacher. This might also be the result of hidden aspect of sexism in the hidden curriculum which prepared them for the traditional place of women, vide supra. 3.3. It is also apparent that certain women in the sample had to demonstrate some perseverance in their aim to obtain promotion.

5.3.3.2 Why did you apply for promotion?

It was used to elucidate the reasons respondents gave for applying for promotion. As this was an open question large amounts of data were generated.

It was therefore necessary, for analytic purposes to categorize the responses. Although respondents had been asked to state only their main reason for applying for promotion, many listed more than one reason. In other instances respondents, in their explanations, alluded to more than one factor within their general reason. In these circumstances all the reasons given were noted. Consequently the percentages stated in Table 5: 8 total more than the number of respondents who applied, since 26 respondents never applied. After scanning the replies a list of possible groupings was drawn up. While attempts were made to derive mutually exclusive categories, in certain cir-

cumstances, as previously mentioned, the reasons given could overlap. The response data were then classified and the ten frequently stated categories were ranked.

The major groups of reasons were as follows (abbreviated labels are given in parentheses):

1. Desire for personal development and responsibility (self improvement).
2. Financial incentive (financial).
3. Wanted to become involved in the management and organisation of the school (management interest).
4. Had experience in the position, in an acting capacity and had enjoyed it (acting experience).
5. Was ambitious, wanted to advance career vertically (ambition).
6. Felt capable of doing the work and qualified to do it (capability).
7. Means of securing a permanent position (security).
8. Needed a change (boredom).
9. Encouraged by either the principal or deputy principal (encouragement).

10. To gain status and recognition (recognition).

Table 5.9. Sets out the categories listed above, with the percentage of responses and ranking of the responses, for each category.

Table 5.8 RESPONDENTS STATED REASONS FOR SEEKING PROMOTION

CATEGORY	RESPONSE	RANK
Self - improvement	8	1
Financial	6	2
Management interest	4	3
Acting experience	3	4
Ambition	2	5
Capability	2	5
Security	2	5
Boredom	1	8
Encouragement	1	8
Recognition	1	8

From inspection of the reasons cited it would appear that many of the respondents have a positive career drive: desiring personal growth, further management involvement and upward career movement. The evidence also suggests the importance place of remuneration, as one - third of the respondents noted financial considerations as the reason for applying for advancement.

5.3.3.3 Who encouraged you to seek promotion?

While many of the reasons stated did not relate to the environment of the respondents (vide supra 5.3.3.3), social conditions did have some influence on certain respondents. As respondents could check more than one source of encouragement, if this was their experience, the total percentage of responses was over 100 percent.

Table 5.10 illustrates from whom the respondents had received encouragement and how many respondents had indicated each choice.

Table 5.9 ENCOURAGEMENT FOR PROMOTION

Person or group	Frequency	Percent
No-one	18	39.1
Male friend(s)	14	30.4
Other Teacher(s)	12	26.1
Mother	10	21.7
H.O.D.	8	17.4
Subject Adviser	6	13.0
Inspector(s)	6	13.0
Deputy Heads(s)	6	13.0
Husband	4	8.7
Female Friend	4	8.7
Father	4	8.7
Someone Else	4	8.7

The encouragement by senior members of school management was noted as a reason for applying for promotion, by both some women who had 'acting' experience, and by others who lacked this opportunity.

Evidence of positive reinforcement of the respondents by various sectors of the community was deduced from Table 5.10. Of the respondents 39,1 percent indicated that no-one had encouraged them to seek promotion. This reduces the number of the people who did not apply at all, since 56,5 did not apply (vide supra 5.3.3.3.1). It means some respondents had been encouraged to apply although they didn't.

The data suggest that many of the respondents did receive some positive feedback from their colleagues and superiors within the schools. When the responses were further analysed it was calculated that 76,5 percent of women in the sample had received encouragement from school personnel. In addition 26,0 percent of the respondents had received encouragement from either Subject Advisers or Inspectors or both. Evidence suggests that more encouragement was obtained from school personnel than from head office staff, possibly because the interactions with school personnel would be more frequent.

The second highest source of encouragement checked by respondents was their male friends. These data assume more significance when it is remembered (vide supra 5.3.1.4) that most of them were single. 30,4 percent of the respondents indicated receiving encouragement from parents, this must be

viewed in the light of the fact that many of the respondents were 25 years of age and below and they were working, the influence of parents could be expected to have decreased.

As encouragement by female friends was seldom noted, evidence suggests that the major sources of affirmation lay within women attitudes. (It will be further discussed in 5.3.4.3).

5.3.3.4 What is the most senior position in education held by a woman known to you?

It has sometimes been urged by Schmuck (1980) and Shakeshaft (1987) that one cause of women not aspiring to promotion positions is that as there is a lack of same - sex role models in posts senior to themselves, they consider any upward progress to be aberrant. Shakeshaft (1987: 115) emphasizes:

"The importance of role models in helping both the women themselves and others in the system to view women administrators as a normal occurrence, rather than an exceptional one, cannot be overstated."

The women in the sample were therefore asked; first, to state the most senior position in education which they were aware was held by a woman, and secondly, to state the most senior position in education held by a woman they know personally.

Table 5.10 THE MOST SENIOR POSITION IN EDUCATION HELD BY A WOMAN

RANK	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Inspector	18	39,1
Rector	8	17,4
Principal	6	13,0
Education Planner	4	8,7
Professor	4	8,7
Subject Adviser	2	4,3
Doctor	2	4,3
No-one	2	4,3
	46	100,0

Respondents frequently failed to specify the position held by the person they cited, for example merely stating 'Subject Adviser' and not clarifying if she was a Principal Subject Adviser or Senior Subject Adviser. For this reason all references to Advisers, Inspectors and Planners were considered jointly as role models at head office level.

Of the respondents, 17,4 percent knew of a woman who was or had been a rector. Of this percentage, 8;7 percent had cited a Planner as the role model, which probably indicates that they were aware that Dr Guma had held a position in the Kwa-Zulu planning department. Six respondents knew of women

holding senior posts in tertiary institutions, while 17,4 percent knew of no women holding positions above the level of principal.

5.3.3.5 What is the most senior position in education held by a woman whom you know personally?

Mumford (1985) suggests that not only can the development of women managers be blocked by the absence of a suitable role model, but another significant aspect is the presence or absence of a mentor. Schmuck (1980: 248) observes:

"Whereas the number of women professors of educational administration will probably not increase dramatically in a short time, it is critically important for the few women who hold such positions to be visible and available to other women"

While role models were often visible to the respondents, their availability to the respondents was of a lesser degree. This is illustrated in Table 5.12.

Table 5.11 THE MOST SENIOR POSITION IN EDUCATION PERSONALLY KNOWN BY RESPONDENTS

RANK	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Inspector	18	39,1
Principal	16	34,8
Rector	2	4,3
Subject Adviser	2	4,3
Senior Lecturer	2	4,3
Doctor	2	4,3
Professor	2	4,3
No-one	2	4,3
	46	100,0

13,0 of the respondents knew a woman doctor, professor and senior lecturer personally. This is caused by the fact that they are university students, so these role models are exposed to them. Eighteen respondents knew women inspectors, while 4.3 percent knew women rectors personally. Two respondents knew no-one personally in a position more senior than their own.

It would appear that while role models are visible to respondents, they are few in number at head office level, and physically distanced from any women, and therefore their ability to function as mentors and career counsellors to other women is limited.

5.3.3.6 What is the highest post in education you think you are capable of holding?

This item was discussed together with item 3.6 in the questionnaire. In an attempt to elucidate the aspirations of the women in the sample, they were asked to state the highest post in education they thought they were capable of holding and what their expectations were as to the actual post level they would attain.

The relative proportion of respondents selecting positions on each level was tabulated in Table 5.13. Positions are listed in promotional sequence.

Table 5.12 PERCEIVED CAPABILITIES AND EXPECTATIONS FOR PROMOTION

RANK	CAPABILITY %	EXPECTATION %
Rector	13,0	8,7
Planner/Inspector		
/Adviser	34,8	43,5
Professor	4,3	4,3
Principal/Senior		
Lecturer	17,4	26,1
Head of Department	21,7	13,0

While one-third of the respondents thought they were capable of becoming Principal, half expected to be promoted beyond the position of Principal and only 13,0 of the women in the sample did not expect to be promoted beyond the position of Head of Department.

When the replies were compared, it was observed that 87,0 percent of the women's perceptions of their capabilities were equal to their expectations.

5.3.3.7 What major hindrances do you perceive as preventing you from reaching your potential?

The 17,4 percent of the respondents who did not fall into the category (vide supra 5.3.3.7) of the women whose perceptions of their capabilities were equal to their expectations were asked to suggest what major hindrances they perceived as preventing them from reaching their full potential.

As this item was an 'open' question it was necessary to formulate categories into which responses were placed. The ten most common reasons stated by the 'aspirants', as to why they would not be promoted to their self - assessed level of capability were scanned and groupings based on the barriers discussed in Chapter 2.6 were formulated (abbreviated labels given in parenthesis):

1. They could not devote sufficient time to their careers as they needed time to fulfill family commitments (multiple roles - time).

2. The perception that the decision makers, through an internalization of social norms, would prefer men for the positions (socialization of decision makers).
3. A preference for classroom teaching and greater involvement with the immediate educational needs of pupils (organizational - horizontal fulfilment).
4. They had no desire to hold a more senior post (personal preference).
5. There is a limited number of senior posts, therefore it is not possible for every applicant to achieve advancement (organizational pyramid post structure).
6. Members of the community might oppose the appointment of women (socialization of community).

The data are summarized in Table 5.14. As respondents could indicate more than one hindrance, percentages total more than 100 percent. The reasons were ranked on the basis of how frequently they were cited.

Table 5.13 THE TEN MOST FREQUENTLY CITED REASONS WHY
'ASPIRANTS' WOULD NOT REACH THEIR PROMOTION
POTENTIAL

CATEGORY	% RESPONSE	RANK
Multiple roles - time	13,0	1
Socialization of decision makers	8,7	2
Organizational - horizontal fulfilment	8,7	2
Personal preference	5,1	4
Organizational - pyramid post structure	4,3	5
Socialization of community	4,3	5

The barrier caused by the multiple roles which many women experienced was most frequently alluded to. There appeared to be two main reasons why family commitments might restrict the vertical career development of the aspirants; first, the women thought that in senior positions they would not have sufficient time to handle both their family and work roles adequately. Many aspirants emphasized, however, that it was their choice to make the family role a priority, and were not resentful that they would therefore be unable to reach their perceived promotion potential.

Hindrances operating due to socialization process acting on either the 'decision makers' or the community at large formed the third most common set of barriers. Some respondents indicated that they would not reach their potential because they considered that the authorities tended to promote men applicants, rather than women, in order to retain their services.

While it would be difficult to determine whether the decision makers do apply covert discriminatory employment practices, the presence of women in senior management positions might correct some of the invalid perceptions which may exist. Though many school management positions are openly reserved for men, this is not the case for head office posts. The respondent who stated that she would not become a Planner as : 'Men occupy the position of Planner, in the KwaZulu Department of Education and culture'; was obviously unaware that Dr Guma had held a post as Education Planner for five years. Perhaps what is necessary is not a change in societal attitudes as much as a means of providing information to women about the changes which are occurring, and improving the visibility of the role models. In addition, as many of the respondents were aware of role models, it appears that some aspirants need to be encouraged to see these women not as exceptions, who were permitted into their posts by the all-powerful 'decision makers', but as holding a position open to all aspirants.

Only two respondents indicated that members of the community might impede their progress. They considered that many schools' parent bodies would veto the employment of women in senior posts.

The organizational structure of the education system was noted as leading to two hindrances to vertical career development. Some aspirants observed that due to the hierarchical nature of the organization, there are few posts at the higher levels. This barrier would apply equally to men and women seeking advancement. Other aspirants indicated that their career fulfilment lay in teaching, not in administration. On the 'career cone' (Jans, as cited by Blampied 1989), their interests would lie in the horizontal, rather than the vertical dimension.

Although it would appear that the most significant barrier to the promotion of the aspirants was related to their multiple role conflict, some respondents perceived obstacles arising from the social milieu or from institutional and organizational aspects.

SECTION D

5.3.4 Women and their occupation

Earlier in this chapter the relationship between the age and teaching experience of the respondent was analysed (vide supra 5.3.1.1) . In certain cases a positive relationship between age and teaching experience of the respondents was not evident. A pos-

sible reason suggested for this anomaly was that certain respondents might have experienced educational breaks. This section was designed to investigate the patterns of the respondents' careers.

5.3.4.1 Would you sacrifice your family for your work?

The table that follows illustrates this:

Table 5.14 SACRIFICE OF FAMILY WITH WORK

VALUE LABEL	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly Agree	4	8,7
Agree	14	30,4
Undecided	8	17,4
Disagree	10	21,7
Strongly disagree	10	21,7
Total	46	100,0

Of the respondents, 43,4 percent indicated that they disagreed to sacrifice their families for their work. On the other hand 39.1 percent agreed that they would sacrifice their families with their work. This makes it difficult to read their attitude towards work since most of them (73,9 percent) indicated that they would prefer work only and no homemaking (vide infra 5.3.4.2).

5.3.4.2 Which of the following circumstances best describes your case?

Respondents were then asked to select, from list, a career pattern which best describes their own situation. Respondents were offered three alternatives (as in questionnaire item 4.2).

1. Work only, no homemaking - this category would be checked by those respondents who had not broken their career.
2. Marriage and work - this category would be checked by those respondents who had only interrupted their careers for short periods, for example accouchement leave.
3. Homemaking and work - this category would be checked by those respondents who had returned to work after a long break of homemaking, for example child - rearing.

The results obtained were as follows;

'Work only, no homemaking'	:	13,0 of the respondents
'Marriage and work'	:	60,9 of the respondents
'Homemaking and work'	:	13,0 of the respondents
'None of the above'	:	13,0 of the respondents

Of the respondents, 73,9 percent indicated a career pattern where multiple roles had a clear impact. In addition, six respondents who had placed themselves in the work 'only' no

homemaking category commented that although they were single and had no dependents they considered that their maintenance of their houses and gardens could be classified as homemaking. Another respondent who also placed herself in this category stated:

... my work is demanding, I am a teacher for twenty-four hours, there is little time for homemaking.... .

60,9 percent of the respondents who place themselves in the 'Marriage and work' category indicated, in the space provided for further comment, a reason for maintaining their dual roles: I wanted to meet my husband half-way.. . Having completed my studies I was keen to apply the knowledge immediately

5.3.4.3 Why after homemaking had you returned to work?

Those women who selected the category 'Homemaking and work' were asked this question. Many of the respondents selected more than one reason, giving the following replies:

Financial pressure/additional income desired	: 43,5%
Boredom at home	: 8,7%
Grown-up children becoming independent	: 8,7%
Not applicable	: 39,1%

Evidence suggested that the social and financial commitments discussed in section three of the analysis did have an effect on women B.Ed students, as not only did 73,9 percent of the respondents check a career pattern which included

homemaking, but some respondents in the 'work only, no homemaking' category explained that they too had either social or financial commitments. While these commitments had caused minimal disruption in the careers of those respondents who placed themselves in the 'Marriage and work' category, some respondents did allude to the pressure caused by their dual roles and the conflict they experienced between their career-role fulfilment and their family-role fulfilment. One notable exception was the respondent who wrote:

.... my husband agreed to be the one to do the cooking and cleaning.

It would seem that, even in this case, there was realization that the dual role causes overload.

It may be suggested that the greatest personal role redefinition occurred in those respondents in the category 'Homemaking and work', as almost 8,7 percent of the women in this category had halted their personal career development until they thought that their dependents did not need their full-time attention. As 8,7 percent of the respondents indicated boredom at home as their reason for retiring to work, it might be assumed that their circumstances had altered sufficiently for them not to experience role overload on resuming their careers. Two of them were 36-40 years of age, and the other two were 31-35 years of age. This information partly explain why the ages and experience levels of the women over 36 years old did not always show a perfect positive relationship (vide supra Table 5: 1) Therefore one

- third of the women in the sample interrupted their careers, although these breaks were usually of short duration.

The evidence therefore suggests that in many situations the career development of the women in the sample had not been delayed due to homemaking responsibilities, and it was for this reason that congruence between age and length of service had occurred in certain instances.

5.3.4.4 Reasons for under - representation of women in the promotional structure

This item began with a brief statement reminding respondents that while teaching is a predominately female occupation, there is an under - representation of women in promotion positions. Respondents were then asked to rate a list of possible causes of this situation, on a five-point scale ranging from 'Never true' to 'Always true'. A composite weighted value for each statement ranking was calculated from the addition of the weighted value for each ranking (Never true = 1, Sometimes true = 2, Unable to judge = 3, Frequently true = 4, Always true = 5). Table 5: 16 illustrates the ranking of these items.

5.15 A RANKING OF THE RESPONSES BY B.ED STUDENTS TO AN ASSESSMENT OF POSSIBLE BARRIERS TO PROMOTION OF WOMEN EDUCATORS

Barrier	Never True	Sometimes True	Unable To Judge	Frequently True	Always True	Rank Score
1. Lack Academic Qualification	34	12	-	-	-	1,2
2. Physically unsuited	16	24	-	-	6	2,0
3. Disciplinary problems	20	20	2	2	2	1,8
4. Too emotional	16	18	4	8	-	2,1
5. Lack commitment	20	14	2	6	4	2,3
6. Lack Self-confidence	22	16	2	6	-	1,8
7. Colleagues Prefer male Leaders	6	28	2	8	2	2,4
8. Lack perserverance	20	14	2	6	4	2,0
9. Lack time for both social and Administrative roles	8	26	2	4	5	2,4
10. Career focus on pupils	28	14	2	-	5	1,6
11. Dislike Administrative Tasks	28	8	-	8	2	1,9
12. Prefer Classroom atmosphere	-	10	-	14	22	4,0
13. Husbands oppose wives careers	10	18	6	8	4	2,3
14. Lack support of seniors	6	18	4	8	10	3,0
15. Avoid positions held by men	16	22	2	6	-	2,3

Based on Table 5:15 evidence suggests that respondents as a whole considered the greatest obstacle to the career development of women teachers to be the preference to maintain the classroom contact with their pupils. No respondent who answered this section considered this aspect to be a cause of women teacher's under-representation at senior levels.

The barrier to promotion ranked second related to the lack of support of their senior when applying for promotion. External social pressures had differing levels of influence. The preference of male leaders by colleagues was considered to be an important factor; only ranking third which also was indicated in item 5.3.3.3 where the encouragement by female friends was limited. It is similar to the comment by the respondents which revealed the attitude of women about women's control:

.... I prefer a male principal

Few respondents indicated that the reason for the lack of progress by women teachers lay either in their emotional or physical characteristics, nor were the disciplinary capabilities of the women considered to be an important factor.

As some of the composite value lay on the negative side of the continuum, there is some evidence that some of the respondents did not perceive any of the possible causes given, as forming substantial barriers to the promotion of women teachers.

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CHAPTER 6

6. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested in this research that the education of women is frequently different from , and sometimes inferior to, the education received by men in the same society. There are clearly many aspects of education in both schools and in institutions of higher education which require change if women are to develop their full potential in schooling and other areas of educational opportunity. However, blame for the present inequalities of the place of women in education in South Africa cannot be laid solely at the door of educational establishments, educationists and educational policy makers. The attitudes of both men and women, the role of women in sexual division of labour are also crucial factors.

If sexism and sex-stereotyping are to disappear from society, and if the positions of women and men in the educational hierarchy are to be changed to such an extent that positions are not allocated on the basis of gender, then it cannot be expected that change in education alone will achieve these goals.

Changes will also need to be made in the wider society, in the allocation of responsibility for child care and domestic labour, in roles and relationships within the family, in the relative statuses attached to manual and mental labour. But this is not to say that changes in education will have no significant impact on society, since a reduction in the degree of sexism and sexual

differentiation in education will also help to increase people's awareness of the possibility of achieving change elsewhere in society.

6.2 SUMMARY

Each research question was formulated to obtain insight into an aspect which, it was considered, might form an obstacle to the promotion potential of women educators.

Respondents indicated neither physical nor emotional characteristics of women as forming important barriers to promotion. The respondents did perceive, however that lack of self-confidence and perseverance could have a negative effect on promotion potential (vide supra 5.3.3.1). It is this personality trait evident in certain women which has led to the development of assertiveness training courses for women aspiring to management positions, discussed by certain overseas writers (Di Nittor, Martin and Harrison 1982; Marshall, 1984). In the evidence indicated by Table 5.3.3.1 one third of the respondents had applied for promotion once, indicating that up to that stage they had not needed to show persistence and perseverance in order to gain promotion. The data relating to reason for seeking promotion (Table 5.10), did suggest, however, that certain respondents gained self-assurance through positive reinforcement either by senior management's encouragement or by friends.

Table 5.6 indicated that the respondents ranked first primary school as good place for women and administrative work as last for women's work. This indicated clearly that the women have accepted sex roles, which can be the cause for their absence in managerial works.

Of the respondents 73,9 percent indicated a desire to work. This proportion compares favourably with a recent survey of women clerical staff in London (Natal Mercury, 12 January 1989), which found that 63 percent of the women stated that they would continue to work even if they did not need the money. This interest by the respondents sought not just a job, but a career.

Of the respondents, the majority had social commitments of some type, and in many cases these also entailed a financial commitment. Moreover 60,9 percent of the respondents checked a career pattern which included clear social and financial commitments. Finally, those women who considered that they would not be promoted to their full potential, rated the lack of time due to role overload as the primary barrier.

Item 5.3.3.7 indicated that 13,0 percent of the respondents considered that the present staffing system discriminated against women and would prevent them reaching their full potential. Not only was it noted that few women are employed as administrators in the educational field, but all rectors of colleges are male

(convonews 1990-91, vide supra 1.2). Although they considered the staffing system to be a barrier their psychological perspective (attitude) also contributes.

Questionnaire item 3.2 indicated that although 61 percent of the respondents had received encouragement from at least one source when they had applied for promotion, it was their opinion that societal pressures could create obstacles to the promotion of women educators. Of these, opposition by husbands was noticed,

followed by the lack of support by senior members of staff. The negative influence of female colleagues was rated as an important hindrance. 8,7 percent of the aspirants expected to meet with covert opposition by the 'decision makers', who had been socialized to rate men higher than women.

Item 5.3.4.3 indicated that many women chose to limit their career horizons as they enjoyed personal contact more than the administrative tasks inherent in senior posts. This aspect was considered to be third to 'multiple roles' in halting the vertical career development of women teachers. In addition, 5,1 percent of the aspirants indicated that they would not reach their full vertical career potential as, for them, fulfilment lay in the development of relationships and assisting others, rather than power, profit, independence and prestige (Bould and Hopson, 1983).

This indicates that although their aspirations were high (vide supra, Table 5.9 which indicated that most of them had a positive career drive) they had also internalized sex roles. This is revealed by the fact that 26 of the respondents never applied for promotion (vide supra 5.3.3.1).

6.3 Recommendations

Recommendations were suggested by the limitations of the present investigation and from considerations raised by the study.

- It may be suggested that changes in the education policy may be advantageous to women in certain areas of schooling, schools might help to eliminate some aspects of curricular differentiation between boys and girls.
- It may also be recommended that it would be beneficial to broaden the scope of the enquiry to further education departments in South Africa. From a superficial study of various education departments, it would appear that certain differences in organisation and staffing procedures do exist. The study would give an understanding of the influence of the cultural environment on the advancement of women educators.
- The aspirations and attitudes of male teachers towards promotional hierarchies could be investigated, to elicit information regarding the similarities and differences between their perceptions and those of women teachers.
- As one of the greatest impacts on the attitudes of the respondents appeared to arise from those individuals closely related to their work environment, it might be worthwhile to investigate the attitudes of the decision makers, colleagues and clients, to determine the level of congruence which

exists between the women educators perceptions of these individuals' attitudes and the stated attitudes of the individuals.

- The impact of role stress and anxiety caused by role overload could be explored further, as multiple roles appeared to have a major influence on limiting the promotional aspiration of women educators.

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