

AN INVESTIGATION OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION  
AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN EDUCATORS  
OF INDIAN DESCENT

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### ABSTRACT

Claims of gender discrimination by women educators in South Africa were investigated through an examination of specific issues surrounding the employment of women educators of Indian descent. These include maternity leave, housing subsidy, pension scheme, medical aid, salaries, merit awards and promotions. The study is located within the context of the general oppression of all women in society. The analysis used the sexual division of labour as its central focus.

Since the subjects under investigation were members of a minority ethnic group, factors such as their cultural heritage, race, and class difference were considered an integral part of the analysis.

The study assessed the validity of each of the claims of discrimination through an examination of official documentation such as the Principal's Handbook and staff circulars relating to teachers' conditions of service, regulations and occupational incentives. Wherever possible, the claims were empirically examined through an analysis of the responses obtained from a sample of educators. Cross-tabulations and Chi-square analyses were used to test the claims statistically.

Participation in a union as a possible organising strategy for women educators in their challenge of gender discrimination is suggested. A list of recommendations for

the amelioration of gender discrimination against women  
educators is presented at the end of the study.

## PREFACE

The idea for this study was conceived at the SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers Union) Women's Conference held between the 5-7 July, 1991 at the University of Natal in Durban. As a feminist educator attending the conference, two personal conclusions were drawn:

- i. that there were marked similarities between my experience of gender oppression as a female Indian educator teaching under the H.O.D. (House of Delegates) and the experiences of other female educators from the seventeen other education departments in South Africa;
- ii. that there was a need for research into the gender oppression of women educators and that a feminist perspective would provide greater insight into why such oppression occurs.

Recognising that the actual conditions of employment of women educators under the various education departments varies, led to the decision to focus on Indian women educators, as it is with this group that the researcher is most familiar. The term "Indian" is used consistently throughout this study to refer to a South African of Indian descent, unless otherwise specified.

This study provides one possible feminist view of why women are oppressed as educators. It also serves to draw the important link between the subordination of women in the

public sphere, that is, in their waged labour and their subordination in the private sphere, that is, in their homes. The term "waged labour" is used to apply to any paid form of work engaged in by women. This usage of terminology is important for drawing a distinction between the unpaid labour of women in the domestic sphere and their paid labour outside the home.

Attempting to make visible the social experiences of female educators is a specific concern of feminist research. Feminist research differs from most forms of social research in that its use extends beyond its academic content and merit. Catherine MacKinnon<sup>1</sup> points out that a "feminist method" entails consciousness-raising and points towards the critical reconstitution of the meaning of women's subjective social experience.

The completion of this study has been made possible only through the efforts and assistance of the following people, to whom I am extremely grateful:

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I would also like to thank the House of Delegates for granting me permission for the study; Mrs. Ambrose, Mrs. Morel and Dr. Shah for granting me interviews, and the many educators who completed the questionnaires.

I declare that this dissertation is my own work unless specifically indicated in the text.

**Endnote**

1. MacKinnon, C. cited in CULLEY, M. & C. PORTUGES (eds.). 1985. Gendered Subjects. p.35.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Context of the Study

The education system is the key means of production and reproduction of the ideological structure - for this system, not only in its very organisation and mode of functioning, embodies the dominant ideology of the society, but also functions to reproduce this ideology in its specific form.<sup>1</sup>

Recognition of the role of education as an agent of ideological conditioning and socialisation for the perpetuation of patriarchy has led to a growing body of feminist literature on this subject<sup>2</sup>. The school, being the first institution offering compulsory education, is a central focus of such analyses which have taken one of two directions:

i. focus on the female pupils and the effect that issues such as a sexist curriculum, sexism in textbooks, co-education and subject choices have on them with regard to gender role stereotyping and reproduction of the inequality that women historically have experienced.

ii. focus on the female educators - the discrimination they experience due to unequal opportunities and conditions of

service and their oppression within the context of the sexual division of labour, the "double shift" and the effect that their subordinate position in education has on the pupils' perceptions of gender roles and relationships.

This study is of the latter kind. Its main objectives are:

- to test the validity of women's claims of discrimination in the issues selected for investigation;
- to examine the main factors relating to the particular ethnic, race and class position of Indian women in South Africa which might affect their current experience of subordination;
- to contextualize the subordination of women educators within the framework of universal oppression of women due to the sexual division of labour. This is undertaken from a general feminist perspective;
- to offer suggestions to women educators to challenge gender discrimination and female subordination.

The reasons for the selection of the topic for study and the identification of the issues that were to be investigated were a direct result of the deliberations at the SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers Union) Women's Conference held on the 5-7 July 1991 at the University of Natal in Durban. An understanding of the significance of SADTU and of the Conference are therefore important in understanding the reasons for selection of the topic and issues for study.

Prior to the launch of SADTU as a national, non-racial teachers' union on the 6 October 1990, educators in South Africa who are employed in different racially constructed and/or geographically located education departments, were represented by various teacher organisations<sup>3</sup>. Women found that their issues of concern were often marginalised in these teacher organisations that were under predominantly male leadership. As a result, women in some of the organisations established separate women's committees within the organisations. One of the reasons for this was to pressure the organisations into a greater focus on women's concerns. One such group was the TASA (Teachers Association of South Africa) Women's Committee. Until the end of 1991, TASA was the only official teacher organisation representing Indian educators employed by the H.O.D. (House of Delegates). At the end of 1991, TASA was incorporated into SADTU.

The launching of SADTU and the absorption of many of the major teacher organisations into it, appeared to present certain advantages for women educators. SADTU, being the first national, non-racial teachers' union, is committed to ending all forms of racial and gender discrimination affecting educators. Although over 65% of the members are women, there is only one woman on the interim National Executive Committee (NEC) of SADTU<sup>4</sup>. Women expressed their concern over the lack of female representation on the NEC. The Women's Conference was thus held for women to

reach consensus on the measures to be taken within SADTU to ensure that gender issues are not be marginalised on the agenda of SADTU.

From the nature of the debates at the conference, the researcher observed the following:

- i. that women educators tend to contextualize their oppression in terms of either their experiences at home or at school, rarely examining the connection between the public and private spheres of their lives, or confronting the fundamental causes of their oppression;
- ii. that empirical research on women educators from the various education departments is required to fully understand the extent of the discrimination against women from each education department and to inform the debate on gender discrimination. For example, there is a tendency to base claims of discrimination against women with regard to promotion on the numerical ratios of men to women in education, without taking other variables such as qualification and experience into account;
- iii. that there are both similarities and differences in the nature of and the degree to which groups of women in South Africa experience their oppression. For example, the practice of lobola (bride price), identified by the majority of the African women as oppressive, has the parallel of the dowry<sup>5</sup> among the Indians, but was completely foreign to both the White and Coloured educators.

Only those issues which were most commonly perceived by the predominantly female delegation at the Conference, as the greatest sources of their oppression as female educators, were considered for investigation. Further, only those issues that were common across race groups and education departments were selected. An examination of the TASA Women's Committee minutes confirmed that the issues selected for this study of gender discrimination were the same as those of concern to Indian women teachers. A perusal of the regulations relating to most of the issues indicated strong grounds for justification of the claims of gender discrimination experienced by the group of Indian women educators.

Women educators are not a homogenous group due, inter alia, to their employment along racial lines under different education departments, and also due to ethnic, cultural and socio-economic differences among them. A consideration of ethnicity<sup>6</sup> is important, for as Anthias & Yuval-Davis<sup>7</sup> have pointed out, one cannot assume a commonality of interests or goals among all women. Every feminist struggle has a specific ethnic and class context. The ignoring of such differences has helped only to perpetuate political and theoretical inadequacies within feminist and socialist analyses.

This has also been discussed by Al-Khalifa<sup>8</sup> who points out that women from minority ethnic groups enter work

institutions with a variety of cultural experiences and affiliations which differ from those of majority white groups, and as a result, their experiences of sexism in schools can be different from that of White women from the dominant culture, irrespective of religion.

The reasons for the selection of the minority ethnic group of Indian women educators for investigation are that the researcher has been in teaching under the H.O.D. (House of Delegates) for the past fourteen years and is therefore familiar with the experiences of this group of teachers. In addition, it was expected that the granting of permission to conduct the study would be more easily obtainable from an education department in which the researcher was personally involved.

Although Indian women represent the smallest proportion of female educators in South Africa (3,8% according to Table 3.1 in Chapter 3) and the findings from this study are limited in their specific application to Indian women educators, the study is of relevance to all educators. For there is arguably a need for women educators to understand both the similarities and differences in the experiences of oppression among them. Such differences are the result not only of class and race differences, as emphasised by socialist feminists, but also of other variables, such as, cultural, socio-historical, political and ethnic determinants.



The reliability and external validity<sup>9</sup> of this study could have been improved had it been based on official statistical data for all educators employed by the H.O.D. Since such data was unavailable from the H.O.D., as gender had not been used as a criterion in the analysis of data, a questionnaire administered to a sample of Indian educators was used to obtain the required information.

Although not a primary purpose of this study, it is hoped that the feminist perspective provided, will have a consciousness-raising effect on Indian women educators with regard to the source and nature of their oppression. Recognition among women educators that eradication of legislated and non-legislated discriminatory practices will ameliorate the oppression they experience on account of their gender, will ultimately strengthen the feminist challenge to patriarchy. For, as suggested by Freire<sup>10</sup>, in order for the oppressed to be liberated, their experiences under the oppressors must be raised to the level of personal consciousness, recognised and affirmed.

### **1.2. Definitions of Terms and Abbreviations**

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions and abbreviations are established.

**ANC:** African National Congress.

**capitalism:** an economic system in which the means of production and distribution are mostly privately owned and operated for private profit.

**educator:** synonymous with the term "teacher". Used to describe individuals at all levels of the school hierarchy who are involved in educating pupils and includes both the administrative and teaching staff.

**external validity:** the extent to which the results from a study can be generalized to the population.

**feminism:** a political consciousness by women which leads to a strong sense of self-awareness, self-esteem, female solidarity and consequently, the questioning and challenging of gender inequalities in social systems and institutions.<sup>11</sup>

**H.O.D.:** House of Delegates - a racially segregated House in the Tricameral Parliamentary system that controls the affairs of the Indian community in South Africa. This House controls the provision of education for Indian children and is the employer of educators teaching in the Indian schools.

**PAC:** Pan African Congress.

**patriarchy:** the pervasive, systematic subordination of

women by men in the establishment and maintenance of male social dominance.

**SACP:** South African Communist Party.

**SADTU:** South African Democratic Teachers Union which is the union representing a large proportion of the teachers in South Africa. At present, there are two major teacher unions in South Africa which represent black teachers, namely SADTU and NAPTOSA (National Professional Teachers Union of South Africa). SADTU, perceived by many educators and the state to be politicised, unionised and militant, is a progressive teachers' body. NAPTOSA is a professional teachers' body whose members have distanced themselves from political issues and unionist practices.<sup>12</sup>

**TASA:** The Teachers Association of South Africa, formally known as SAITA, (South African Indian Teachers Association), was established in 1925 as the Natal Indian Teachers Society. At the end of 1991, TASA will disband and be incorporated into SADTU.

### **1.3. Outline of the Study:**

The study is divided into six chapters. In the following chapter,<sup>(2)</sup> the historical position of Indian women in South Africa will be reviewed. The cultural heritage of the Indians, the main factors contributing to Indian women's subordination in South Africa, the entry of Indian women

into the paid labour force, education for Indian girls and the demand and supply of Indian women educators are the main aspects that are discussed in this chapter. This will provide a historical framework within which the oppression of Indian women educators will be explained.

In Chapter 3 various aspects relating to the research methodology employed in this study are described. The need for research in selected area of study is discussed and the general direction taken by the research is described. The distribution of women educators in South Africa according to race is also established in this chapter.

A description of the population, sampling procedure and administration of the questionnaire, which was the research instrument selected, is provided. In addition, certain methodological concerns regarding the research procedure and limitations of this study are considered.

Qualitative as well as quantitative analyses of the research findings form the central focus of Chapter 4. The specific issues selected for investigation were maternity leave, housing subsidy, pension scheme, medical aid, salaries, merit awards and promotions. Each issue is investigated in terms of the regulations and policies pertaining to it. In addition, wherever data relating to the issue under investigation were available from the questionnaire, cross-tabulations and Chi-square tests were

used in the statistical analysis.

The study then proceeds to a contextualization of the discrimination and subordination of Indian women educators in Chapter 5. The discussion, from a feminist perspective, centres around the role of the sexual division of labour in the subordination of women in the home and in the public sphere.

In the final chapter, the importance of women educators challenging their subordination is examined. This is done not only in terms of the personal value it will hold for them, but also in the context of the roles that they could play in the reduction of gender discrimination and the oppression of women in future society.

Various appendices are attached, including tables of results, documents relating to the research as well as a copy of the research questionnaire.

### Endnotes

1. WOLPE, A. quoted in WALKER, S. & L. BARTON. 1983. Gender, class and Education. p. 2.
2. Examples of such works are:
  - i. SPENDER, D. & E. SARAH (eds). 1988. Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education.
  - ii. MAHONY, P. 1985. Schools for the Boys?
  - iii. WEILER, K. 1988. Women teaching for Change: Gender, Class & Power.
3. For example, in Natal the education of Whites is under the provincial control of the Natal Education Department (N.E.D); the education of Indians and Coloureds is nationally controlled by the House of Delegates and House of Representatives respectively and the education of Africans falls under the control of two departments - Kwazulu Education Department and the Department of Education and Culture (D.E.T.).
4. SADTU SOUTHERN NATAL WOMEN'S PLANNING COMMITTEE COLLECTIVE. Contextualizing the SADTU debate on Gender Issues, in The Organiser. February 1991.
5. Lobola remains a popular practice among the African culture, whereas the practice of dowry among the Indians in South Africa has almost completely disappeared.
6. Anthias and Yuval-Davis explain their usage of the term "ethnicity", as relating to "the inclusionary / exclusionary boundaries of collectives formed around the notion of a common origin."  
ANTHIAS, F. & N. YUVAL-DAVIS. Contextualizing feminism - gender, ethnic and class divisions. Feminist Review, 1983. No. 15. p.62.
7. Ibid.
8. AL-KHALIFA, E. Women in Teaching, in COYLE, A. & J. SKINNER. 1988. Women and Work. p.97.
9. WIMMER, R. D. & J.R. DOMINICK. 1987. Mass Media Research: An Introduction. p.34; p.499.
10. FREIRE, P., cited in CULLEY, M. & C. PORTUGES(eds).1985. Gendered Subjects. p.32.
11. CHARMAN, A. et.al. The politics of gender: A discussion of the Malibongwe conference papers and other current papers within the ANC. p.14.
12. HINDLE, D. Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics, in Indicator SA, Vol.9, no. 1, Summer 1991.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.0. A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF INDIAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### 2.1. Introduction

Gerald Grace<sup>1</sup> describes the advantages of a historical examination for a critical understanding of contemporary developments as follows:

It guards against...an unfortunate tendency towards a disembodied structuralism on the one hand or an unrelated world of consciousness on the other. More positively it has the advantage of sensitising us to the dominant in the past so that we are alert to the mode of their reproduction, reconstitution or change. It has the advantage also of concretely exemplifying and making visible the relations between educational structures and processes and wider structures of power, economy and control in particular periods of social change. Such exemplifications and such making visible can provide us with suggestive hypotheses and useful models in our attempts to clarify the present form of those relations.

In view of the advantages of a historical analysis described by Grace, this chapter will trace historically the various factors and their interactions that have affected Indian women's entry into the labour market and as

pupils and teachers into education since the arrival of Indians in South Africa in 1860.

In most historical writings on South African Indians<sup>2</sup>, women are to a large extent invisible<sup>3</sup>. Simply mentioning women provides no meaningful understanding of the nature of their lives or the specificities of their subordination. Since there are many works that examine the lives of the early Indian men in South Africa, this chapter will identify and describe only those factors that have affected Indian women's lives in ways that have resulted in their oppression being significantly different to the experiences of oppression by other women in South Africa and by Indian men of the same class.

The social, cultural and familial life of the South African Indian was not a duplicate of any particular Indian society but, as Freund<sup>4</sup> has suggested, developed in a new creolised world that reflected mutual influences amongst Indian people and their interaction with White, Coloured and African people in an unfamiliar environment.

## 2.2. Cultural Heritage

For the purpose of this study, the cultural attitudes and traditions that prevailed in India both prior to and during the 1860s will be discussed as it is assumed that these would have affected parents' decisions about their children's entry into education, labour and marriage.



Oppression of women flowed from the patriarchal nature of Indian culture. Arranged marriages were the norm and sutee, that is widow burning, was to a lesser degree still practised<sup>5</sup>. The degree of oppression of women in India varied according to class, religion, economic position and marital status. An example of such variation can be seen from the two practices: pardah, that is seclusion of women and the wearing of the veil, as well as polygamy. Although these were predominantly Muslim practices, they were also practised to some extent by wealthy Hindus<sup>6</sup>.

In India, a legitimate marriage was one in which a dowry was paid by the groom to the family of the bride. In effect, it was the dowry that gave a man exclusive rights to a woman's sexuality and offspring.<sup>7</sup>

Caplan writes of Indian women:

In the role of a wife, women are inevitably subordinate. A wife becomes merged on marriage into the persona of her husband, and this merging lasts beyond death. A dutiful wife worships her husband, regardless of his worth or character, as if he were a god.<sup>8</sup>

A woman's status in Indian society was secured only through becoming a wife, thereby gaining access to a level in the social hierarchy occupied by her husband. Male births were

considered to be more significant than female births. So were given greater decision making powers in the family than daughters.

Boys were socialised within the family to be dominating and girls were socialised to be docile and submissive and to accept male domination by fathers, brothers (even younger than themselves) and other male relatives. This formed part of their training for their future gendered roles.<sup>9</sup>

The following quote from "Laws of Manu"<sup>10</sup> provide some insight into the strength of patriarchal domination in India:

A woman should never be independent. Her father has authority over her in childhood, her husband has authority over her in youth, and in her old age her son has authority over her.<sup>11</sup>

In reality, however, a woman's power within the household grew slowly within the extended family system. As a young wife, the woman was likely to be exploited, but the situation gradually improved as she bore children. As a mature mother, the woman stood in a powerful position where she could control the household and could supervise the labour of her sons' wives.<sup>12</sup>

The family institution kept women in a double-bind situation in that while it exploited them, it was only

through the family that women could obtain support and protection.

Girls married early and it was customary that from an early age they received training for their roles as wives and mothers. Such training was carried out mostly by mothers and took the form of lessons in cookery, housekeeping and care of younger siblings. In the vast majority of Indian families, formal education had little value in terms of girls' planned destinies. This was the predominant view among both the lower social classes, which were in the majority and the higher social classes. In 1856, girls made up only 7% of both the junior and senior school populations.<sup>13</sup>

The consequences of this norm of early marriage for girls which in part accounts for the lack of emphasis on their education can be seen from the situation in 1929, when legislation was introduced in India to prohibit the marriage of girls under the age of 14. There were about 140 000 widows of ten years and younger in this year.<sup>14</sup> Widows, no longer able to derive their respectability from permanent attachment<sup>15</sup> to men, were a severely oppressed and exploited group.

Although the majority of them were very young, they were most harshly treated by the family members of their deceased husbands, especially their mothers-in-law. Often

viewed as having brought the bad luck that caused their husbands' deaths, they were forced to bear the heaviest burden of work and they were prevented from appearing cheerful or wearing bright clothing. In some regions their hair was shaved off to make them unattractive<sup>16</sup>. Some widows were forced to live in little rooms detached from the main dwellings and to eat the leftovers from the family meal. Widow remarriage was illegal while sutee, was legal until 1829<sup>17</sup>. It was only in 1856 that the British legalised widow remarriage<sup>18</sup> but this had little effect in overcoming the entrenched social stigmatisation of widows.

### **2.3. The main factors contributing to Indian women's subordination in South Africa**

#### **2.3.1. Indenture Status**

If the Government of Natal could have imported only male labour from India, it would have done so.<sup>19</sup> The Indian women were considered to have little labour value but had to be included because India's official emigration policy stipulated a 29% quota of women<sup>20</sup>. Few female accounts exist but male accounts of the harsh and restrictive conditions they faced show that their circumstances were not far from those of slavery. Documents related to these accounts reveal complaints of low wages, long hours, low rations, inadequate attention to social and medical needs and beatings. <sup>21</sup>

When it is considered that women received half the male

wage, received half the male rations, paid the same poll tax of three pounds as men did and formed a reserve of cheap labour, often being employed on a casual or part-time basis<sup>22</sup>, it can be concluded that women were more economically exploited and more severely oppressed than their male counterparts. Men were able to secure higher wages and bigger rations, based on the stereotype of the male as the breadwinner and the wife and children as dependents. However not all women were part of a permanent, monogamous, heterosexual relationship, as some were unmarried while others had been separated, deserted or widowed.

#### 2.3.2. Class Differences

Class differences existing among Indian families were often related to occupations and caste<sup>23</sup> positions. Initially, two main classes of Indians were found. These were the wealthier traders, who had come to South Africa as free Indians (the minority), and the extremely poor indentured labourers (the majority), who had come to South Africa under contract.

A very small rising middle class was established from the small proportion of labourers who, on completion of their period of indenture, took up other occupations, such as market gardening. Factors such as the poll tax, large family size and breach of contract by the Government of Natal in not providing free Indians with a plot of land<sup>24</sup>

were among the factors that prevented a larger middle class from developing.

### 2.3.3. Religious Differences

The Indians in South Africa belonged to various religious groups. The upper economic class, involved in trade and who came to South Africa as free immigrants were mainly Muslim, belonging to the Islamic faith. A small number of Gujarati people who were members of the Hindu religion were also part of this class.

83% of the Indians who came to South Africa as indentured labourers were Hindus, 12% were Muslims and 5% were Christians<sup>25</sup>. Each religious group was further divided into sub-groups according to the language spoken, for example, the Hindus comprised of Tamil, Telugu, Hindi and Gujarati language groups. The structure of the Indian community was further complicated by the existence of a hierarchical caste system within each language group.

In an attempt to preserve group identity, endogamy, that is marriage within the same religion, class and caste, was seen by the Indian community as being essential, regardless of economic status. Early arranged marriages formed a necessary part of this aim, and thus parental control required minimising contact between the sexes<sup>26</sup>. This was one of the main reason for the opposition to co-education from all sectors of the Indian population.

The attempt to preserve group identity can also be related to the suspicion with which many non-Christians viewed the offer of free education for their children by Christian missionaries, as they feared the conversion of their children to Christianity. Given the above reservations of parents, it is understandable that most of the early Indian teachers were Christian men and women as their parents were more amenable to persuasion by the missionaries with regard to the need to educate their children.

#### 2.3.4. Race

Indians were the smallest minority group in South Africa. Colonialists saw the Indians as temporary immigrants, having a specific labour value for a short period of time. Thereafter, it was expected that they would return to India.

Due to the lack of suitable housing, health care and social services, and low salaries, the standard of living of the working class Indians was very low. Despite such conditions and contrary to White expectations, the majority of Indians chose to remain in South Africa on completion of their term of indenture did not accept the offer of repatriation according to the terms of the contract.<sup>27</sup>

Antagonism from Whites against Indians developed rapidly for two main reasons:

i. Rapid increase in the Indian population. White fears

materialised when in 1897 in Natal, the Indian population surpassed the White population.

ii. The small group of Gujerati and Muslim traders, known as "free" Indians because they had paid for their own trips, posed an economic and commercial threat to White traders.

So great was the antagonism against the Indians that a 3 pound poll tax per annum was levied on every free Indian<sup>28</sup>. The objective of the tax was to force either repatriation or reindenture. As the wages received by the female labourers were very low, widowed, separated and deserted women were more severely affected by this tax.

Another example of the way in which race affected women can be seen from the effects of the Group Areas Act of 1950. A large part of the Indian population was located in peri-urban areas. While a small proportion of this group owned their own homes, a large proportion of them lived in barracks and low cost forms of housing. The most significant common practice that was altered by the introduction of the Group Areas Act was the extended family system.<sup>29</sup>

The advantage of the extended family was its internal division of labour which made it possible for some of the women to remain at home while others, together with the men and older children, went out to work to achieve a family



income that would meet their needs.

The Group Areas Act forced Indians to relocate from areas that were desired as white suburbs or were required for industrial purposes, to specific townships. Thus the majority of working class people moved to Chatsworth and Phoenix, two large townships on the periphery of Durban. A notable point raised by Freund<sup>30</sup> is that the newly created townships held embedded within their structure, a ruling class ideology about what respectable working class family life should be like. The Group Areas Act was therefore one of the factors affecting Indian women and their entry into paid labour.

#### **2.4. Indian women and the paid labour force**

Women's entry into the labour market was related to their class position. Among the working class of indentured labourers, economic need compelled women to work and thereby contribute to the family income. If unmarried, a woman was forced to work in order to survive. Young children were left unattended while their mothers were at work, the normal working hours being from sunrise to sunset. Working outside the home was not a new experience for women in this class, for in India in the late 1800s, even in the Islamic communities, in which the practice of purdah was most practised, women were engaged in waged labour, especially in the agricultural sector<sup>31</sup>.

Women from the upper social classes rarely entered waged labour. This was not only on account of the relatively sound financial position of families in this class but also because of the link between waged labour and caste. Women engaged in waged labour damaged the family prestige in the Indian caste system, therefore exclusion from such work by women was essential in maintaining a caste image<sup>32</sup>. In some cases, the women helped their husbands in the family business.

The preference to maintain a culturally-influenced distinction in gender roles was not class-specific. This can be seen from the choice of some working-class women to remain at home permanently once the economic position of their families had improved.

Among all race groups of the working class, Indian women formed the poorest section. Employed Indian women were entitled to half the food rations received by the men but neither the payment of their wages nor the receipt of their food rations were regular.

In order to overcome this problem, many families had the older daughter(s) take care of younger siblings, clean the home and cook while it was expected that the older sons would find employment to supplement the family income. It was considered unmanly and unacceptable for boys to perform the tasks within the home, thus perpetuating the sexual

division of labour that working women historically have experienced. This sexual division of labour was responsible for the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and domination of patriarchal attitudes, both of which played a significant role in the structure of gender relationships among Indian men and women.

The number of Indian women who became available for waged work increased as their command of English and their standard of education improved. Entry into a wider range of occupations was slower for Indian women than it was for either Indian men or White women. This was due to factors such as their lower standard of education and the strength of the ideology which prescribed the role of women as wives and mothers. Although the position of Indian women in work resembled the international position of women in the labour market <sup>33</sup>, the racial dimension further increased the exploitation of Indian women. They were therefore concentrated in even lower paying, unskilled or semi-skilled, part-time or casual jobs than were White women. Similar to most women, their work patterns were often characterised by disruptions due to marriage and childbirths.

The Group Areas Act, to which reference has already been made, directly influenced the decisions by many women to enter waged labour. This Act contributed to the change in the structure of the Indian family, from an extended to a

nuclear one. The relocation of working class Indians to townships dominated by small, rented houses or blocks of flats which were too small to maintain the original extended family resulted in a division of the family into nuclear units.

The rental for the new homes, with their improved structural quality and services such as electricity and running water cost considerably more than the Indian families could afford and together with the greater transport costs incurred because of their location, necessitated more women to enter into paid labour in order for the family to survive<sup>34</sup>.

The structural changes to the family resulted in an increase in family instability, as seen by the increase in the number of divorces, separations and other problems, such as alcoholism. As a result the number of female-headed households with women as the sole breadwinners increased<sup>35</sup>.

Over the last few decades there has been a gradual and noticeable increase in the number of women who have entered the labour market on a permanent basis. There has also been an increase in the variety of work that they have undertaken. Since occupational opportunity is related to the standard of education, some understanding of the development of education for Indians, especially as it

affected girls, is important.

## **2.5. The development of education**

Economic survival and the fulfilment of basic physical needs were of primary concern to indentured labourers. Amidst unsanitary, crowded and other unsuitable living conditions and high mortality rates, emphasis was on physical rather than intellectual needs.<sup>36</sup> Under such conditions, education was not considered a priority by parents who were themselves illiterate.

When primary schooling for Indian pupils was established by Christian missionaries<sup>37</sup>, parents were more easily convinced to send their sons, rather than their daughters to school. This decision has to be viewed in light of the gendered roles in traditional Indian families and economic restraints. Education was promoted chiefly by the missionaries as being the means of social upliftment for boys. This borne out in future generations when a larger number of men were seen entering occupations other than manual labour, such as clerical work. The predominant view among parents of all classes was that the future economic and social security of a daughter could best be achieved by arranging a suitable marriage for her at an early age.

Practical training in domestic work or help with the care of siblings was considered superior to formal education in the girls' future roles as wives and mothers. This was one

of the reasons why, although the number of boys attending school steadily increased during the latter decades of the 19th century, the increase in the number of girls attending school was insignificant as shown in Table 2.1. Another reason for the low enrolment figures for girls was the lack of separate girls' schools. This is related to the traditional practice of separate schools in India and its purpose in preserving endogamy, as discussed previously.

**TABLE 2.1: ENROLMENT OF INDIAN PUPILS AT SCHOOLS 1871 - 1881**

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>Enrolment (Boys)</u>	<u>Enrolment (Girls)</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1871	3	69	10	79
1872	4	72	12	84
1873	4	54	14	68
1874	3	41	7	48
1875	2	65	20	85
1876	2	46	2	48
1877	3	67	11	78
1878	2	48	-	48
1879	2	121	15	136
1880	8	174	22	196
1881	7	206	22	228 <sup>38</sup>

(Variation in the number of schools in Table 2.1 was due to some missionary schools having to close due to lack of funds and/or the lack of qualified teachers).

With the introduction of state-aided and government schools in the late nineteenth century, the cost of school fees also became a determinant affecting enrolment at schools.

For the majority of the working class, preference was given to educating boys if fees were not affordable.

Although the wealthier Indians did not face the same economic constraints as the working class, these parents formed the sector most resistant to the early efforts to educate girls. Factors influencing this attitude were the norm of early marriage and the practise of pardah which dictated the rejection of co-education and instruction by male teachers.

Among the wealthier group of Indians, who were mainly involved in commerce, it was deemed that educating their daughters could have had serious detrimental effects on their daughters' future. This was because it was regarded necessary for boys to acquire only the rudimentary skills of English communication, reading, writing and arithmetic at school that would be necessary in the family business. The boys left school at an early age and entered the family business where they were taught, in most cases by the father or an elder brother, about business management. If a girl was highly educated, it would reduce her chances of a suitable marriage as it was not acceptable for wives to be more highly educated than their husbands.

Faced with hostile treatment and exploitation in a foreign environment, many of the Indians clung even more fiercely to old traditions in an attempt to maintain a cultural

identity.

This is evident from the reasoning used by many prominent Indian leaders who attempted to influence Indian parents to send their daughters to school in the 1930s. One of the most influential people was Lady Kunwarani Maharaj<sup>39</sup> who had lectured in History and Literature at a university in India and who had been involved in organising the University Women's Movement. She helped to convince a few parents to send their daughters to the Durban Indian Girls' High School which had just been established. However, it was difficult to change cultural attitudes amongst Indians in South Africa.

In India, during the 1930s, there were women who had careers in the legal, medical and teaching professions. An observer from India remarked about the position of Indian women in South Africa:

**There are some social customs that belong to an older period in Indian life which my sisters in this country cling to and which retard their progress considerably. If they could have lived in their own motherland during the last 15 years perhaps they would be willing to throw aside hampering customs and adopt a more progressive mode of life.<sup>40</sup>**

Cultural attitudes and class differences discussed thus far



were the most important factors influencing Indian attitudes towards education. A distinction needs to be drawn between internal factors such as cultural attitudes and external factors such as race prejudice which was a major factor in the development of education for Indians.

Initially, separate schools for Indian children were necessary because the majority of them were unable to speak English and could therefore not be integrated into the existing White schools. However, as pupils became more proficient in English, it became obvious that racist and classist differences became an important political weapon in the suppression and control of the Indians. A few incidents are selected for description to qualify the view of the suppressive role played by race, class and gender discrimination.

In response to pressure from the Government of India about complaints of ill-treatment and violations of the terms of indenture by employers, the Government of Natal appointed five Commissions of Enquiry, the first two being in 1872<sup>41</sup> and 1885-87.<sup>42</sup> It was as a result of the second commission that the Indian Immigration School Board was created to undertake the responsibility of promoting and administering the education of Indian children.<sup>43</sup>

Before and after the creation of this School Board, many Indian children attended the White government and

White state-aided schools. However, a class and cultural bias was shown by the admission of only those Indian pupils who conformed to the dress and social standards of Whites. The fees further restricted the accessibility to these schools, allowing only pupils from affluent Indian families to attend.

In 1894 the Indian Immigration School Board was abolished and the provision of schools for Indian children came under the control of the Natal Education Department (N. E. D.). By this time antagonism against the Indians from Whites had reached a climax.

The N.E.D. played an important role in the introduction of a separatist education policy. With the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, this became the official government policy on education. Thus, the effects of racial discrimination on education can be traced not only, as is commonly done, to the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government, but further back to the period of colonial imperialism.

Indian boys who had previously attended the White schools were compelled by the N.E.D. in 1894 to attend the separate schools established for children of indentured Indian labourers. The highest standard available in these schools was Standard 4. Only those who passed Standard 4 in Indian schools could seek admission to White schools.<sup>44</sup>

A crisis arose in 1899 when the Government of Natal discontinued the admission of Indian boys to White schools. This prevented any Indian pupil from proceeding beyond Standard 4. The demand for higher education for their children by some parents, led to the establishment in 1899 of the first Higher Grade Indian school in Durban, later to become known as the Carlisle Street Government School.<sup>45</sup>

In August 1905, the Superintendent of Education ordered the dismissal of all girls<sup>46</sup> from White schools and established a school for them within the Carlisle Street Government Indian School. Indian parents were opposed to co-education, so the girls were taught separately from the boys by a White female teacher. This school closed shortly thereafter due to a shortage of teachers.<sup>47</sup>

Another discriminatory measure introduced by the N.E.D. was the imposition of a maximum age limit of 14 years on all pupils in the Government Indian schools, although no such restriction was applied to White pupils in Government schools which also fell under the control of the N.E.D. This was particularly problematic because many pupils started school at a late age or found difficulty in adjusting to school and were then not promoted to the next standard, thus there was a large proportion of pupils over the age of 14 years in school. Legal action taken against the Government on this matter was successful and as a result, the age limit was withdrawn.<sup>48</sup>

Undeterred, the N.E.D. continued the implementation of various strategies to control the number of Indian pupils receiving formal education. As a result of the unequal facilities created by the apartheid policy of separate development of the different race groups, lack of accommodation was another factor that denied pupils access to education.

The lack of accommodation, in addition to parental attitudes towards education, shortage of teachers and the lack of funds for school fees all affected Indian pupils' access to education. The outcome of the factors restricting the education of Indian pupils is evident in the Indian education statistics for 1925 - 1926.

In 1925, 80% of Indian pupils did not go beyond Standard 2. In 1926 less than one-third of Indian children attended school ie. only 9155 out of a possible 30 000<sup>49</sup>. The problem of accommodation continued to impede the progress of pupils for many decades, for example, in 1951, 16 029 children were refused admission because of the lack of accommodation<sup>50</sup>.

Therefore, if statistics concerning enrolment figures of Indian pupils are to be meaningful, they have to be considered in conjunction with the number of pupils denied admission on the basis of lack of accommodation.

A similar instance of the N.E.D. denying Indian girls access to secondary education can be seen from a report by Mrs. M. Dorey, a White principal of the Durban Indian Girls' High School from 1948 - 1960<sup>51</sup>. Mrs. Dorey recalls being given a merit list in 1950 of all Std. 6 girls from the Durban and Clairwood areas by the Head Office of the N.E.D. Without exception, only those girls whose names appeared on the list could be admitted. She says:

**I had eventually to tell the remaining children of whom there was quite a number, that they couldn't be given a place and they went sorrowfully away.**<sup>52</sup>

What is also evident from the this quote, is that a demand for education for girls had developed.

There appears to have been no single factor responsible for the changing perceptions concerning the value of education, especially for girls. It is suggested that the change resulted gradually, as reflected by the gradual increase in pupil enrolment figures, indicated in Table 2.2 and 2.3. This was the result of a combination of factors, such as greater exposure to a western mode of life, evidence of the fact that education could improve one's socio-economic position, with regard to occupation, and proof that no ill-effects had come to those girls who had been to school.

The enrolment figures at both primary and secondary school

levels continued to increase gradually and this in turn led to the increase in demand for women teachers.

**TABLE 2.2 : Secondary school enrolment at Durban Indian Girls' High School 1933 - 1940**

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Pupils</u>
1933	18
1934	25
1935	32
1936	40
1937	46
1938	48
1939	55

53

**TABLE 2.3.: Pupil Enrolment in Secondary Schools 1927-1952**

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.of Boys</u>	<u>No.of Girls</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%Secondary Girls</u>
1927	60	2	62	3
1928	59	5	64	8
1929	84	-	84	-
1930	116	7	123	6
1931	165	24	189	13
1932	251	20	271	7
1933	275	20	295	7
1934	297	23	320	7
1935	316	37	353	10
1936	364	52	416	13
1937	370	47	417	11
1938	381	69	450	13
1939	350	79	429	18
1940	415	119	534	22
1941	489	121	610	20
1942	542	101	643	16
1943	639	112	751	15
1944	740	97	837	12
1945	760	116	876	13
1946	867	153	1020	15
1947	965	191	1156	17
1948	992	189	1181	16
1949	1146	291	1437	20
1950	1477	360	1837	19
1951	1981	466	2447	19
1952	2292	666	2958	23

54

An attempt will now be made to identify both the factors creating a demand for Indian women educators and the factors affecting the supply of Indian women educators. Such an identification would allow for an examination of whether the factors that historically affected Indian women educators are in any way related to the factors that affect Indian women educators today. Factors currently affecting women's education will be identified from an analysis of the responses of the subjects in a sample.

#### **2.6. The demand for and supply of Indian women educators.**

A major reason for the demand for women teachers was the traditional belief of Indians that girls ought to be educated separately from boys and that they should be instructed by female teachers only.

The missionaries were the first to recognise this demand as can be seen from their attempts, in as early as 1893, to import Indian women teachers from India. The first successful attempt at such importation was in 1889, when the St. Aiden's Mission brought out Mrs. S. P. Vedamuthu<sup>55</sup>. Such importation of educators was necessary to supplement the shortage of White women teachers involved in teaching girls.

The N.E.D. established a teacher training course in 1900 for local Indian pupils in an attempt to meet the demand



for teachers and to end the need to import teachers. The entrance qualification for this course was Standard 6. However, no facilities were provided and it was through the initiative of Canon Smith of the St. Aiden's Mission that the St. Aiden's Provincial Training College was established in 1904. A few women teachers were produced by this institution, for example in 1927, only 15 out of the 130 students attending such classes were women.<sup>56</sup>

Resulting from the efforts of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the Agent-General for India in South Africa, the first full-time teacher training classes were started at Sastri College at the beginning of 1931 when a pre-matriculation course was offered leading to the formal training course the following year, in which the T5 and T3B teacher training courses were introduced. The prerequisite for the T5 course was a Standard 6 certificate and for the T3B course, either a Standard 8, in which case the period of training was over two years, or a matriculation certificate, in which case the training was over one year.<sup>57</sup> There was still no significant increase in the number of women entering this new institution.

The result of the disparity in the number of Indian boys and girls receiving secondary education is reflected in the disproportion in the number of Indian males and females qualifying as teachers. Therefore many of the factors responsible for the lower enrolment of girls than boys at

school also relate to the supply of Indian women educators.

Traditional gender roles in Indian society was a primary consideration influencing career decisions among Indian girls. Since most of these girls were expected to marry early and to remain at home after marriage to take care of the home and children, it is likely that many of the women who chose to teach had to delay such gender role fulfilment against peer, parental and community pressure. Records of early women educators reveal that a greater number of Christian women became teachers than women from any other religious group. This indicates a difference in attitudes among religious sectors with regard to the acceptability of women being involved in a full-time occupation, delaying marriage or in combining a career with marriage.

Traditional attitudes and other causes such as the lack of child care facilities were responsible for the large number of women teachers who resigned from teaching when they got married.

The direct disadvantage that traditional attitudes held for girls wanting to become teachers can be seen from the objections raised by the community to girls receiving tuition with boys in a teacher training course at Sastri College. As a result of this, girls were not admitted to Sastri College after 1938<sup>58</sup>, as can be seen in Table 2.4.

**TABLE 2.4: Student Enrolment for Teacher Training Courses  
at Sastri College 1932 - 1951**

Year	T3B		T5	
	no.: men	no.: women	no.:men	no.: women
1932	3	-	22	-
1933	10	-	11	-
1934	13	-	15	-
1935	14	2	18	4
1936	10	1	14 (T4)	-
1937	15	4	7	-
1938	18	-	7	4
1939	17	-	5	-
1940	22	-	8	-
1941	22	-	6	-
1942	20	-	6	-
1943	19	-	4	-
1944	28	-	-	-
1945	34	-	-	-
1946	41	-	-	-
1947	52	-	-	-
1948	67	-	-	-
1949	132	-	-	-
1950	117	-	-	-
1951	107	-	-	-

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Due to this objection, full-time teacher training classes for Indian women were introduced in 1941 at the Durban Indian Girls' High School. However the number of women being trained during the period 1941 to 1951 were lower

than the number of men being trained at Sastri College, as shown in Table 2.5.

**TABLE 2.5: Women Teacher Training Enrolment at Durban Indian Girls' High School 1941 - 1951**

<u>Year</u>	<u>T3B</u>	<u>T5</u>
1941	-	10
1942	-	21
1943	-	14
1944	-	18
1945	-	13
1946	-	37
1947	-	51
1948	12	55
1949	19	25
1950	23	37
1951	37	37

<sup>60</sup>

A significant fact is that from 1938 to 1947, women were not enrolled for the T3B course ( a higher qualification) and from 1944 no men were enrolled for the T5 course (a lower qualification), although women continued to be enrolled for the T5 course until 1951.

Over a period of ten years (1938-1947), women were forced into being less qualified than men while men, for eight years, were able to achieve uncontested qualificational superiority to women. As a result of this difference in qualification, women taught mainly in primary schools and men in secondary schools. This stereotype of a division of

labour still operates within the teaching profession. Although women and men are equally qualified and women form a large part of the teacher population in the secondary school (Table 4.8), it is generally believed that women should teach in primary schools and men in secondary schools.

In August 1951, the teacher training classes from both Sastri College and the Girls' High School were transferred to the Springfield Training College. The enrollment in that year was 107 male and 18 female students. T5, the lowest teaching certificate for Indian teachers was abolished in 1951 and replaced by the Natal Teachers' Junior Certificate in 1952. This course was open only to women and was withdrawn later in the same year<sup>61</sup>.

The intention for this differentiation in standard of teacher qualification may have been to attract more women to the profession, as it is popularly believed that women, because of their nurturing role, make more suitable infant teachers than men. However it ultimately served to portray women as being intellectually inferior to men.

No hostel accommodation was provided at Springfield Training College, therefore even if economic constraints were not a restriction, it can be expected that Indian parents would have been more likely to grant their sons rather than their daughters permission to live away from

home.

There were many reasons for more qualified women teachers than men teachers leaving the profession. Women received lower salaries than men. Immediately after marriage, they were expected to leave work to take care of their homes and children<sup>62</sup> and many women teachers did indeed conform to this expectation and left teaching as soon as they got married.

In addition, the scattered locations of the schools and the poor economic conditions facing teachers meant undertaking long journeys by public transport and walking for long distances to the school. Such practices were not regarded as appropriate for young women.<sup>63</sup>

The patriarchal attitudes among the White community concerning the suitability of women to teach infants and the need for women teachers for white infant classes led to the decision by the Natal Provincial Council in 1926, not to employ any more White women teachers in Indian schools and to transfer those White women teachers employed in Indian schools to White schools, as soon as vacancies were available.<sup>64</sup> This increased the demand for Indian women educators.

Racial discrimination existed in the appointment of teachers to the prestigious Durban Indian Girls' High

School - the first and largest Indian girls' high school to offer secondary education to girls in Natal. Although this school catered exclusively for the education of Indian girls, Indian women teachers were not allowed to teach there. The school was established in 1930 and the first Indian member of staff was only appointed in the 1950s, although there were qualified Indian teachers during this period. An application in 1945 by Radhi Singh, an ex-pupil and a qualified teacher was turned down by the N.E.D. on the grounds that there were "no facilities for Indian women in the Staff and wash rooms."<sup>65</sup>

Although Indian women teachers were equal in qualification and ability to their White counterparts they were paid far less. Indian male salaries were lower than White female salaries and the salaries of Indian women teachers were even lower than those of the Indian males. Thus Indian women educators suffered as a result of both race and gender oppression with respect to their salaries.

Indian students' access to academic qualifications in tertiary institutions other than the Indian technical and teacher training colleges was severely restricted because of racial discrimination. Prior to 1936, Indian matriculants desiring university education had either to go overseas or to seek admission at the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand or Fort Hare. Other universities did not admit Indians. Even at these universities that accepted

Indians, the lack of hostel facilities and the high cost of fees restricted their accessibility. The lack of hostel accommodation affected Indian females particularly as their parents were reluctant to release them from their protective parental custody.

The University College of Natal did not to admit Indians. In 1936 through the efforts of Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, the Agent-General for India in South Africa, the University College established part-time classes over weekends for Indian students at Sastri College.<sup>66</sup>

From the 1950s, the University College admitted Indian students to full time classes but a policy of segregation was followed with White and Black students being taught in separate classes by the same staff.

In 1946, UNISA (University of South Africa) began providing instruction through correspondence. Indian student enrolment at UNISA rapidly increased. For example, in 1946, 150 students enrolled and this number increased to 601 in 1958.<sup>67</sup>

In 1961, the University College for Indians was established at Salisbury Island in Durban. The student enrollment in the Faculty of Education for 1961 to 1965 is presented in Table 2.6.



**TABLE 2.6: STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE FOR INDIANS: 1961 - 1965.**

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Under-graduate diploma	6	100	114	153	192
Post-graduate diploma	-	-	9	18	34 <sup>68</sup>

It was only after the establishment of the University College in 1961 that Indian teachers could obtain a teaching degree instead of a diploma offered by the teacher training institutions.

The significance of this can be seen from an explanation offered by Behr<sup>69</sup> for the high failure rate of Indian pupils in the secondary school. He believed that this was due largely to the lack of suitably qualified teachers, especially in Science and Mathematics. This shortage of teachers in specific subjects limited the offer of such subjects to pupils. The shortage can be directly attributed to the restricted access of students to university.

The demand for and supply of Indian women educators can also be traced to the development of education which until 1958 was slow but sustained. Thereafter, there was a significant increase in the number of Indian pupils at school which led to an increased demand for teachers. This can be seen from the enrolment figures in Table 2.7:

**TABLE 2.7: TOTAL ENROLMENT OF PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Pupils</u>
1931	16 318
1940	27 781
1950	+/-46 000
1960	106 801
1970	162 976 <sup>70</sup>

The introduction of compulsory education for Indian children up to the age 15, in 1973 led to a general increase in the number of pupils<sup>71</sup>. As girls were more likely to leave school before age 15, this led to an increase in the number of girls at school. It is assumed that the increased number of girls at school led to the increase in demand for women educators as certain subjects taught mainly to girls, required women educators. At the time, women educators only were qualified to teach such subjects as Domestic Science or Housecraft and Needlework.

In view of the attitudes of the authorities on the suitability of women for infant teaching and for subjects such as Needlework (compulsory in the primary school) and Home Economics, it can be argued that the demand for women educators might have been greater than the demand for male educators, which may account for the lower standard in entrance and in qualification for women in teacher training. This relates to the fact that from 1953, the

entrance qualification for male students at the Springfield Training College was the Natal Senior Certificate whereas female students were allowed to enter with a Junior Certificate (Standard 8) until 1963<sup>72</sup>, when the entrance requirements for both men and women were the Senior Certificate.

At present, more women than men become teachers each year. This is illustrated in Table 2.8. This reversal in the historic trend can be attributed to changing attitudes of the Indian parents regarding education for girls, a higher marriage age for girls and the breakdown in the rigid sexual division of labour.

**TABLE 2.8: STUDENT ENROLLMENT AT SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE,  
1970-1983.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of Men</b>	<b>No. of Women</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>% Women</b>
1970	100	103	203	50,74
1971	100	79	179	44,13
1972	94	102	196	52,04
1973	53	41	94	43,61
1974	134	82	216	37,96
1975	86	121	207	58,45
1976	74	170	244	69,67
1977	91	205	296	69,25
1978	94	153	247	61,94
1979	122	193	315	61,26
1980	128	193	321	60,12
1981	223	373	596	62,58
1982	148	261	409	63,81
1983	123	248	371	66,84
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1570</b>	<b>2324</b>	<b>3894</b>	<b>57,51<sup>73</sup></b>

### **2.7. Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to account for the main determinants that adversely affected the education of Indian girls and the entry of Indian women into the labour market, specifically as educators. These factors were identified as gender, ethnicity (race, religion, culture and caste) and class, the combination of which resulted in a subservient, oppressed and exploited position for Indian women.

The Indians who came to South Africa did so with a very strong patriarchal culture and a deeply entrenched ideological understanding concerning the role of women in society. They believed that the main role of a woman in society was as a wife and mother. Related to this were ethnic beliefs in early arranged marriage and endogamy. Thus within the family, Indian women were subordinate to their husbands.

In South Africa, racial prejudice discriminated against Indian men and women and this affected their entry into labour with regard to the job opportunities and the type of work available. The racial discrimination served to maintain a relatively stable class structure with little chance of upward social and economic mobility.

Being an Indian woman exacerbated her plight as a worker involved in wage labour as she faced both racial and gender discrimination. Further due to the class structure in Indian society, the Indian women who were in employment occupied the lower paid, more unskilled jobs, often on a casual or part-time basis.

Given both the cultural heritage and the economic position of the majority of Indians, education of their children was not considered a priority. It took longer for the idea of education for Indian girls to be accepted than it did for boys. One of the reasons for this was the shortage of

female educators.

Thus the gradual entry of Indian girls to schools, Indian women into tertiary institutions and women educators into teaching were due to the combined effect of these various influences. This explains why women educators are still a minority group only among the Indians, as indicated in Table 3.1 in the next chapter.

## ENDNOTES

1. cited in APPLE, M.W. 1986. Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education. p.11.
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3. A notable exception is BEALL, J.D. 1982. Class, Race and Gender: The Political Economy of Women in Colonial Natal.
4. FREUND, B. 1991. Indian women and the changing character of the working class Indian household in Natal, 1860-1990: Unpacking the Indian family. p.8.
5. BEALL, J. Women under Indentured Labour in Colonial Natal 1860-1911, in WALKER, C. (ed.). 1990. Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945. p.149.
6. Ibid.
7. FREUND, B., op. cit., p.1.
8. Caplan, quoted in BEALL, J., Women under Indentured Labour in Colonial Natal 1860-1911, in WALKER, C.(ed.) op. cit., p.149.
9. Such attitudes are still common among many Indian families in South Africa today.
10. The laws of Manu are the basis of Hindu law. They are profoundly ideological constructions aimed at both representing and at the same time denying representation to Indian women.
11. Tharper, R. cited in CHETTY, D. 1991. "Sammy" and "Mary" go to gaol: Indian women and South African politics in the 1940s. p.1.
12. FREUND, B., op. cit., p.2.
13. RAMBIRITCH, B. A Study of the Philosophy and Practice in the Education of the South African Hindu. Ph.D. thesis. University of Natal. 1959.
14. Thomas, P. cited in BEALL, J., op. cit., p. 149-150.
15. What ever the grounds, divorce was not a popular practice.

16. Thomas, P., cited in BEALL, J., op. cit., p.152.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid
19. FREUND, B., op.cit., p.7.
20. BEALL, J. op.cit., p.147.
21. BHANA, S. & B. PATCHAI., op. cit., p.2-3.
22. BHANA, S. & B. PACHAI, op.cit., and BEALL, J., op. cit.
23. Caste refers to one of the hereditary social classes into which Hindus are divided in India.
24. Law No. 14 of 1859 provided the immigrants with an option either to commute their passage back to India on completion of their period of indenture, into a grant of Crown land equivalent in value to the cost of the journey. Only 53 Indians ever received these grants and in 1891, when this law was repealed, there were 13 000 pending applications.
25. BROOKES, E. H. & C. de B. WEBB. 1965. A History of Natal. p.85.
26. Indian girls were placed in an ambiguous position which may have resulted in personal conflict. On the one hand, they were groomed for marriage while on the other, their interaction with boys was strictly controlled. Endogamy and the arrangement of marriage for economic security are the reasons explaining the ambiguity.
27. Some of the labourers were part of an ostracised sector in India, such as widows and "untouchables"(members of the lowest caste). This was only one of the reasons why they chose to remain in South Africa, regarding their lives here as less severe than would be if they returned to India.
28. cited in BEALL, J. D., op. cit., p.167.
29. FREUND, B., op. cit., p. 12.
30. Ibid.
31. FREUND, B., op. cit., p.5.
32. Ibid.
33. See DEX, S. 1988. Women's Attitudes towards Work for further information on international trends of women in work.



34. The new family structure and the modified gender roles within it, resulted in a smaller family size, with fewer children per family.

35. FREUND, B., op. cit., p.18

36. For more detailed information on these aspects, see:

i. BEALL, J.D.op. cit., Chapter 5.

ii. BHANA, S. & B. PACHAI, op. cit.

37. The first school for Indian children was established in 1869 in Durban by a Christian missionary, Reverend Ralph Stott. Thirty four boys enrolled at this school.

38. RAMBIRITCH, B. 1959.op. cit., p.205.

39. MESTRIE, U. From Rose Day shows to social welfare: white and Indian women in joint co-operation in the 1930s. p.11.

40. quoted in Ibid.

41. Report of the Coolie Commission, August, 1872 ; cited in BEALL, J.D., op. cit., p.137.

42. Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission 1885-7, cited in Ibid.

43. BEHR, A. L. 1987. New Perspectives in South African Education. p.233.

44. LAZARUS, A. D.(ed.) 1950. N.I.T.S. - Silver Jubilee 1925 - 1950. p.11.

45. Ibid. p.15.

46. Until this time, these two groups were still allowed to attend White schools.

47. LAZARUS, A.D. op. cit., p.11.

48. Ibid.

49. BEHR, A.L.,op. cit., p.234.

50. RAMBIRITCH, B., op. cit., p.229.

51. The reason for the prominence given to information pertaining to Durban Indian Girls' High School, which may appear to the reader to be superficially insignificant, is that this was the first secondary school for girls and remains currently the only separate girls' secondary school in Durban. Many Indian parents continue to send their daughters to the school, for the same reasons that prompted its establishment in 1930. Information regarding this school

is used as a gauge of Indian parents attitudes towards education of their daughters.

52. Durban Girls' Secondary School 60th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure 1930 - 1990. p. 20.

53. NAIDOO, K. P., Post Primary Education for Indians in Natal, 1927-1952. p.46.

54. Ibid. p.32.

55. LAZARUS, A. L., op. cit., p.19.

56. The reasons for this small proportion of women in teacher training will be discussed under the section dealing with the factors affecting the supply of women teachers.

57. KHAN, S. (ed.) 1980. Sastri College 1930 -1980. p.7.

58. Report on the Education Commission, No. 60, 1937 cited in NAIDOO, K. P., op. cit., p.88.

59. quoted in NAIDOO, K. P., Ibid. p. 87.

60. Ibid. p. 89.

61. Ibid.

62. Analysis of responses in the sample will be used to show the extent to which this expectation currently exists.

63. Interview with Mrs Sybil Ambrose (nee Paul), one of the first two Indian women to be accepted for the T3B teacher training course in 1935.

64. NAIDOO, K.P., op. cit., p. 103.

65. D.I.G.H.S. 60th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure, op. cit., p.28.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid. p.103.

68. Ibid. p. 105.

69. BEHR, A.L. Historical Perspectives to Indian Education. Fiat Lux. Vol. 5, No. 9, November 1970. p.10.

70. NAIR, G.K., op. cit., p.70.

NITS, op. cit., p.4.

BEHR, A. L. (1978), op. cit., p.237.

71. Pupils were graded, according to their examination results into an ordinary or advanced stream in secondary school.

72. NAGURAN, C. A., op. cit., p.91.

73. Ibid. p.301.

CHAPTER 3  
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

**3.1. Need for Research**

The need for research is highlighted in this statement by Morrell (1991):

If the position of women in a post-Apartheid South Africa is to be any better than it presently is, then it is important that the debate about gender and education be raised amongst policy makers, as well as among those doing the education and those involved in receiving the education, either as parents or as students.<sup>1</sup>

Central to such a debate is a need for information and statistics bearing on the relation of gender and education in South Africa - this data is lacking more especially with regard to black (African, Indian and Coloured) women who constitute the majority of this nation's population. The reason for this may in part be explained by the direction shown by teacher organisations, including SADTU, and progressive political organisations, such as the ANC, PAC and SACP which prioritise race and class over gender.

This lack of research has severe implications for the cause of women in South Africa:

i. it makes it difficult to conduct a thorough examination

of the employment of women in South Africa;

ii. women themselves are unable to formulate a united statement on their demands and needs to policy makers that carries the weight of their unified experiences.

Although this initial study is preliminary in nature, it is hoped that it will form the basis for further in-depth research that will also include the verbalised but less quantifiable aspects of gender discrimination that is experienced by women educators in South Africa.

### **3.2. Issues to be researched**

For the purpose of this study, the issues to be investigated were identified on the basis of the debates at the SADTU Women's Conference, and an examination of TASA Women's Committee minutes. These issues that will be researched are:

3.2.1. the distribution of male and female educators in the different post levels in relation to the male: female ratio in the sample.

3.2.2. the existence of any significant difference between the male and female subjects with regard to:

3.2.2.1. marital status and dependants

3.2.2.2. academic and professional qualifications

3.2.2.3. utilisation of a housing subsidy

3.2.2.4. receipt of merit awards

3.2.2.5. perceptions about women's attitudes,

abilities and related factors considered to affect the

promotional potential of women

3.2.2.6. age group of promotion post holders

3.2.2.7. attainability of promotion

3.2.2.8. pension benefits

For this study, certain primary sources of information provided the guidelines for the item content of the questionnaire, which was the research instrument chosen. The following primary sources of information were used:

- i. minutes of TASA Women's Committee meetings
- ii. minutes of SADTU Women's Conference, pre-conference and planning committee meetings
- iii. circulars of the Department of Education : House of Delegates
- iv. Principal's Handbook

Although the information from these sources formed an integral part of and was responsible for the direction that the research took, the relevant information will be discussed in the next chapter. This chapter will focus on a description of the sample population, the method of sampling, and a discussion of the questionnaire: reasons for its choice, its construction and administration and the response rate.

### **3.3. Distribution of women educators in South Africa**

In the public (government) schools in South Africa today, full-time women educators constitute 62,5% and full-time

men educators constitute 37,5% of the total educator population. The distribution according to race and gender for 1990 is presented in the Table 3.1:

**TABLE 3.1. : TOTAL NUMBER OF FULL-TIME TEACHERS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA, ACCORDING TO RACE and GENDER FOR 1990.**

Race Group	No. of	No. of	% of	% of	TOTAL
	Females	Males	Females	Males	
Africans	81 596	50 868	61,6	38,4	132 464
Indians	5 644	6 084	48,12	51,88	11 728
Coloureds	20 908	13 645	60,51	39,49	34 553
Whites	38 147	18 443	67,41	32,59	56 590
TOTAL	146 295	89 040	62,17	37,84	235 335 <sup>2</sup>

From this it can be seen that the number of female educators is greater than the number of male educators for all race groups, except among Indian educators where men constitute 51,88% and women constitute 48,12% of all full-time Indian educators. Based on both international and national trends of increasing numbers of women becoming teachers and from the rapid increase in the number of Indian women educators in the past decade, it can be expected that Indian female educators will, in the near future, outnumber Indian male educators.

Although women educators form the majority of the teaching population in South Africa, problems that they, as a group face, receive little attention from the government,

educational authorities and teacher associations. All of these institutions and organisations are almost exclusively male controlled. This is one of the reasons for the patriarchal collusion in the perpetuation of women's oppression, often at an unconscious level, which effectively serves to marginalise women and to ensure their subordinate location within the teaching profession and consequently, within society in general.

Indian women educators have therefore found it necessary to form a separate women's committee within TASA, which is the only professional body representing the majority of Indian educators employed by the H.O.D.. Indian women educators hoped that the Women's Committee would be able to address gendered issues affecting women. It was such issues that were raised at the SADTU Women's Conference in 1991, for as was explained earlier, TASA is in the process of being absorbed into SADTU and members of the TASA Women's Committee were delegates at the conference.

#### **3.4. Description of the Population**

The population is comprised of female and male educators in both primary and secondary state schools in the Durban area under the control of the House of Delegates : Department of Education and Culture.

The choice of this population limits the results of the study to Indian teachers. This is both because the



seventeen education departments in South Africa have different conditions of service and because of the cultural, racial and socio-economic differences between educators in the different education departments.<sup>3</sup>

The population was further limited to Indian educators teaching in schools within the Durban area since location should have no bearing on this study. Furthermore, the majority of schools in South Africa, under the control of the H.O.D. are found in the Durban area. The subjects were randomly selected from 184 (56,4%) state schools out of a possible 326 schools throughout South Africa which are under the control of the H.O.D.

Private and the few state-aided schools were excluded because it was believed that possible religious and/or class bias that may exist in these schools<sup>4</sup>, could contaminate the findings. Therefore only educators teaching in government schools formed the population.

### **3.5. Sampling Procedure**

The sample was obtained by means of random sampling in the following manner. A list of all primary and secondary schools in the Durban area was obtained from an official alphabetical list of all schools in Natal, under the control of the H.O.D. There were a total of 125 primary and 59 secondary schools around the Durban area. Each school was assigned a number, from 1 to 125 for the primary

schools and from 1 to 59 for the secondary schools. Ten numbers were drawn to determine the sample of primary school institutions and another ten were drawn to select the sample of secondary school educators. All schools randomly selected in the sample were co-educational. The majority of schools in the sample fell in the Chatsworth and Phoenix areas. This is not surprising since these areas have the highest population density of Indians in Durban.

This sample, although small in number, is considered to be representative of the total population of Indian educators employed by the H.O.D. in the schools under its control. The only criterion used in appointing educators to schools is a school's need for an educator of a particular subject. Wherever possible, the appointment is to the town closest to the place of residence of the educator. In recent years, newly qualified teachers have been appointed to provinces outside the one they reside in. This has arisen because schools in the major centres have full staff complements and the only jobs available are in outlying areas.

A numerical description of the educator distribution according to gender will be included in the discussion of the response rate.

### **3.6. Choice of the Research Instrument**

Due to the fact that the statistics required for this study were not available from the H.O.D.<sup>5</sup>, a questionnaire was

selected as the most efficient means available of obtaining the necessary information.

The main reasons for this choice is that it would be less costly than interviews in terms of time, anonymity of the respondents could be maintained, it allowed for the selection of a larger sample size than would have been possible if any other instrument had been selected and it allowed for the collation of data in a manner that would facilitate analysis.

### **3.7. Administration of the Questionnaire**

#### **3.7.1. Construction of the Questionnaire**

An important concern in the construction of the questionnaire was to minimise the time and effort required of respondents in the hope of an increased response rate.

There were a total of 16 questions in the questionnaire and for all questions, respondents were required to tick the column of the appropriate option. A space for comments was provided at the end of the questionnaire, but completion of this was optional.

The letter addressed to the respondents (a copy is attached in appendix 1.2) that accompanied each questionnaire was deliberately vague in its outline of the purpose of the study in an attempt to reduce possible bias in the responses.

With the exception of question 10 which concerned the completed qualifications of the respondents, all other questions offered mutually exclusive options. This was considered necessary if educators were to be grouped for comparison in the analysis of the results. Such closed categories were employed in all questions requiring factual information. A 5-point Likert scale was used to record attitudinal responses required in question 16.

A few items were included as validity checks of responses for those variables that are central to the analysis, such as qualifications and teaching experience.

An item-by-item description of the questionnaire has been excluded from this chapter because the items are considered to be self explanatory. A copy of the questionnaire has been included in Appendix 1.3.

Prior to distribution of the questionnaire, it was pre-tested on a small group of educators from a school that did not form part of the sample. This exercise revealed the need for modifications relating to the exhaustiveness of the options for two of the items. The reliability and validity of the questionnaire as a research instrument was established through the pilot study.

### **3.7.2. Distribution and Collection of the Questionnaire**

The modified questionnaire was personally distributed in

order to make personal contact with the school principal in the hope that this would improve the response rate.

Principals were telephoned and appointments made for the distribution of the questionnaires to all educators in the school. At this time, each principal was consulted with regard to the total number of male and female educators on the staff.

Each principal's co-operation was requested in encouraging the entire staff to complete the questionnaires. It was pointed out that the completion of the questionnaire required only the ticking of columns and no writing and that the pre-test had revealed that its completion took less than two minutes. An arrangement for the collection of the completed questionnaires three days after delivery was agreed upon.

Two days later the schools were telephonically contacted as a reminder and to confirm the appointment for collection of the questionnaires. Many principals promised to make a further attempt to urge educators to submit their completed questionnaires. As respondents were not requested to write their names on the questionnaires, identification of those educators who had not submitted their returns was difficult. In many cases, the educator or school secretary responsible for the collection of the completed questionnaires expressed the need for a further one to four

days for collection as many educators were absent, on sick, study or examination leave. This resulted in the arranging of an alternate time for collection of the questionnaires.

### **3.7.3. Response Rate**

696 questionnaires were distributed among the educators of the ten primary and ten secondary schools in the sample and a total of 525 completed questionnaires was collected from both the primary and secondary schools. This represents a response rate of 75,4%

Seven completed questionnaires were excluded from the sample because they had been completed by locum tenens who are not necessarily qualified educators and who are employed on a short term basis, to take the place of a permanent educator who might be on leave. A further four questionnaires were disregarded because the respondents had failed to complete question 2, which required indicating the gender of the respondent.

Details of the number of questionnaires issued to schools and the number of completed returns received are summarised in Table 3.2. To maintain the anonymity guaranteed to respondents and schools, the schools are assigned letters of the alphabet from A to T for purposes of reference. Primary schools are represented by the letters A to J and the secondary schools are represented by the letters K to T.

**TABLE 3.2. :SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM EDUCATORS IN THE SAMPLE**

SCHOOL	<u>Educator Roll per School</u>			<u>Educator Response per School</u>		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
A	12	15	27	6	9	15
B	9	11	20	8	11	19
C	11	19	30	4	7	11
D	7	18	25	6	14	20
E	11	15	26	10	15	25
F	5	13	18	5	11	16
G	8	15	23	4	12	16
H	5	22	27	4	11	15
I	5	15	20	4	13	17
J	9	14	23	7	14	21
<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>239</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>117</u>	<u>175</u>
K	27	27	54	23	19	42
L	26	16	42	22	14	36
M	21	15	36	13	13	26
N	27	18	45	24	16	40
O	15	8	23	13	3	16
P	19	19	38	18	17	35
Q	29	29	58	18	19	37
R	26	23	49	24	20	44
S	32	28	60	27	17	44
T	26	26	52	15	15	30
<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>248</u>	<u>209</u>	<u>457</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>350</u>
<b><u>TOTAL</u></b>	<b><u>330</u></b>	<b><u>366</u></b>	<b><u>696</u></b>	<b><u>255</u></b>	<b><u>270</u></b>	<b><u>525</u></b>

From Table 3.2 the following relevant information for the sample has been obtained:

- i. a male response rate = 77,2%
- ii. a female response rate = 73,7%
- iii. an overall response rate = 75,5%
- iv. male:female ratio of the:
  - sample of primary school educators = 1 : 1,9
  - respondents of primary school educators = 1 : 2
  - sample of secondary school educators = 1,2 : 1
  - respondents of the secondary school = 1.3 : 1
  - total sample = 1 : 1,1
  - total respondents = 1 : 1,1

The data obtained from the questionnaire as well as an analysis of the data will be presented in the following chapter.



#### ENDNOTES

1. MORRELL, R. 1991. Gender and South African education: is there space on the agenda? p.1.

2. Department of National Education. 1990. Preliminary Education Statistics.

3. Although the H.O.D. has in 1991 employed a few educators from other race groups, its employment policy has been to primarily employ Indian educators. In the sample, all educators were Indians.

4. An example of such a practice is a private school in Durban, catering for Muslim children. The majority of teachers employed at the school are Muslim.

5. In response to a letter requesting statistics pertaining to male and female educators, it was explained by the official in charge of statistics in the H.O.D. that the information required was not available because no breakdown according to gender had been done. A request by the researcher to have access to existing statistics relating to educators was denied as such records were considered by the H.O.D. to be confidential.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The specific overt issues identified, that women educators find discriminatory and oppressive and which they perceive as directly impeding their upward occupational and social mobility, do not represent the total list of objectionable discriminatory practices and attitudes subordinating them. The abrogation of these specific discriminatory practices, will in no way end the gender discrimination that women educators experience. They are merely those issues that the female educators believe can be redressed in the short term to provide some amelioration of their experiences of gender oppression. Presented below is a list of the selected issues:

- i. maternity leave
- ii. housing subsidy
- iii. pension scheme
- iv. medical aid
- v. salaries
- vi. merit awards
- vii. promotion

This chapter explains the official regulations pertaining to each of the above issues and presents pertinent findings derived from the research study. Its purpose will be to establish whether the practices perceived by women educators as discriminatory, do actually impede their progress.

Wherever possible, this will be done by statistically testing the sample for significant differences between men and women on identified issues. Cross-tabulations will be used to analyse differences for males and females in the sample and a chi-square statistical test with a probability of 0.05% will be used to determine the significance of each difference.

Subtle forms of discrimination within the work experience at school that women educators have identified as subordinating, such as women being excluded from organisational tasks within the school but being responsible for catering tasks, will not be included in this study. Gender issues that directly affect women's occupational experience, such as lack of child care facilities, the double shift and gender role stereotyping of women educators will be integrated into the feminist analysis of women educators' position in education, in the next chapter.

#### **4.2. Maternity Leave**

The right to paid maternity leave has been one of the major struggles of women educators over the past decades. Until 27 June 1991, all maternity leave was unpaid and an educator was obliged to take leave for not less than 3 calendar months before the expected date of birth and for 6 weeks after the birth of the baby. As a result, many women were compelled to convert their long leave<sup>1</sup> into paid accouchement leave. By utilising leave for maternity purposes, such women were

disadvantaged in two important ways:

- i. they were denied the opportunity of vacation leave which male educators always had the option of taking.
- ii. this excluded their access to study leave thereby limiting their opportunity of attaining higher academic and professional qualification necessary for promotion. In view of the double shift, that most married women educators experience, studying on a part-time basis is far more exacting for them than it is for most male educators.

The granting of 168 days paid maternity leave, equally divided between two confinements, granted on 27 June 1991, effective from 1st April 1991<sup>2</sup>, although an advance, has not fully met the demands of women educators, because of the conditions attached to the granting of such leave.<sup>3</sup> The conditions include:

- i. paid leave limited to only two pregnancies/adoptions
- ii. only married female educators being entitled to such paid leave.

In exceptional circumstances where an educator is not married according to the Marriage Act, but according to religious custom, the head of the education department may approve special leave for accouchement purposes to an **unmarried** female educator.<sup>4</sup>

A subsequent circular<sup>5</sup> requires that an educator married according to religious custom and not in terms of a Marriage

Act, submit documentary proof<sup>6</sup> to the effect, together with her application for leave.

iii. To qualify for paid maternity leave, the educator must have rendered 12 months uninterrupted service prior to commencement of such leave.

iv. Educators are not entitled to paid maternity leave in the case of a miscarriage, the birth of a stillborn child or in the termination of a pregnancy, even if it is for medical reasons. For such cases, paid sick leave may be applied for.

Objections raised by individual women educators and the TASA Women's Committee include the following:

- maternity leave is posited as a privilege and not as a right,
- paid leave is not for the entire duration of the confinement, forcing educators to take the remainder of the leave required, as unpaid leave or as paid leave by converting accrued long leave, thus perpetuating the gender inequalities, as explained in paragraph 1 of this section,
- it is a patriarchal assumption that women require 60 days prior to the expected date of birth and 30 days thereafter for maternity leave. This precludes a woman's right to choose the division of such leave on the grounds of personal experience. The individual will know the state of her health or the amount of time she wishes to spend with her baby. Therefore, an adequate period of paid maternity leave needs to be granted, without prescription on how the leave should be divided,

- the revision, to paid leave for a maximum of two confinements is a form of "birth control" which serves to diminish woman's choice in the number of children she wishes to have,
- entitling only married women to paid maternity leave serves to entrench the heterosexual monogamous, nuclear family as the norm. Implicit in this assumption is that childbirth to unmarried or divorced women constitutes deviant or immoral behaviour,
- it is therefore used economically to motivate single mothers into accepting the institution of marriage and thereby conforming to socially acceptable standards of sexuality<sup>7</sup>,
- it allows no provision for a woman having suffered a stillbirth, a miscarriage or the termination of a pregnancy, if she has already utilised her sick leave<sup>8</sup>.
- it treats as invalid the religious marriage which, to many Indians, is more significant than a legally sanctioned one.

In making provision for maternity leave and not for paternity leave, it is presumed that women bear the sole responsibility for early child-care, thus perpetuating the sexual division of labour. The granting of leave to either parent when the child is sick or has to be inoculated must be provided for. Women should not be punished for the role that they play in the continuation of the human species. There needs to be some sharing of this responsibility by employers and by fathers.

The double standard in operation in the granting of maternity leave is evident from the discrepancies in conditions between those for educators and those for school clerical workers. The latter school personnel are governed by the Public Servants regulations which allow for, inter alia:

- i. 84 days paid leave limited to 3<sup>9</sup> confinements
- ii. the granting of such leave regardless of marital status.<sup>10</sup>

The reasons for such discrepancies lie beyond the scope of this thesis. In view of the direct advantages that women's reproductive labour holds for the state<sup>11</sup>, the state should legislate a national standard for maternity leave and benefits. Either directly, or through employers, the state should ensure that a single, equal and just system regarding maternity and work be employed for all women<sup>12</sup>.

According to Pat Horn<sup>13</sup>, of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union:

When employers employ workers, they are employing people. They have to pay these people the wages and benefits which allow a decent lifestyle, including the right to have children when they choose. When those people are women, one of the needs that has to be catered for is their childbearing function. Anything short of this is gross exploitation (In fact it amounts to punishment of women for having children).

#### **4.3. Housing Subsidy**

An educator qualifies for a subsidy towards a housing loan only if the educator is a married male person OR a single, male or female person with dependants OR a married female person who is the sole breadwinner of her family.<sup>14</sup>

The above provision discriminates against women<sup>15</sup>. A large number of married educators whose spouses do not receive a housing subsidy are more disadvantaged than their male colleagues. This economic disadvantage has affected many female educators in the following ways:

- it has compelled an increasing number of married female educators to divorce their spouses in order to qualify for a housing subsidy, <sup>16</sup> (See Tables 4.2 and 4.3)
- it limits the choice of single women with dependants who are in receipt of a housing subsidy, by making it unfeasible for them to marry, as such a choice would result in the forfeiture of the housing subsidy, in cases where the husband is not offered a subsidy by his employer,
- it perpetuates gender inequality by not providing equal benefits for equal work done, based on the assumption that the husband is the breadwinner.

The first question in the questionnaire relates to the housing subsidy and is:

**12.1. Do you receive a housing subsidy?** The response to this question is indicated in Table 4.1.



**TABLE 4.1 : RESPONDENTS IN RECEIPT OF A HOUSING SUBSIDY**

	Yes	No	Row Total
MALES	193	60	253
Row %	76,3	23,7	49,9%
Column %	83,5	21,7	
Total %	38,1	11,8	
FEMALES	38	216	254
Row %	15,0	85,0	50,1%
Column %	16,5	78,3	
Total %	7,5	42,6	
Column Total	231	276	507
	45,6%	54,4%	100%

From the table it can be seen that 76,3% of all male subjects in the sample are in receipt of a housing subsidy, whereas 85% of all female subjects in the sample are not eligible for a housing subsidy which accounts for the significant difference found. For the purposes of this study, a significance level of 0,01 was used.

A further analysis in terms of marital status was conducted for both male and female subjects in terms of those who were receiving a subsidy and those who were not, and the difference was found to be significant. These results are presented in the tables 4.2 and 4.3:

**TABLE 4.2: MARITAL STATUS OF THOSE IN RECEIPT OF A HOUSING SUBSIDY**

	Married	Divorced	Unmarried	Row Total
MALE	176	2	15	193
Row %	91,2	1,0	7,8	83,5%
Column %	97,8	10,0	48,4	
Total %	76,2	,9	6,5	
FEMALES	4	18	16	38
Row %	10,5	47,4	42,1	16,5
Column %	2,2	90,0	51,6	
Total %	1,7	7,8	6,9	
Column Total	180	20	31	231
	77,9	8,7	13,4	100

**TABLE 4.3: MARITAL STATUS OF THOSE NOT IN RECEIPT OF A HOUSING SUBSIDY**

	Married	Divorced	Unmarried	Row Total
MALE	42		18	60
Row %	70,0		30,0	21,7
Column %	20,3		28,6	
Total %	15,2		6,5	
FEMALE	165	6	45	216
Row %	76,4	2,8	20,8	78,3
Column %	79,7	100,0	71,4	
Total %	59,8	2,2	16,3	
Column Total	207	6	63	276
	75	2,2	22,8	100

Since women educators who are married are not entitled to a housing subsidy, the four married women indicated in Table 4.2. may be married according to religious rites. Also since no category was provided for widows, it is possible that widows in receipt of a housing subsidy may have included themselves in the married category. It is significant however that 94,4% of divorced educators in the above tables are women and that men constitute only 5,6% of this group. (Table 4.4)

**TABLE 4.4: MARITAL STATUS OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECTS IN SAMPLE**

**TABLE 4.4: MARITAL STATUS OF MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECTS IN SAMPLE**

	Married	Divorced	Unmarried	Row Total
MALE	222	2	33	257
Row %	86,4	0,8	12,8	49,0
Column %	55,2	7,7	34,4	
Total %	42,4	0,4	6,3	
FEMALE	180	24	63	267
Row %	67,4	9,0	23,6	51,0
Column %	44,8	92,3	65,6	
Total %	34,4	4,6	12,0	
Column	402	26	96	524
Total	76,7	5,0	18,3	100,0

The significant difference in the marital status between males and females in the sample (presented in table 4.4.) appears to support the claim that there are women educators who are obtaining a divorce, remaining unmarried or not registering their marriages in order to qualify for a housing subsidy. However, further research is required to test this claim.

Responses to question **12.2. Is your spouse (if applicable) in receipt of or entitled to a housing subsidy** show that 86 out of 254 female respondents, that is 33,8% of all women educators in the sample have no access either directly or through their spouses to a housing subsidy. These women and their families are economically disadvantaged in comparison to those educators receiving a housing subsidy. Therefore calls by women for "equal pay for equal work" do not go far enough in addressing gender inequalities in the economic sphere. The interaction of all economic aspects, such as salary, housing subsidy and pension benefits relating to the educator have to be considered in an economic analysis of the position of women educators.

#### **4.4. Pension Scheme Benefits**

The Government Service Pension Fund admits to the fund both male and female teachers who are in permanent employment. For both sexes, contributions commence from the date of appointment in a permanent capacity and are payable on both pensionable salary and pensionable allowance, at the following rates:-

Males : 8%

Females : 6%

The discrepancy in contributions is based on the fact that women earn lower salaries than men. ( 70,9% of women in the sample earned wages lower than those earned by men on the

same category classification). The scheme also makes provision for payment of a widow's pension but not for a widower's pension.<sup>17</sup> When a female educator dies, her dependants do not directly receive her pension benefits as is the case when a male educator dies. Instead the pension is paid into the woman's estate. There is a delay in winding up an estate and administrative costs are incurred which further reduces the already lower pension value.

The discrepancies in the percentage of salary paid as well as the provision of a widow's fund and not of a widower's fund is an indication of the State's failure to recognise the changing role and status of women.

Discrimination in pensions holds serious implications for women because on average they live longer than men but are less likely to have adequate pensions. Those women who resign from teaching because of child-bearing or child-rearing receive only their own contributions and interest at a low rate but not the employer's contribution.

#### **4.5. Medical-Aid Scheme**

Any member of the teaching or non-teaching staff employed by the House of Delegates, irrespective of whether such a person is appointed in a permanent or temporary capacity is eligible for membership to the Sanitas Medical-Aid Scheme. A married female is entitled to membership provided that her husband is not a member or is not entitled to membership of any other

medical scheme<sup>18</sup>.

The refusal of membership to married women whose husbands are entitled to membership of another medical aid scheme promotes the dependency of the wife on the husband by requiring that all her medical and health care accounts have to go via her husband, for submission to his medical aid. This places the husband in a more powerful position in relation to that of his wife.

Feminists have for a long time been concerned with women's right to complete control over their own bodies and in decisions relating to reproduction. For as long as women are dependant on their husbands for access to health and medical facilities, they will not be able to achieve total control over their bodies. Such control is important for women as one of the main ways used by men to subordinate women is by controlling their sexuality.<sup>19</sup> Gender equality cannot be achieved in the macro-relations of the wider society if, within the most common unit of society, that is, the family, individual gender autonomy is not provided for.

Medical-aid schemes should allow people the option of membership to the scheme and to allow members to be able to choose the dependants they wish to have covered by their membership. This would mean that there may be more than one person in a family who are members of a medical-aid scheme, but such an option allows for an equal worker benefit that is

independent of any gender bias.

Allowing members to choose whom they wish to have covered by their membership, permits dependants other than spouses or "legitimate" children to benefit. A husband, wife or lover of a member should be allowed to be included in the cover. This would help to negate the myth that the heterosexual marriage is the only way that people choose to commit themselves to a relationship.

#### **4.6. Salaries**

Although the terms of the employment contract for both males and females are the same in terms of working hours, work description and codes of conduct, women educators do not receive equal pay for the equal work that they are expected to do.

Educators and teacher organisations have constantly demanded parity in salaries for both male and female educators on the same qualification grade, but although this demand has been met for the higher qualification grades "E", "F" and "G", Indian women on grade "D" and lower are still one salary notch<sup>20</sup> below their male counterparts.<sup>21</sup> The government did announce its intention in October 1990, to phase out all salary disparity between men and women over the following two years.<sup>22</sup>

Salary grades are determined exclusively by the category

classification of the educator. This category classification is dependent on the academic and professional qualifications of the educator and is not related to experience or any other factor. The category classification of the male and female educators in the sample are indicated in Table 4.5.

**TABLE 4.5: CATEGORY CLASSIFICATION OF MALE AND FEMALE EDUCATORS IN SAMPLE**

	C	D	E	F	G	Row
	M + 3	M + 4	M + 5	M + 6	M + 7	Total
MALE	63	68	50	71	3	255
Row%	24,7	26,7	19,6	27,9	1,2	49,4
Col%	39,6	43,3	47,6	77,2	100,0	
Tot%	12,2	13,2	9,7	13,8	0,6	
FEMALE	96	89	55	21		261
Row%	36,8	34,1	21,1	8,0		50,6
Col%	60,4	56,7	52,4	22,8		
Tot%	18,6	17,2	10,7	4,1		
Col.	159	157	105	92	3	516
Total	30,8	30,4	20,3	17,8	0,6	100,0

From the above table it can be seen that 70,9% of all women educators in the sample receive salaries lower than those received by male educators on the same classification categories.

In developed countries in the rest of the Western world it has been legislated that there should be no discrimination in



salaries of men and women for the same work. A HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council) investigation reports that in the private sector, government departments and statutory institutions in South Africa at present, there is no differentiation between salaries of men and women. The teaching sector in South Africa is the only labour sector which discriminates against women.<sup>23</sup>

#### **4.7. Merit Awards**

The awarding of merit awards has been a controversial issue since its introduction in 1979. These awards were implemented with the objective of recognising and rewarding educators who were outstanding in terms of their devotion to duty in their occupation as educators, by granting them an additional salary increment. A maximum of three such merit notches could be awarded to an educator but no more than one per year.

Both TASA and many individual educators objected strongly to this system as it was evident that no objective criteria was used to identify awardees. The application of a set of objective criteria, is not possible since the merit of an educator is based on the educator's total performance and commitment to the various tasks demanded by the occupation, and is supposed to be independent of academic and professional qualifications.

An educator's total occupational experience relates to both curricular and extra-curricular duties. Included as

curricular duties would be qualitative aspects such as planning, presentation and content of lessons, supervision of pupils' work and maintenance of pupils' progress records. Aspects relating to extra-curricular duties would include coaching and organisation of cultural and sporting activities that fall outside contract teaching time. The weighting attached to the activities is dependent on the personal perspective of the evaluator.

In 1991, as a result of the objections to the merit awards the procedure was modified by requiring those educators who thought themselves worthy of such an award to apply. TASA called on all educators not to apply in protest against what was believed still to be an unfair and unjust system due to the lack of objectivity in the identification of educators for such awards. Many educators and TASA demanded instead, that a service award replace the merit award. This would entitle all educators who had taught for a specific number of years to receive an increment to their salaries, in recognition of the service they had rendered.

A personal observation is that the merit award system appears to have a demotivating influence on those non-recipients, both male and especially female<sup>24</sup> who perceive themselves as superior to the recipients in terms of the quantity and quality of the work that they do.

The available statistics relating to such awards reveal that

women educators receive significantly fewer awards than male educators. For example, as at 19 June 1990, there were 6199 (49,46%) female educators and 6334 (50,54%) male educators under the control of the H.O.D. The latest merit awards at that stage would have been made in 1989 and in that year 107 (42,13%) female educators and 147 (57,87%) male educators received merit awards.<sup>25</sup>

As at 19 June 1990, the overall percentage of female merit award recipients since the introduction of the merit award system in 1979, was only approximately 25% of the total merit award recipients.<sup>26</sup>

Women ought to have an equal probability as their male counterparts of obtaining the award, unless, they, as a group, are not equal to the male educators in terms of the quality of their work and effort they put into it. This raises the question of women's commitment and attitude to their work as educators, since academic qualification is not a criterion in the evaluation for such an award.

Female educators perceive merit awards as one of the issues on which they are discriminated against on account of their gender. Implicit in this view is that women educators see themselves as being equal in merit to male educators and therefore equally worthy of receiving a merit award.

Since identification of awardees is based firstly on evaluations by the predominantly male principals and secondly

on a moderation of such evaluation by the predominantly male superintendents of education, a comparison will be made between attitudes of male and female educators concerning the ability of female educators.

This will be accomplished by examining male and female responses to statements in question 16 of the questionnaire. Although the attitudes relate specifically to the promotion potential of female educators, any significant difference between male and female attitudes concerning attributes such as commitment, discipline and physical suitability to teaching may account for why male evaluators identify fewer women than men for merit awards.

A record of the responses to the statements are included in appendix 2.1 - 2.15 and will be discussed in section 4.8.

#### **4.8. Promotions**

Promotion is a only instrument used to determine access to the higher levels of the hierarchy in education. It is a method used to identify those educators with superior management, organisational, experiential and qualificational skills who would enter the decision making and managerial levels in education. The higher salary and greater social status that promotion posts offer, creates a demand for its attainment, as it is the main method used by educators to achieve upward occupational and social mobility. An example of this attractiveness is the application by over 4000

educators for the 445 school promotion posts advertised by the H.O.D. in 1991.<sup>27</sup>

Claims that Indian women educators are unfairly discriminated against with regard to promotions have frequently been made by individual women educators and TASA. These claims are not restricted to Indian women educators but are made by women educators in all education departments, both nationally and internationally.<sup>28</sup> Such claims are based on the disparity that exists between the number of women in the teaching profession and their low representation in the higher levels of the educational hierarchy. They are also based on the disparity between the number of male and female educators receiving promotion each year, as is seen from the 1991 promotion appointments by the H.O.D. in Table 4.6.

Male educators and educational administrators offer various explanations for this disparity, the most common being that men are better qualified and have more years of teaching experience than women and are therefore more frequently promoted.

In 1989 there were 49,46% female educators and 50,54% male educators. However, only 29 (16,29%) female educators as compared to 149 (83,71%) male educators obtained promotion in that year. As at 19 June 1990, there were 471 (19,56%) female promotion post holders and 1937 (80,44%) male promotion post holders.<sup>29</sup>

This study examined this issue by means of the sample analysis. Instead of merely examining the number of women as compared to men who occupy promotion posts and who are promoted annually<sup>30</sup>, it took into account possible differences between male and female educators in respect of qualification, experience and attitudes surrounding women in the analysis of the attainment of promotion. This method is different but necessary if a valid, substantiated argument on gender discrimination against Indian women educators is to be presented.

Although the merit award is a criterion in the evaluation for promotion, it has been excluded in this analysis because of educators' specific objections to the system, as described in Section 4.7.

The analysis of discrimination against women in promotion is explained on the basis of the statistics of the promotion appointments for 1991 and on the basis of the responses of subjects in the sample, regarding their qualification, experience and attitudes.

The number of women and men who received promotion in the different post categories in 1991 is presented in the table below:

**TABLE 4.6.: 1991 FEMALE AND MALE PROMOTION POST APPOINTMENTS**

Post Categories	No.Females	% Female	No.Males	%Males	Total
Principal (S)	2	6	31	94	33
Principal (P)	14	9,7	130	90,3	144
Senior D.P. (S)	0	0	15	100	15
D.P. (S)	2	8,3	22	91,7	24
D.P. (P)	19	34,5	36	65,5	55
Head of Dept. (S)	8	18,2	36	81,8	44
Head of Dept. (P)	53	40,8	77	59,2	130
Total	98	22,0	347	78,0	445

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Key to abbreviations used in Table 4.6 :

(S) : Secondary School

D.P.: Deputy Principal

(P) : Primary School

Dept. : Department

From Table 4.6. it can be seen that women are more likely to receive a promotion in the primary school and in the lowest promotion category, that is, as Heads of Department.

The discrepancy between 22% women educators as compared to 78% male educators who received promotion in 1991 requires an investigation as to whether there are significant differences in the qualification, experience and attitudes between the sexes.

A significant difference was observed between the qualifications of female and male educators, with male educators being more highly qualified than female educators

(Table 4.5). From this Table, it can be seen that 58,5% women as compared to 41,5% men in the sample fell in the lower classification categories C and D. However in the higher classification categories, E, F, and G, only 38% were women as compared to 62% who were men.

These results must be examined in conjunction with the years of service of the educators which are presented in Table 4.7.

**TABLE 4.7.: NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF MALE AND FEMALE EDUCATORS**

YEARS	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	40+	TOT
MEN	29	68	29	38	49	24	13	5	1	256
Row%	11	27	11	15	19	9	5	2	,4	49
Col%	31	43	41	56	75	67	62	83	50	
Tot%	6	13	6	7	9	5	3	1	,2	
FEM.	64	92	42	30	16	12	8	1	1	266
Row%	24	35	16	11	6	5	3	,4	,4	51
Col%	69	58	59	44	25	33	38	17	50	
Tot%	12	18	8	6	3	2	2	,2	,2	
Col	93	160	71	68	65	36	21	6	2	522
Tot	18	31	14	13	13	7	4	1	,4	100

(Due to a space limitation, it was necessary to condense the above table by presenting row and column percentages as whole numbers for all values greater than one.)

In terms of experience, it was found that male educators have significantly more years of teaching experience than female educators. 392 educators in the sample, of whom 164 (41,8%)



were men and 228 (58,2%) were women, had less than and including twenty years experience. Of the 130 educators who had more than twenty years experience, 92 (70,8%) were men as compared to 38 (29,2%) women.

The statistical evidence in Tables 4.5. and 4.7. appears to justify the small number of women who received a promotion in 1991 (Table 4.6.) because they have significantly lower teaching qualifications and experience than the men. However, in reality women are grossly discriminated against in the arena of promotion, as explained below.

An examination of Table 4.7 reveals that there has been a substantial entry of women into the teaching profession during the last fifteen year<sup>32</sup>. This explains the greater concentration of women in the groups with less experience.<sup>33</sup>

Since qualification and experience are two important criteria used for promotion, it can be assumed that those educators with a category classification above "D" and those with experience of more than fifteen years would be more likely to be promoted than those with either lower qualifications and/or teaching experience.

From Table 4.5 it can be calculated that there are 124 male educators and 76 female educators with a category classification of E and higher. This is a male : female percentage ratio of 62 : 38. Table 4.7 shows 130 male

educators and 68 female educators with more than fifteen years teaching experience, that is a male : female percentage ratio of 66 : 34. From both these ratios, it may be inferred that women are one-third as qualified and experienced as men and it is assumed that they should receive approximately a third of the total promotion posts in a year.

However, when one examines Table 4.6 one sees that the male : female promotion ratio by percentage is 78 : 22. It can be seen that women educators are receiving approximately one fifth, instead of the predictable third of all promotion posts.

A reason for the disparity can be found in the differences in attitudes of male and female educators with respect to the promotion potential of women. Subjects' attitudes were gauged from their responses to the following statements in question 16 of the questionnaire. It is recognised that the content of the statements is gender biased and this will colour the responses of men and women. However they are useful for eliciting men's attitudes about women's promotion potential. This is important as the majority of evaluators for promotion and merit awards are male.

**16.1 Women do not have the academic qualifications required for promotion. (Appendix 2.1)**

Of those who responded to this statement, 49,1% were male and 50,9% were female. 79,2% of the females as compared to 56,9%

of the males believed that women never lacked the academic qualifications necessary for promotion. The belief that women did to some degree lack academic qualifications necessary for promotion, was expressed by 17,8% of the females as compared to 33,3% of the males. A significant difference was therefore found between male and female perceptions on the qualifications possessed by female educators with more males than females believing that women lacked the necessary qualifications necessary for promotion.

**16.2. Women are physically unsuited to the rigours of the task. (Appendix 2.2)**

Many males believe that women are physically unsuited to the occupational tasks involved in teaching. Of those who responded to this statement, 48,9% were male and 51,1% were female. Among the females, 91% of them, as compared to 40,4% of the males, believed that this was never true. It was found that 53,4% of the men as compared to only 19,7% of the women believed the statement to be true to some extent.

**16.3. Women are less capable of dealing with disciplinary problems. (Appendix 2.3)**

No form of corporal punishment can be administered by any educator employed by the H.O.D., therefore the coping with discipline problems would refer to some form of punishment other than a corporal form. 48,8% of those who responded to this statement were male and 51,2% were female. A significant

difference in attitudes was found between male and female educators, with 75,2% of the females as compared to 21,7% of the males believing that it was never true that women were less capable of handling discipline problems. Of the male respondents, 76% of them as compared to 24,4% of the women believed that women are to a certain extent less capable of handling discipline problems.

**16.4. Women are too emotional to hold senior positions.**

**(Appendix 2.4)**

Of the respondents to this statement, 48,9% were male as compared to 51,1% who were female. 82,8% of the women as compared to 35,3% of the men were in total disagreement with this statement. Those who agreed with the statement in varying degrees, comprise 56,5% of the male respondents and 15,3% of the female respondents.

**16.5. Women lack commitment, working only until they marry.**

**(Appendix 2.5)**

A significant difference exists between male and female educators in their attitudes concerning women's lack of commitment to their work. The respondents to this statement consisted of 48,9% men and 51,1% women. 84,3% of the women as compared to 46,7% of the men believed that this statement is never true. Those who agreed to some extent with this statement were 43,2% of the male respondents as compared to 13,5% of the female respondents.

**16.6. Women lack the self confidence to apply for senior posts. (Appendix 2.6)**

Respondents to this statement included 48,6% men and 51,4% women. The belief that women never lacked the self confidence to apply for senior posts was held by 38,5% of the male respondents and by 64,4% of the female respondents. Those who believed that women did to some extent lack the self confidence to apply for senior posts were 34,1% of the females and 50,4% of the males.

**16.7. Women consider that their colleagues prefer to work for a man. (Appendix 2.7)**

The respondents to this statement were made up of 49% men and 51% women. It was found that 55,1% of the males as compared to 32,4% of the females were in complete disagreement with the statement. Of those who to some extent agreed with the statement 45,9% were males and 41% were females.

**16.8. Women do not persevere when their initial attempts to secure promotion are turned down. (Appendix 2.8)**

Of those who responded to this statement 49,1% were male and 50,9% were female. 28,2% of the men as compared to 43,6% of the women believed that the statement was never true. The difference between the percentages of men and women, who in varying degrees agreed with this statement was slight, with 50,6% of the men and 51,1% of the women doing so.

**16.9. Women consider that the additional load would encroach on their time for family and friends. (Appendix 2.9)**

The respondents to this statement consisted of 48,9% men and 51,1% women. 45,7% of the women as compared to 14,9% of the men believed that this was never true. It was found that 67,4% of the men as compared to 50,9% of the women to some extent agreed with the statement.

**16.10. Women become teachers to reach, and not to become administrators. (Appendix 2.10 )**

49,1% of the respondents to this statement were men and 50,9% were women. Those in total disagreement with the statement were 32,5% of the men and 55,7% of the women. Those in partial or total agreement were 45,1% of the men and 36% of the women.

**16.11. Women dislike the large amount of paperwork required in senior posts. (Appendix 2.11)**

48,8% of the respondents to this statement were male and 51,2% were female. A large difference in beliefs was observed, with 61,4% of the women as compared to 29,5% of the men disagreeing totally with the statement. 44,4% of the men as compared to 30,4% of the women were to varying degrees, in agreement with the statement.

**16.12. Women prefer to maintain classroom contact with their pupils. (Appendix 2.12)**

Respondents to this statement comprised 49,2% men and 50,8%

women. 35,6% of the women as compared to 19,1% of the men totally disagreed with the statement. Of those who agreed with the statement to some extent, were 57,5% of the men and 59,1% of the women. A substantial number of men (23,45%) were unable to judge.

**16.13. Husbands of married women do not like the idea of their working. (Appendix 2.13)**

Of the respondents to this statement, 49,1% were male and 50,9% were female. It was found that 66,7% of the women as compared to 33,3% of the men totally disagreed with the statement. Of those who agreed with the statement in varying degrees 63,2% were male respondents and 47,3% female.

**16.14. Women do not receive the support from their seniors when applying for promotion. (Appendix 2.14)**

The respondents to this statement were made up of 48,9% men and 51,1% women. 23,2% of the women and 31% of the men totally disagreed with this statement. The table showed that 51% of the men as compared to 67,4% of the women agreed to some extent with the statement.

**16.15. Women do not apply for posts traditionally held by men. (Appendix 2.15)**

Of the total respondents to this statement, 48,9% were men and 51,15 were women. Of the women, 58,1% of them as compared to 44,1% of the men believed that the statement was never true. Those believing that there was truth in the statement,

were 41% of the men and 36,3% of the women.

From the cross-tabulations, for all items in the attitude question, a significant difference in the attitudes between male and female educators for each of the fifteen items was found.

This indicates that most men see women completely differently from the way women see themselves. Of these men some are evaluators for promotion and merit awards. This difference in attitudes between males and females is one of the major reasons for the discrimination, experienced by women educators with regard to promotion and merit awards.

Sandra van der Merwe believes that a woman in employment is seen firstly in terms of her sex and then in terms of her qualifications and skill. The biological difference between a woman and her male colleagues keeps her one step behind a man in terms of the performance assessment she gets, her credibility rating and her mobility potential<sup>34</sup>. In teaching, as in all spheres of work, men are largely responsible for the evaluation and selection of workers to higher levels in the occupational hierarchy.

In teaching, the initial evaluation of educators applying for promotion is done by the principals who are predominantly male. The applicant is informed of the symbol and not the score that is obtained in each broad category. As such



ratings are regarded as personal, they remain confidential, masking the influence of gender discrimination. Any subsequent evaluation or moderation of the principals' scores is done by a superintendent of education. The majority of the superintendents of education are also male.

Once a computerised short-list of applicants is obtained, the final selection is done by a selection committee consisting of approximately nine men but only one woman. The woman, is the only female among approximately seventeen males, above level 6 (Chief Education Specialists).<sup>35</sup> Since the evaluators are mostly men, who generally hold such low opinions about the promotion potential of women educators, it may be expected that women are discriminated against in promotion and merit awards.

Although no local research exists on the effect of such discrimination, a British study, the Marr report, which investigated teaching found that an "underclass of demoralised women teachers" had developed, as a result of not being given incentives to improve themselves and being passed over for promotion.<sup>36</sup>

The study of this sample has shown that as the seniority of the post increases, the number of women in these posts decreases. A common belief is that the primary school is the territory of female educators and the secondary school is the domain of male educators. From an observation of the educator

distribution in the sample (Table 4.8.), it is found that while 89% of the educators in the Junior Primary phase (Class 1 - Std.1) are women, there is an equal distribution of female and male educators in the senior primary (Stds.2-4) and in the Junior Secondary (Stds.5-7) phases. Only in the Senior Secondary phase (Stds.8-10), is there a 20% male majority.

**TABLE 4.8.: NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE EDUCATORS IN THE DIFFERENT SCHOOL PHASES**

	Junior Primary	Senior Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Row Tot.
<u>MALE</u>	7	43	54	150	254
<u>Row %</u>	2,8	16,9	21,3	59,1	50,0
<u>Col%</u>	11,1	50,0	49,5	60,0	
<u>Tot%</u>	1,4	8,5	10,6	29,5	
<u>FEMALE</u>	56	43	55	100	254
<u>Row%</u>	22,0	16,9	21,7	39,4	50,0
<u>Col%</u>	88,9	50,0	50,5	40,0	
<u>Tot%</u>	11,0	8,5	10,8	19,7	
<u>Col.</u>	63	86	109	250	508
<u>Total</u>	12,4	16,9	21,5	49,2	100

Women continue to enter the teaching profession in increasing numbers and large numbers of male educators are continuously drawn into management positions, resulting in the majority of level 1 educators who are involved in teaching only, being women and the majority of educators in level 2 and higher

management levels, being male. As Acker states:

Women teach and men manage.<sup>37</sup>

It appears that a double standard operates in the selection for promotion on account of the gendered marital status of the candidates. Elisabeth Al-Khalifa<sup>38</sup> notes that women are penalised in promotion for having a family, whereas men are promoted for having a family to support. In the sample, it was found that in the married group, 36% of the males as compared to 9% of the females held promotion posts; in the divorced group, none of the men but 16,7% of the women held promotion posts and in the unmarried group, 6% of the males as compared to 13,9% of the females held promotion posts.

From this, it appears that women who are single are more likely to be promoted than women who are married. Marriage penalizes women in terms of the double shift that women educators experience which precludes them from further study and/or the opportunity for senior positions, given that their primary roles are as wife and mother.

A study into the promotion of women teachers by the EOC (Equal Opportunities Council) in 1980 reports the following:

There is absolutely no evidence for the myth of the strikingly low promotion orientation of women teachers. The majority of our respondents considered themselves to be career oriented and

would welcome the challenge and wider responsibilities that promotion would bring. There was no evidence whatsoever that marriage and/or the acquisition of a family alter this attitude. Those supporting a family single handed were, naturally, particularly concerned about the financial rewards of promotion. Our analysis of the experiences of our respondents in applying for promotion led us to the inescapable conclusion that a fair measure of discrimination does indeed exist.<sup>39</sup>

Whether these findings would be true for Indian women educators, considering the ethnic and class differences remains to be established. However the results of this study suggest that they are most likely to be similar.

#### **4.8. Conclusion**

The claims made by Indian women educators of being discriminated against, in particular aspects of their occupational experience are valid and they are justified in their demands for change.

In chapter 5, the reasons for such discrimination will be discussed within the framework of the subordination of all women involved in paid work outside the home.

## ENDNOTES

1. Educators are entitled to a term's paid leave for every five years completed service. Such leave may be accumulated and may be utilised either as vacation leave or as study leave. If used as study leave, the H.O.D. grants an additional day for each day that the educator uses from the long leave.

2. H.O.D. Staff Circular No. 12 of 1991. Special Leave for Accouchement/Adoption Purposes in Respect of C.S. Educators. 27 June 1991.

3. Paid maternity leave of 168 days was granted to women educators nationally. Most of this discussion is therefore not restricted to Indian women educators only but is applicable to female educators of other race groups and from different education departments.

4. Staff Circular No.12 of 1991, Clause 6, op. cit.

5. H.O.D. Staff Circular 13 of 1991.

6. Emphasis added.

7. A double standard of what constitutes socially acceptable standards of sexuality exists for men and women.

8. An educator is entitled to one term's paid sick leave after every three years uninterrupted service rendered. Such leave is non-accumulative.

9. Emphasis added.

10. H.O.D. Staff Circular No. 27 of 1990. 20 November 1990.

11. The advantage of women's reproductive labour to the state will be included in the discussion in the next chapter.

12. Relief has also to be provided for housewives who are involved in unpaid labour and informal or casual workers.

13. HORN, P. Maternity Leave. Speech delivered at the Workshop on Parental Rights. University of Natal. 22.03.1991.

14. H.O.D. Principal's Handbook. Chapter B: Teaching Staff. No. 45.2.3.

15. It also discriminates against single men who have no dependants.

16. NARSEE, H. The Status of Women Teachers in Schools and in Teacher Organisations. Paper presented at the TASA Annual General Meeting, June 1990.

17. Ibid. 37.2.4.3.
18. H.O.D. Principal's Handbook. op. cit., No.50.
19. For this reason, issues such as rape and pornography are of concern to feminists.
20. The value of a notch ranges from R 810.00 per annum for category a3 to R 2 316 per annum for category D.
21. The quantitative difference between male and female salaries differs among the various education departments in South Africa, for example, the salaries of female teachers employed by the Kwazulu government were two notches below their male colleagues. Female educators under the Transkei educational authority received 65% of male salaries.  
(reports at the SADTU gender conference, July 1991)
22. BUDLENDER, B.Women and the Economy. p.25.
23. HSRC Report: Equal Remuneration for Men and Women in the Teaching Profession. 1977.
24. Male educators consistently receive more merit awards than female educators.
25. H.O.D. letter to the Secretary-General of TASA in response to a request for Statistics. Ref. No. S 16/2/2/12.  
Dated 19 June 1990.
26. Ibid.
27. quoted in a report in The Natal Mercury. 28 November 1991.
28. See Blampied, B; Acker, S.; Apple, M.; Walker, S. & L. Barton., op. cit.
29. H.O.D. letter to the Secretary -General of TASA. op. cit.
30. Such methods are used in most national and international studies on women in management.
31. compiled from the list of school promotions in the H.O.D. published in The Daily News. November 28, 1991.
32. It is not mere coincidence that this is the same time that compulsory education for Indian pupils was introduced and this provides a the possible reason of how Indian girls were able to overcome the economic and cultural barriers that blocked their access to education, as described in Chapter 2.
33. Presently, a teaching diploma or degree is equivalent to a category D (Matriculation plus four years study). Prior to 1985, the majority of teachers began on category C because the duration of the teaching diploma was three years.

34. VAN DER MERWE, S. 1979. Is anyone out there listening? Essential reading to understand the future of women in business. p.15.

35. Interview with Dr. C.G. Shah, Chief Education Specialist in the H.O.D.

36. Times Education Supplement, 12 October 1990, quoted in MORRELL, R. 1991. Gender and South African education: is there space on the agenda? p.13-14.

37. Strober and Tyak cited in Acker, S. Women and Teaching: A Semi-Detached sociology of a Semi-Profession contained in WALKER, S. & L. BARTON. 1983. op. cit. p.123

38. Al-Khalifa, E. Pin Money Professionals? Women in Teaching, in COYLE, A. & J. SKINNER. 1988. op. cit. p.85.

39. quoted in MAHONY, P. 1985. Schools for the Boys? Co-education reassessed. p.23.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONTEXTUALIZING THE SUBORDINATION AND OPPRESSION OF INDIAN WOMEN EDUCATORS FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

In Chapter 4, it was established that Indian women educators are discriminated against, largely on account of their gender<sup>1</sup>, with regard to maternity leave, housing subsidy, pension benefits, medical aid, salaries, merit awards and promotions.

The aim of this chapter is to present a general feminist discussion of the discrimination and oppression of Indian women educators, both in terms of their roles as educators and as women in the home.

This discussion is based on the assumption that all female educators are not feminists and therefore many of them will have a limited understanding of feminist debates and terminology. For this reason, in order to make this study accessible to all women educators, a general rather than specific, feminist discourse will be utilized.

Studies<sup>2</sup> on women and work reveal that the issues of concern to women working in other kinds of work are similar to those identified by Indian women educators as subordinating, and as covered in this study. This analysis is thus located within the wider experiences of all women who are part of the capitalist labour market, but it also



draws out the specific forms of oppression experienced by Indian women educators as a result of their unique cultural, racial and socio-economic position in South Africa.

There are many debates around the reason for the subordination and oppression of women in society. Basically, three main divisions exist among theorists: those who base their arguments within the capitalist mode of production in society, such as the Marxist feminists; those who ground their arguments in patriarchy, for example, the radical feminists; and finally those who integrate both capitalist and patriarchal relations in their analyses on why women are subordinated in society, such as the socialist feminists<sup>3</sup>.

For many theorists, the family is a central issue which creates a paradox for women. On the one hand, it is a reason why women are discriminated against in waged labour. Employers pay women lower salaries, justifying this practice in terms of women just earning pocket money for themselves. The belief is that the husband earns the "real" money. On the other, the family is the source of a woman's social identity and protection, through their relations with men.<sup>4</sup>

This analysis explains the oppression of women in both the private and public spheres of their lives, in terms of the

sexual division of labour, for gender subordination is arguably embedded in the sexual division of labour<sup>5</sup>. It is therefore important to understand what is meant by this latter term and how it originated.

The sexual division of labour refers to the way in which men and women occupy differential roles and functions in society based on their gender differences. This means that society has labelled certain types of work as "men's work" and others as "women's work". The latter is not seen to be highly skilled and is accorded a lower value than men's work. The manifestations of this sexual division of labour are seen in the differences in wages earned by men and women in job segregation. Among Indians, because of their cultural heritage of a strong patriarchal ideology, these roles are rigidly adhered to. This is evident, for example, from the fact that in 1985<sup>6</sup> only 29% of all Indians engaged in formal employment were women, as compared to 36% of all White, 41% of all Coloured and 35% of all African people<sup>7</sup>. (These figures exclude the women involved in domestic and informal labour and subsistence agriculture).

Feminist analyses of such sexual divisions start with the premise that gender differences are not "natural" but are socially constructed through socialisation and the environment.<sup>8</sup> In order to understand the effect of the sexual division of labour in contemporary society, it is necessary to examine society when this phenomenon was

absent in its present form.

In pre-capitalist society, the home was the site of production and constituted a largely self-sufficient unit. Although women were responsible for bearing children, little time was spent on childrearing and domestic chores. Instead women joined men and children in the production of goods needed for the functioning of the household. Thus women were directly involved in economic activity and played an important role in both production and reproduction.<sup>9</sup> Moreover there were no boundaries between public, professional and private life. But although women made a direct contribution to the production process, their subservience to men was justified ideologically by the Church and valued according to their sexual virtue.

The development of capitalism and the subsequent spread of industrialization changed the roles of women in the economy and society and precipitated a changed conception of the sexual division of labour and of what constituted women's work. The site of production was moved out of the home and into the public sphere. Production was no longer for use value in the household, but became a means of accumulating capital. The household was no longer a self-sufficient economic unit; rather households increasingly needed to purchase the means of life and became characterised as units of consumption.

Women's role in biological reproduction as well as a belief in natural differences between men and women, were two of the main reasons why women remained in the home and were involved largely in work related to reproduction and domesticity while men became involved in production.<sup>10</sup> The home became the private sphere, a place of support and nurturing free of the competitive forces of the market place. Women came to be defined essentially as wives and mothers.

Men earned wages for the work done in production in the public sphere and as a result, not only was economic value attached to the work that men did, but social value as well. Women received no payment for the work they did within the home; it was trivialised and was not seen as real work because it was unpaid.<sup>11</sup>

Men internalized this ideology of women and domesticity and subservience and actively reinforced the ideology which disapproved of women working in the labour market. This ideology gained support because of the nature of capitalism. The capitalist mode of production is predicated as profit maximization which implies a control of workers which in turn requires an undermining of the bargaining power of workers.

With the advent of machinery and the loss of their traditional skills, the labour process was fragmented. It

was therefore to men's advantage that women remain in the home so that they (men) would face less competition in the labour market. A tacit agreement was reached between capital and the male working class that men be paid a "family wage" to support the family. At the same time women were prevented from acquiring skills and therefore had little bargaining power in the labour market. But despite the ideology of domesticity and the exclusion of women from skills training, economic necessity forced many women into the labour market. But the occupations open to women tended to be those which were an extension of their domestic duties and were poorly paid. Thus women provided a cheap source of labour with few opportunities for advancement.

Thus capitalism created the dichotomy between the public and private spheres and as a result a division between production and reproduction functions and values. Tong argues that the division between public and private spheres and production and reproduction is not as rigid as is commonly suggested in feminist studies. According to her, women's entry into production is not confined to work as wage earners, for all women are already part of the productive work force. She sees women's work in the domestic sphere as the necessary condition for all other labour from which surplus value<sup>12</sup> is extracted. By providing workers with food, clothes, emotional and domestic comfort, "women keep the cogs of the capitalist machine running."<sup>13</sup>

The sexual division of labour holds specific advantages for both patriarchy and capitalism. Its greatest advantage to capitalism is that the unpaid reproductive labour<sup>14</sup> done by women in the home provides a continuous and free supply of labour for production.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore important in a capitalist society that the family be maintained both ideologically and materially as the primary, standard unit of society.

Further, the ideological and material establishment of woman's natural role as wife and mother and man's natural role as the family breadwinner creates the circumstances for women to form a reserve supply of labour<sup>16</sup> that can be drawn upon when needed, as was seen from the entry of women into paid labour during both the World Wars. As a cheap, reserve supply of labour, women can be employed on a casual basis and easily dismissed when their labour is no longer required. Further, as casual or part-time workers they are paid less and are not entitled to worker benefits, such as pensions.

An example of the above in the case of Indian women educators was the immediate conversion from a permanent post to a temporary one as soon as a female educator married.<sup>17</sup> When regulations were changed, married women were only employed in a permanent capacity if they submitted a consent form, signed by their husbands, granting them permission to be employed. Although this

practice has ceased with the introduction of the new Marriage Act of 1988, and female teachers can be appointed on a permanent basis, regardless of marital status, the discriminatory regulations and consent form have not been withdrawn from the Principal's Handbook, which is the official outline of the conditions of service of educators in a school. A copy of these discriminatory regulations is included in appendix 3.

All forms of gender discrimination of women in employment cannot be established or perpetuated without the sexual division of labour and women's subordination within the home. Although the campaigns of first wave feminists succeeded in opening the professions to women, complete equity has not been reached. Contemporary feminists point to the patriarchal nature of society which, in conjunction with capitalism, provides the conditions for women's subordination.

Patriarchy works on an ideological level to entrench male domination and female submission. The term patriarchy, is used here in its broadest sense, to refer to the systematic subordination of women by men. Since patriarchy determines the dominant discourses of society, male power defines the social construction of gender. Based on the assumption that biologically, women are suited to be wives and mothers, the dominant view is that the primary contribution of women to the welfare of society lies in their role in the

reproduction of society.<sup>18</sup>

Socially constructed "feminine traits" make women appear best suited to this reproductive role, involving child-bearing, child-rearing and family nurturing tasks. Women are seen as physically weak, irrational, emotional and submissive whereas men are seen as physically stronger, rational, unemotional and aggressive, making them more suited to wage labour.<sup>19</sup> Male attributes are considered the standard and are positively valued in society whereas female attributes are negatively valued.

Therefore women face a contradiction. In conforming to the norm of femininity and displaying their "natural" traits they become acceptable to men and suited to their nurturing role and domesticity in the home. Yet these same qualities in employment are considered unsuitable. An example of this is the belief held by many male educators that their female counterparts are "too emotional to hold senior posts."<sup>20</sup>

The assumption that men are responsible for earning the family wage and of the woman's wage being supplementary income, remains a dominant one. It accounts for the lower salaries, non-provision of a housing subsidy and medical aid regulations which force women to be economically dependant on men. The predominantly male selectors for merit awards and promotion see the male candidates as more deserving of such awards and appointments. Further, as seen



by the significantly negative view that male educators have of women educators' potential for promotion, it is evident that male evaluators and selectors will not be able objectively to compare the merit of educators independently of gender.

Nevertheless, despite the discrimination experienced, Indian women continue to enter the labour market as educators. Traditionally, it was believed by Indian societies, both in India and in South Africa, that Indian girls should be married at an early age and that their main role was as wife and mother; roles for which formal education and employment outside home was neither needed nor desired.

However, due to the specific class structure of Indians in South Africa, the majority of women being of the working class were forced into employment as a means of economic survival. Among the minority wealthier class, the traditional gender roles of women were more stringently adhered to. The general desire to maintain such gender roles and therefore the sexual division of labour, can be seen from the fact that many working women left work to remain at home as soon as the economic position of their families improved.

Besides economic necessity which was related to class, there were other factors related to race, such as the

consequences of the Group Areas Act (described in Chapter 2), which compelled Indian women to seek employment outside their homes.

Maureen Mackintosh<sup>21</sup> has pointed out that as societies undergo economic change, the nature of work as well as the distribution of work between men and women alter. In recent years there has been a gradual erosion of class and race distinctions with regard to which Indian women work and the kinds of employment entered into by them. One such example is the growing acceptance among bourgeois Indians of the legitimacy of professional work based on high educational qualifications for women.<sup>22</sup>

However, despite these changes, women continue to enter the labour force under constraints of their socially defined roles<sup>23</sup>. Teaching has been and is even more so presently one of the most popular career choices among women, to the extent that teaching has become labelled as "women's work." In 1985, 46% of all women in professional jobs in South Africa were in education.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, a gradual change has been perceived in employment patterns that was seen in the employment patterns among Indian women, such as the tendency of women to remain in paid labour after marriage and childbirth. This can be seen from the fact that 67,4% of women educators in the sample were married and 76,1% of the married women have dependants. (Appendix 2.16)

The reasons why teaching is a popular career choice among women are also directly related to the sexual division of labour in society. Women are seen by society in general to be more suited than men to teaching, especially in the primary school, as teaching is associated with their nurturing role within the home.

Deem<sup>25</sup> sees the link between the private and public spheres of women educators as a continuum between the rearing and socialisation of children within the family, where the primary work is done by mothers, and the socialisation that is achieved in the early years of schooling, with the work done by women teachers. Men actively promote the view that women are more suited than they are to infant teaching and this is compatible with the low value attached to women's nurturing labour within the home.

What is problematic is that many women who choose to become teachers have been socialised into accepting their gendered roles in society as natural. In adopting such an essentialist view of gender differences, they not only accept the status quo between men and women, but as educators involved in the socialisation of the next generation, ideologically reproduce it.

Teaching is more of a restricted, negotiated career choice than a professional choice for women. In most cases,

bearing the responsibility for domestic and childcare functions at home means that a woman working outside the home experiences a "double-shift"<sup>26</sup>. This results in her having to organise all her daily tasks, both at home and at work, to fit into a day. Teaching, with its short working day, allows women more time in which to complete their tasks within the home.

However, for women educators, the shorter work day outside the home is not a solution for the double-shift that they endure. Teaching is a lower paid job<sup>27</sup> in comparison to other jobs in the private sector for White women. Yet for Indian women teaching offers a comparatively well-paid job despite the fact that the majority of women educators earn less than male educators with the same qualifications. Apartheid policies restrict the job opportunities and repress the salaries of Indian women.

Employment of domestic help to cope with the double-shift is often less accessible to Indian women educators than it is to White working women or to other Indian women in higher-paying occupations. For women educators, leisure-time, time to engage in part-time study and community or union activities<sup>28</sup>, is severely restricted. In addition to the domestic tasks in the home, female educators often have to find time for supervision of extra-curricular activities, lesson preparation and marking of pupils' work outside of school hours. Over the past few years, there has

been an increase in the amount of teaching time of educators, leaving them with fewer non-teaching periods in which to complete their administrative work. Thus, there are two greedy institutions, the home and the school competing for the time of an individual woman educator. The sexual division of labour forces women to work for longer hours than men and to achieve at the end of the day, a lower standard of living.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, the working experience of a woman educator is a function of both her situation in the home and at school. She cannot separate her public and private roles, as the events from one sphere impact on and influence the experience of the other. Therefore, any analysis of women and work has to be situated within the context of the total experience of their lives, if it is to be meaningful.

Indian women educators often choose teaching as a means of coping with their own childcare responsibilities. The existing creche, pre-school and after-school facilities provided by the state are along racial lines, with the majority of the facilities for Whites. According to the 1985 census, 76% of the children at pre-primary school were White, as were 48% of those at creches and 99% of those at after-school centres<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, for most Indian women, childcare is an issue that greatly affects their choice to enter full-time employment.

Teaching, with its working and vacation hours makes it possible for women to conflate the hours that they spend outside home with their children's school-going hours, and thereby combine their waged and childcare labour.

Another possible reason for the attraction of teaching for Indian women, may be the availability of bursaries for training. In chapter 2 it was seen that when parents had limited financial resources for the payment of school fees, they were more likely to send their sons rather than their daughters to school. A large sector of the Indian population still belong to the lower economic group. Now that schooling is free and tertiary education costly, it would be interesting to examine whether parents, with limited financial resources, would favour paying for study at a tertiary institution for a son, rather than for a daughter. If this is so then girls may be attracted to teaching because of the bursaries available in teacher training. Further research is required to investigate this possibility.

What can be seen from the discussion thus far is that women, due to a specific set of circumstances, are joining the teaching profession in numbers larger than ever before, and this has resulted in the majority of educators in South Africa being female.

This female majority is the case for all race groups,

except for Indians (Table 3.1). The unique trend among Indians is due directly to the historical cultural, race and class positions of Indian men and women as traced in Chapter 2.

Women educators, despite their large numbers in teaching, continue to be oppressed and discriminated against overtly by practices such as those investigated in Chapter 4. The reasons for the persistence of such discrimination and the difficulty involved in challenging it will now be considered.

Mabandla et. al.<sup>31</sup> point out:

Economic policies assume that the family is headed by a male and includes a dependent female partner, that the family unit has a common economic interest, and that its resources are used for the common benefit of all members. Studies show that these assumptions are not true: not all households are nuclear, many households are headed by women and the resources of these households are not shared equally between men and women,...

Many women educators still receive lower salaries than men because of the myth of the average worker being male, with a wife and children to support. The traditional belief is that a woman's primary purpose in life is to be a wife and

mother - roles that are supposed to bring her happiness and total fulfilment.<sup>32</sup> It is further believed that if she chooses to work in paid employment, that she does so to supplement her husband's income or for pin money.

For most women educators, the school and home become sites of personal tension and conflict, in response to the reality of the double shift, gender discrimination, sexual harassment and various other gender inequalities that they continuously fight against. Their subordination by men is never absolute in its effect or undisputed, as seen by the resistance of women educators to changes in the maternity leave provisions and their struggle for parity in salaries.

As a result of the continuous struggle by female educators and teacher unions for parity in the salaries of men and women, the government in October 1990 acknowledged, in principle, women's right to equal pay for equal work<sup>33</sup>. As a result, the phasing in of parity for the different grades has begun and will continue over the next few years.<sup>34</sup>

Such advances in parity in salaries for men and women do not however mark a change in attitudes or perceptions of the majority of men about why women work. The fact that married women are not entitled to a housing subsidy perpetuates the belief of a male breadwinner and the secondary status of the woman in work and at home. In not granting unconditional, total paid maternity leave, the



patriarchal authorities demonstrate their reluctance in acknowledging the changing role of women, both in the home and in the workplace.

The constraints attached to maternity leave, the non-allowance of paternity leave, the lack of childcare facilities, the non-allowance of leave to either parent when the child is ill, leaves women educators bearing the brunt of the burden arising from their reproductive roles within the home. The pressure from the domestic arena impinges on women's occupational experience at school. It is therefore through the sexual division of labour that men are able to subordinate women in the home and at work.

Instead of basing a woman's income and occupational benefits, such as medical aid and housing subsidy on the ideology of a family wage and the male breadwinner, it is necessary that a married woman be entitled to pay or benefits adequate for her support, in her own right as a worker<sup>35</sup>. This will reduce the economic dependence of women on men and pave the way for individual autonomy.

However, any measures aimed at ending the discrimination of women will meet with resistance because of the specific advantages that the subordination of women holds for patriarchy and capitalism. Only when both patriarchy and capitalism are overthrown, can women achieve equality.

The long term goal for change must not detract from what women must do immediately to challenge the social inequalities and injustices that they are experiencing. A major part of this challenge lies in firstly getting all women themselves to comprehend and contextualize their oppression and then in conscientising society, that is, men and children as well, about gender inequality and its implications for society. It is arguable that the education process can play an initial and vital role in that transition.

All children from birth have been socialised into gendered identities within a strongly patriarchal culture. The predominantly heterosexual, monogamous nuclear family units dictated by capitalist needs have established the norm for gender stereotypes and the nature of social relations between men and women. Patriarchy exploits the labour of women in the family. These relations of exploitation are upheld by the dominant patriarchal ideology, which is strongly inculcated into society by the vast array of ideological apparatuses, including media, schools, religious institutions, traditions and customs.<sup>36</sup>

At school, gendered roles and sex stereotypes are further reinforced through the powerful male positions and relatively powerless female positions of the educators within the school, the characters that children encounter in history and literature, gender differentiation in course

selections and sport. Cultural and religious influences simultaneously support and thus reinforce these gender differences.

Weiler<sup>37</sup> sees the school as a matrix of institutional, personal, and social forces that result in contradictory tensions that are neither exclusively dominating nor liberating. These forces have both material and ideological bases and both educators and pupils within the school are active, conscious agents who attempt to resolve these tensions and offer resistance to specific forces in terms of their individual realities and the social contradictions that they experience. Therefore, there is a constant struggle between people's capacity to think critically and the power of hegemonic ideology and the material constraints that act upon them.<sup>38</sup>

Women educators have a crucial role to play in changing the content and process of contemporary education. It is only by all women themselves becoming conscientised that they can identify and make visible the hidden sexist curriculum and the pervasive gender discriminatory practices in the school and plan alternatives. The seriousness of the consequences that the present gender inequality holds for society can best be seen in a study described by Dale Spender and because of its relevance, it will be discussed here in some detail.

Dale Spender<sup>39</sup> points out the sobering reality and implications of socialisation and of the way in which educators, including those males who are totally opposed to any form of gender discrimination, and the female educators themselves actually construct gender inequalities within their own classrooms. In so doing, they cripple female pupils' and bolster male pupils' opportunities in life and create gender stereotypes.

In this study, Post Graduate Certificate of Education students, who were taking a course which related to sex discrimination in education, were each given a report card. The students were unaware that half of them had been given a report card with the name Jane Smith and the other half with the name John Smith at the top of the otherwise identical cards. The students' were required to offer recommendations and advice to the pupil in terms of the subjects the pupil should choose and the career path the pupil should follow.

All responses indicated stereotyped views about the sexes and their abilities, with the dominant belief that boys had more ability than girls. It was also found that when students believed that they were dealing with a male pupil, the pupil was treated as more significant and as worthy of greater and more perceptive attention: their comments were longer and they were concerned with finding reasons for his performance. The example of a completed card for John and

for Jane, showed John as being suited to a job in the civil service and Jane as suitable for an appointment as a receptionist or secretary. Spender justly believes that these results hold serious implications, especially since these were students who claimed they were against gender discrimination and that they were probably more aware than some, being engaged in a course on sex discrimination and education. Further research is needed in this area in order to gain direction on how gender bias by both male and female educators can be eliminated.

In this chapter it has been pointed out that the discrimination against Indian women educators is the outcome of the combined forces of patriarchy and capitalism in their need to subordinate women because of the specific advantages attached to such subordination. Male domination is achieved through both material and ideological processes throughout an individual's life.

Women who have internalised many of society's values (male values) as a result of socialisation and the environment, need to redirect and widen the focus of their challenge. In the case of Indian women educators, the challenge against their discrimination at school must include an equally vigorous challenge of their oppression at home which is often veiled by the affection-dimension in the home.

The next chapter will suggest a strategy that could be

employed by women educators in their challenge of gender inequality in paid labour. A few specific recommendations relating directly to the issues that have been investigated, will also be made.

## ENDNOTES

1. Race and class also interact with gender in oppressing women.
2. See for example, DEX, S. 1988. Women's Attitudes towards Work. op. cit.  
DEX, S. 1987. Women's Occupational Mobility: A Lifetime Perspective.
3. The details of the debates presented by the different schools of feminism are complex and therefore cannot be examined in any adequate detail in this study. For a detailed discussion on the debates, see:
  - i. TONG, R. 1989. Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction.
  - ii. JAGGAR, A. 1983. Feminist Politics and Human Nature.
4. Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson, cited in McIntosh, M. The Family in Socialist-Feminist Politics, in BRUNT, R. & C. ROWAN. (eds.). 1986. Feminism, Culture and Politics. p.125.
5. MacKintosh, M., op. cit., p.5.
6. The latest comprehensive census was done in 1985. Notice should be taken that such statistics may not be totally reliable, especially for the black population groups.
7. BUDLENDER, D. 1991. op. cit., p.6.
8. TONG, R., op. cit., p.4.
9. Ibid. p.51.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. p. 51.
12. Surplus value is a term used by Marx to describe the difference between what the employer pays the worker for his or her capacity to work (labour power) and the value that the worker actually creates when he or she puts these capacities to use in producing commodities.  
Ibid. p.41.
13. TONG, R. 1989. op. cit., p.54.
14. Reproductive labour refers not only to biological reproduction which involves the bearing of children, but includes also the care and socialisation of children who will form the future labour for capitalist production as well as the maintenance of adult workers already involved in such production.

15. CHARMAN, A. et. al. 1991. The politics of gender: A discussion of the Malibongwe conference papers and other papers within the ANC. p.8.
16. BRUEGEL, I. Women as a Reserve Army of Labour. Feminist Review. No. 3. September, 1979.
17. Attached as conditions to such temporary posts was the possible termination of an educator's contract on 24 hours notice and the non-payment of a gratuity. A gratuity refers to the lump sum of money paid out to an educator in permanent employment on his or her retirement, in recognition of services rendered and is additional to any pension benefits.
18. POSEL, R., op. cit., p.18.
19. Men, are in control of all the dominant discourses of society, such as the political, religious and economic discourses. They have through this power, assigned negative values to women's attributes and positive values to female attributes. In this way men create a justification for their domination of women. Wherever men cannot control women totally, for example in the sphere of reproduction, men need to denigrate the source of women's power, in this case women's sexuality through various methods, such as pornography and language.
20. Question 16.4. of questionnaire, the responses to which are contained in Appendix 2.4.
22. MACKINTOSH, M. op. cit., p.1.
22. FREUND, B., op. cit., p. 2.
23. POSEL, R., op. cit., p.18.
24. BUDLENDER, D., op. cit., p.9.
25. Deem, R. cited in Ibid. p.35.
26. MCINTOSH, I., op. cit., p.113.
27. HORN, P. 1991. Towards the emancipation of women in a post-apartheid South Africa. p.3.
28. BUDLENDER, D. 1991. op. cit., p.30.
29. Mackintosh, M. op. cit., p.5.
30. quoted in BUDLENDER, D., op. cit., p.27.
31. quoted in HORN, P., op. cit., p.22.
32. Betty Friedan in her book The Feminine Mystique discusses the outcome of American woman, in the 1950s, attempting to gain self-fulfilment through her role in the home.



33. BUDLENDER, D. op. cit., p.25.

34. The introduction in salary parity was at the higher levels of the hierarchy. Considering that the majority of the women educators, especially the African women are on the lower salary grades, they will be the last to receive parity.

35. McIntosh, M., op. cit., p.126.

36. HORN, P., op. cit., p.2.

37. WEILER, K. 1988. Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class and Power. p.xi.

38. Ibid. p.74.

39. SPENDER, D. Sexism in teacher education, in ACKER, S. & D. W. PIPER. 1985. "Is Higher Education Fair to Women?" p.132 -140.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has tested the claims of discrimination in the selected issues perceived by women educators as discriminating against them, in a sample of Indian educators. It was found through an examination of official documents and a research study that these issues do in practice discriminate against Indian women educators, indicating that the specified claims of discrimination are valid and justified.

This discrimination against women educators is part of the wider discrimination against all women in society. The subordination of women can be traced to their multiple roles in the family. These roles, lying within the broader parameters of capitalism and patriarchy, are maintained in one way through the sexual division of labour which is ideologically reinforced through various ways, one of the most important being the education received in school.

The question that needs to be addressed is what can be done to end the widespread subordination and discrimination against women in society. In this chapter proposals relating to women educators and their role in reducing gender discrimination that they themselves and women in general face are presented. It is believed that female educators, because of their influence in the socialisation

of children, are in a strategic position to effect changes aimed at reducing the oppression that women experience. It is necessary however to distinguish the short term goals and strategies from the long term ones.

### **6.1. Short term goals and strategies**

The first task facing women educators is the elimination of gender inequality in those issues perceived by them to be the main sources of their discrimination as female educators and around which this study is focussed. Arising from the results of this study, a list of recommendations, aimed at reducing the gender discrimination currently experienced by Indian women educators under the H.O.D. has been drawn up as follows:

- i. All women educators, regardless of marital status should be given maternity leave with full pay for as many times as such leave is required.<sup>1</sup>
- ii. Women who have had a miscarriage, stillbirth or abortion should be entitled to maternity leave.<sup>2</sup>
- iii. All men, should be granted paternity leave, regardless of their marital status.
- iv. Provision for a limited period of casual leave for both male and female educators should be made for incidental needs such as illness of the child or taking a child to a new school.
- v. All educators should have access to childcare facilities.
- vi. Male and female educators should be provided with the

option of utilising a housing subsidy, regardless of the marital status of the educator or whether the educator has dependants.

vi. Identical conditions and benefits of the pension scheme should operate for both male and female educators.

vii. Both male and female educators in all classification categories should receive the same salary.

viii. An individual educator, regardless of gender, should be offered membership to a medical-aid scheme, with a choice of who the individual wants included in the membership cover.

It is suggested that a way to achieve this is for women educators to join and collectively organise themselves within a single, national, non-racial teachers' union. The most important advantage in this is the combined strength that lies in collective challenge. Women educators from the seventeen education departments across the country can be united across class and race<sup>3</sup>. Since women in South Africa make up 62,5% of all full-time teachers and female members form about 65% of the total membership of SADTU, such unity would form a strong challenge to patriarchy.<sup>4</sup> Further, challenge of the legislated forms of discrimination, such as salaries and housing subsidies will be more effectively channeled through a union, although it must be recognised that simply changing the laws does not end the discrimination against women.

Mobilisation of women through a union offers other important advantages:

- it will provide a women's forum<sup>5</sup> for discussion among the women themselves, of the various aspects of their oppression. This will serve to conscientise the many women themselves who have internalised patriarchal attitudes, perceptions and values as a result of their own socialisation,
- women will be able to develop skills, for example, confidence building, that would empower them to challenge their subordination<sup>6</sup>,
- as an organised body, communication with other women both in paid and unpaid labour will be facilitated,
- women organised within the union can exert pressure to ensure that issues on gender are prominently placed on both the union and political agendas,
- women will be able to attempt to conscientise men about gender, either through casual or organised interaction.

The need to conscientise men is essential in the challenge of women's oppression. It is not only men's support of women that is needed but their total commitment to join women as partners in the struggle to eradicate gender oppression. This is necessary if the long term goal of a resocialisation of the next generation through education is to be achieved. However, given the strong patriarchal character of certain ethnic groups, as seen in the Indian community, the task that lies ahead is a formidable one.

However although unity through union participation can be a starting point, women have to be aware of the potential risks involved in selecting such an option. Maxine Molyneux warns:

Women's unity and cohesion on gender issues cannot be assumed. While they can form the basis of unity around a common programme, such unity has to be constructed.<sup>7</sup>

For a teachers' union to be effective, it has to be granted full union status and be involved at every level of decision-making within the teaching profession. However, unions tend to have the same patriarchal character as the rest of society as a result of its male dominated leadership. Horn<sup>8</sup> points out that paradoxically, the level of gender sensitivity is even lower in those unions with a large female membership than it is for the unions with a small female membership.

Since women form the majority of educators in South Africa, (62,5% as at 1990), it is important that women not only become members of a union but that they become actively involved in it so that the leadership of the union reflects the composition of its members.

The structure of SADTU is an example in point. As pointed out previously, although women make up about 65% of its total membership, there is only one woman on the interim

National Executive Committee of SADTU. Women already in a union have to acknowledge factors such as the double shift and lack of childcare facilities that prevent women from engaging more actively in a union and need to plan strategies for overcoming such problems.

The majority of people in many organisations in South Africa are also concerned with race and class oppression that both men and women experience. A majority male leadership of a teacher's union may, like political organisations, promise women emancipation once their participation in the struggle for national liberation has been achieved. However, the lessons provided by other liberated countries have shown that women remain marginalised once liberation has been achieved. Women have to put the issue of gender on par with concerns of race and class and challenge gender oppression just as aggressively as racial oppression has been confronted in this society.

Solidarity with men on issues of race and class must never detract women from the superceding pervasive power of patriarchy, which may be either overt or subtle in its manifestations. Women need to challenge society as a whole if they are to contest their subordination and discrimination. This is a long term goal in which women educators can play an important role.

## **6.2. Long term goals and strategies**

The long term goal points to the resocialisation of society in which power relations of domination and subordination based on gender differences no longer exist or are necessary. An obvious starting place would be in the home but this is a difficult political task because of the complex ties of affection, marital and familial duty, obligation and material survival.<sup>9</sup>

The second best starting place for resocialisation is the school. However, any transformations that are to be achieved through the school requires that the educators themselves be conscientised. A course of action structured by a teachers' union and informed by relevant research can be helpful in this regard. Another possible point of intervention is in the teacher training colleges where a course on "Sexism and Education" would assist in conscientising future teachers.

Only educators who are enlightened about the operation of gender oppression and are cognizant of its implications for society will be able to identify its manifestation in the school curriculum and practices, and recognise the need to transform the entire androcentric academic discourse.

Specifically, these educators will be able to challenge the education process by trying to make the curriculum less sexist, by being aware of the way they treat boys and girls



thereby challenging stereotypical roles and also by personal example. The educator serves as a powerful role model for the child and any educator who can critically challenge gender oppression and gender stereotypes, both in the public sphere in the role as educator and in the private sphere of the home and in personal relationships, could initiate a critical evaluation of gender inequality by pupils in terms of their own personal experiences.

Admittedly, the task that faces educators at present, more especially the women educators is a difficult one but encouragement is arguably provided by the progress that has already been made in some societies through the efforts of feminists there. In South Africa there appears to be a growth in awareness on the importance of this issue, as seen by the emerging research projects on this topic.

Given the general commitment in this country towards the creation of a new South Africa, the present time appears to be an opportune one for women educators to create a space for the inclusion of gender issues within the education process.

## ENDNOTES

1. The exact period of leave can be negotiated and recommendations from trade unions both nationally and internationally could prove useful as guidelines.
2. The period of maternity leave in these circumstances can be negotiated and does not necessarily have to be the same as that provided for normal births.
3. Race, class and gender oppression in South Africa has, been to a some extent been maintained by a "divide and rule" strategy of the authotities.
4. This assumes that women can themselves be conscientised and want to challenge patriarchy.
5. HORN, P. op. cit., p.24.
6. Care must be taken not to accept and adopt male characteristics, such as aggression as positive human values.
7. quoted in HORN, P., op.cit., p.7.
8. HORN, P., op. cit., p.24.
9. CHARMAN, A. et. al.,op. cit., p.16.

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1991 -10- 22

Mrs K. Pahliney  
14 Derna Road  
Reservoir Hills  
DURBAN  
4091

Madam

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH  
Your letter dated 91-10-16 has reference.

1. Permission is hereby granted to you to conduct your research at the schools as indicated in your letter provided that :
  - 1.1 prior arrangements are made with the principals concerned;
  - 1.2 participation in the research is on a voluntary basis;
  - 1.3 completion of questionnaires is done outside normal teaching time;
  - 1.4 all information pertaining to educators is treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.
2. Kindly produce a copy of this letter when visiting schools.
3. The Department wishes you every success in your research and looks forward to receiving a copy of the findings.

Yours faithfully

for CHIEF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

91-11-29/request/nm



APPENDIX 1.2: Letter accompanying questionnaire

14 Derna Road  
Reservoir Hills  
Durban  
4091  
21 October 1991

Dear Colleague

I am writing, with the approval of the Executive Director of Education, to request your assistance in an investigation of the occupational trends and working conditions of teachers, with a view to providing recommendations for improvement. This study forms part of the requirements for an M. A. degree for which I am presently enrolled at the University of Natal.

I would be most obliged if both male and female educators complete the questionnaires and leave them with the school secretary by tomorrow afternoon. All information you supply will be treated confidentially and all questionnaires will be destroyed once the research has been completed. You are not asked to provide either your name nor the name of your school so confidentiality will be ensured.

Your time and assistance are greatly appreciated. Should you be interested in receiving a summary of the results of the investigation, I would be pleased to send it to you once the study has been completed.

Yours sincerely  
Kethamonie Pahliney

- NB. 1. All information required as at the end of 1990  
 2. Tick the relevant columns.

1. TYPE OF POST HELD:

Principal <sup>1</sup>	Senior Deputy Principal <sup>2</sup>	Deputy Principal <sup>3</sup>	Head of Department <sup>4</sup>	Level 1 Educator <sup>5</sup>

2. SEX:

Male <sup>1</sup>	Female <sup>2</sup>

3. YOUR AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS:

Under 26 <sup>1</sup>	26 - 30 <sup>2</sup>	31 - 35 <sup>3</sup>	36 - 40 <sup>4</sup>	41 - 45 <sup>5</sup>	46 - 50 <sup>6</sup>	Over 51 <sup>7</sup>

4. MARITAL STATUS:

Married <sup>1</sup>	Divorced <sup>2</sup>	Unmarried <sup>3</sup>

5. HAVE DEPENDANTS:

Yes <sup>1</sup>	No <sup>2</sup>

6. APPOINTMENT

6.1. Type of appointment

Permanent <sup>1</sup>	
Temporary <sup>2</sup>	

6.2. Date of appointment to permanent post:

1988 - 1990 <sup>1</sup>	
1984 - 1987 <sup>2</sup>	
1978 - 1983 <sup>3</sup>	
1972 - 1977 <sup>4</sup>	
1966 - 1971 <sup>5</sup>	
1960 - 1965 <sup>6</sup>	
1954 - 1959 <sup>7</sup>	
Before 1953 <sup>8</sup>	

7. Teaching Experience

7.1. Total number of completed years teaching experiences:

less than 6 <sup>1</sup>	
6 - 10 <sup>2</sup>	
11 - 15 <sup>3</sup>	
16 - 20 <sup>4</sup>	
21 - 25 <sup>5</sup>	
26 - 30 <sup>6</sup>	
31 - 35 <sup>7</sup>	
36 - 40 <sup>8</sup>	
More than 40 <sup>9</sup>	

7.2. Number of years experience in teaching Standard 10:

1 - 5 <sup>1</sup>	
6 - 10 <sup>2</sup>	
11 - 15 <sup>3</sup>	
16 - 20 <sup>4</sup>	
More than 20 <sup>5</sup>	
None <sup>6</sup>	

8. PROMOTION

8.1. Did you apply for promotion between 1988 and 1990

Yes <sup>1</sup>	No <sup>2</sup>

(ANSWER 8.2 and 8.3 ONLY IF YOUR ANSWER IN 8.1 WAS "YES")

8.2. Were you successful in your application

Yes <sup>1</sup>	No <sup>2</sup>

8.3. How many previous applications have you made for this post level

None <sup>1</sup>	1-3 <sup>2</sup>	4-7 <sup>3</sup>	8-11 <sup>4</sup>	12-15 <sup>5</sup>	16-19 <sup>6</sup>	More than 19 <sup>7</sup>

9.1. Main subject taught in 1990

English <sup>01</sup>	Accounting <sup>09</sup>	Computer Science <sup>17</sup>
Afrikaans <sup>02</sup>	Typing <sup>10</sup>	Speech and Drama <sup>18</sup>
Physical Science <sup>03</sup>	Economics <sup>11</sup>	L.R.E. <sup>19</sup>
Biology <sup>04</sup>	Guidance <sup>12</sup>	Business Economics <sup>20</sup>
General Science <sup>05</sup>	Industrial Arts <sup>13</sup>	Physical Education <sup>21</sup>
Mathematics <sup>06</sup>	Woodwork <sup>14</sup>	Technika <sup>22</sup>
History <sup>07</sup>	Metalwork <sup>15</sup>	Technical Drawing <sup>23</sup>
Geography <sup>08</sup>	Music <sup>16</sup>	Other (please state) <sup>24</sup>
		.....

9.2. Phase in which the majority of teaching was done in 1990

Junior Primary Cl.1 - Std. 1 <sup>1</sup>	Senior Primary Std. 2-4 <sup>2</sup>	Junior Secondary <sup>3</sup> Stds. 5-7	Senior Secondary <sup>4</sup> Stds. 8-10
--	---	---	--

10. COMPLETED QUALIFICATIONS:

Teaching Diploma <sup>1</sup>	
Other Diploma/s <sup>2</sup>	
Bachelors Degree <sup>3</sup>	
B. Paed. Degree <sup>4</sup>	
Honours / B. Ed. Degree <sup>5</sup>	
Masters Degree <sup>6</sup>	
Doctorate Degree <sup>7</sup>	

11. CATEGORY CLASSIFICATION:

C (M + 3) <sup>1</sup>	
D (M + 4) <sup>2</sup>	
E (M + 5) <sup>3</sup>	
F (M + 6) <sup>4</sup>	
G (M + 7) <sup>5</sup>	

12. HOUSING SUBSIDY

12.1. Do you receive a housing subsidy

Yes <sup>1</sup>		No <sup>2</sup>	
------------------	--	-----------------	--

12.2. Is your spouse (if applicable) in receipt of or entitled to a housing subsidy

Yes <sup>1</sup>		No <sup>2</sup>	
------------------	--	-----------------	--

13. MEDICAL AID

13.1. Are you on Sanitas medical aid scheme

Yes <sup>1</sup>		No <sup>2</sup>	
------------------	--	-----------------	--

13.2. Is your spouse (if applicable) on a medical aid scheme

Yes <sup>1</sup>		No <sup>2</sup>	
------------------	--	-----------------	--

14. LEAVE DURING ENTIRE TEACHING CAREER

14.1. Total number of terms taken for:

Study Leave

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	More than 8
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Long leave

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	More than 8
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

14.2. Total number of times application for leave not granted

Study leave

0	1	2	3	4	5	More than 5
---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Long leave

0	1	2	3	4	5	More than 5
---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

15. Number of merit notches received

1	2	3
---	---	---

16. PROMOTIONAL POTENTIAL :

While teaching is a predominantly female occupation there is an under-representation of women at all levels in the promotional structure.

Please indicate next to each of the statements below to what extent you consider the reason given to be true.

	Never True	Sometimes True	Frequently True	Always True	Unable to Judge
1. Women do not have the academic qualifications required for promotion.					
2. Women are physically unsuited for the rigours of the task.					
3. Women are less capable of dealing with disciplinary problems.					
4. Women are too emotional to hold senior positions.					
5. Women lack commitment, working only until they marry.					
6. Women lack the self-confidence to apply for the senior posts.					
7. Women consider that their colleagues prefer to work for a man.					
8. Women do not persevere when their initial attempts to secure promotion are turned down.					
9. Women consider the additional load would encroach on their time for family and friends.					
10. Women become teachers to teach, and not to become administrators.					
11. Women dislike the large amount of paperwork required in senior posts.					
12. Women prefer to maintain the classroom contact with their pupils.					
13. Husbands of married women do not like the idea of their working.					
14. Women do not receive the support of their seniors when applying for promotion.					
15. Women do not apply for positions traditionally held by men.					

17. Comments (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

**APPENDIX 2: TABLES**

**KEY TO TABLES 2.1 TO 2.15:**

<b>1: Never True</b>	<b>a: Male Count</b>
<b>2: Sometimes True</b>	<b>b: Male Row %</b>
<b>3: Frequently True</b>	<b>c: Male Column %</b>
<b>4: Always True</b>	<b>d: Male Total %</b>
<b>5: Unable to Judge</b>	<b>e: Female Count</b>
<b>6: Row Total</b>	<b>f: Female Row %</b>
	<b>g: Female Column %</b>
	<b>h: Female Total %</b>

**2.1. Women do not have the academic qualifications required for promotion.**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>a</b>	119	87	19	4	26	255
<b>b</b>	46,7	34,1	7,5	1,6	10,2	48,9
<b>c</b>	34,6	71,9	95,0	80,0	81,3	
<b>d</b>	22,8	16,7	3,5	,8	5,0	
<b>e</b>	225	34	1	1	6	267
<b>f</b>	84,3	12,7	,4	,4	2,2	51,1
<b>g</b>	65,4	23,1	5,0	20,0	18,8	
<b>h</b>	43,1	6,5	,2	,2	1,1	

**2.2. Women are physically unsuited to the rigours of the task.**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>a</b>	103	113	18	5	16	255
<b>b</b>	40,4	44,3	7,1	2,0	6,3	48,9
<b>c</b>	29,9	85,6	94,7	100	80,0	
<b>d</b>	19,8	21,7	3,5	1,0	3,1	
<b>e</b>	242	19	1		4	266
<b>f</b>	91,0	7,1	,4		1,5	51,1
<b>g</b>	70,1	14,4	5,3		20,0	
<b>h</b>	46,4	3,6	,2		,8	

**2.3. Women are less capable of dealing with disciplinary problems.**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>a</b>	55	127	64	2	6	254
<b>b</b>	21,7	50,0	25,2	,8	2,4	48,8
<b>c</b>	21,6	67,6	95,5	66,7	85,7	
<b>d</b>	10,6	24,4	12,3	,4	1,2	
<b>e</b>	200	61	3	1	1	266
<b>f</b>	75,2	22,9	1,1	,4	,4	51,2
<b>g</b>	78,4	32,4	4,5	33,3	14,3	
<b>h</b>	38,5	11,7	,6	,2	,2	

**2.4. Women are too emotional to hold senior positions.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	90	114	24	6	21	255
b	35,3	44,7	9,4	2,4	8,2	48,9
c	28,9	75,0	88,9	100	80,8	
d	17,2	21,8	4,6	1,1	4,0	
e	221	38	3		5	267
f	82,8	14,2	1,1		1,9	51,1
g	71,1	25,0	11,1		19,2	
h	42,3	7,3	,6		1,0	

**2.5. Women lack commitment, working only until they marry.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	119	87	19	4	26	255
b	46,7	34,1	7,5	1,6	10,2	48,9
c	34,6	71,9	95,0	80,0	81,3	
d	22,8	16,7	3,6	,8	5,0	
e	225	34	1	1	6	267
f	84,3	12,7	,4	,4	2,2	51,1
g	65,4	28,1	5,0	20,0	18,8	
h	43,1	6,5	,2	,2	1,1	

**2.6. Women lack the self confidence to apply for the senior posts.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	97	101	25	1	28	252
b	38,5	40,1	9,9	,4	11,1	48,6
c	36,1	55,8	69,4	100	87,5	
d	18,7	19,5	4,8	,2	5,4	
e	172	80	11		4	267
f	64,4	30,0	4,1		1,5	51,4
g	63,9	44,2	30,6		12,5	
h	33,1	15,4	2,1		,8	

**2.7. Women consider that their colleagues prefer to work for a man.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	82	82	29	5	55	253
b	32,4	32,4	11,5	2,0	21,7	49,0
c	36,1	47,1	69,0	62,5	84,6	
d	15,9	15,9	5,6	1,0	10,7	
e	145	92	13	3	10	263
f	55,1	35,0	4,9	1,1	3,8	51,0
g	63,9	52,9	31,0	37,5	15,4	
h	28,1	17,8	2,5	,6	1,9	

**2.8. Women do not persevere when their initial attempts to secure promotion are turned down.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	72	109	15	5	54	255
b	28,2	42,7	5,9	2,0	21,2	49,1
c	38,5	47,4	55,6	71,4	79,4	
d	13,9	21,0	2,9	1,0	10,4	
e	115	121	12	2	14	264
f	43,6	45,8	4,5	,8	5,3	50,9
g	61,5	52,6	44,4	28,6	20,6	
h	22,2	23,3	2,3	,4	2,7	

**2.9. Women consider the additional load would encroach on their time for family and friends.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	38	122	41	9	45	255
b	14,9	47,8	16,1	3,5	17,6	48,9
c	23,8	52,4	68,3	60,0	83,3	
d	7,3	23,4	7,9	1,7	8,6	
e	122	111	19	6	9	267
f	45,7	41,6	7,1	2,2	3,4	51,1
g	76,3	47,6	31,7	40,0	16,7	
h	23,4	21,3	3,6	1,1	1,7	

**2.10. Women become teachers to teach, and not to become administrators.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	83	78	30	7	57	255
b	32,5	30,6	11,8	2,7	22,7	49,1
c	36,1	57,4	55,6	35,0	72,2	
d	16,0	15,0	5,8	1,3	11,0	
e	147	58	24	13	22	264
f	55,7	22,0	9,1	4,9	8,3	50,9
g	63,9	42,6	44,4	65,0	27,8	
h	28,3	11,2	4,6	2,5	4,2	

**2.11. Women dislike the large amount of paperwork required in senior posts.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	75	76	29	8	66	254
b	29,5	29,9	11,4	3,1	26,0	48,8
c	31,4	59,4	59,2	47,1	75,0	
d	14,4	14,6	5,6	1,5	12,7	
e	164	52	20	9	22	267
f	61,4	19,5	7,5	3,4	8,2	51,2
g	68,6	40,6	40,8	52,9	25,0	
h	31,5	10,0	3,8	1,7	4,2	

**2.12. Women prefer to maintain the classroom contact with their pupils.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	49	79	52	16	60	256
b	19,1	30,9	20,3	6,3	23,4	49,2
c	34,3	46,5	60,5	34,0	81,1	
d	9,4	15,2	10,0	3,1	11,5	
e	94	91	34	31	14	264
f	35,6	34,5	12,9	11,7	5,3	50,8
g	65,7	53,5	39,5	66,0	18,9	
h	18,1	17,5	6,5	6,0	2,7	

**2.13. Husbands of married women do not like the idea of their working.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	57	126	29	7	37	256
b	22,3	49,2	11,3	2,7	14,5	49,1
c	33,3	53,8	65,9	77,8	58,7	
d	10,9	24,2	5,6	1,3	7,1	
e	114	108	15	2	26	265
f	43,0	40,8	5,7	,8	9,8	50,9
g	66,7	46,2	34,1	22,2	41,3	
h	21,9	20,7	2,9	,4	5,0	

**2.14. Women do not receive the support of their seniors when applying for promotion.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	79	100	25	5	46	255
b	31,0	39,2	9,8	2,0	18,0	48,9
c	56,0	44,4	36,8	29,4	64,8	
d	15,1	19,2	4,8	1,0	8,8	
e	62	125	43	12	25	267
f	23,2	46,8	16,1	4,5	9,4	51,1
g	44,0	55,6	63,2	70,6	35,2	
h	11,9	23,9	8,2	2,3	4,8	

**2.15. Women do not apply for positions traditionally held by men.**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
a	113	84	17	4	38	256
b	44,1	32,8	6,6	1,6	14,8	48,9
c	42,2	49,1	63,0	100,0	71,7	
d	21,6	16,1	3,3	,8	7,3	
e	155	87	10		15	267
f	58,1	32,6	3,7		5,6	51,1
g	57,8	50,9	37,0		28,3	
h	29,6	16,6	1,9		2,9	



**2.16. TABLE OF MARITAL STATUS OF MALE AND FEMALE RESPONDENTS WITH DEPENDENTS.**

	<b>Married</b>	<b>Divorced</b>	<b>Unmarried</b>	<b>Row Total</b>
<b>Male Count</b>	212	1	15	228
<b>Male Row %</b>	93,0	,4	6,6	54,8
<b>Male Column %</b>	59,7	4,8	37,5	
<b>Male Total %</b>	51,0	,2	3,6	
<b>Female Count</b>	143	20	25	188
<b>Female Row %</b>	76,1	10,6	13,3	45,2
<b>Female Column %</b>	40,3	95,2	62,5	
<b>Female Total %</b>	34,4	4,8	6,0	

APPENDIX 3

Regulations governing the employment of married women educators employed by the H.O.D. as contained in the Principal's Handbook.

Clause 3.2 which refers to the appointment of married Indian women teachers in a permanent capacity, such that:

Consideration will be given to the appointment of married Indian women teachers in a permanent capacity, and to the retention in a permanent capacity of Indian women teachers subsequent to their marriage in the following conditions:

3.2.1. they must be in possession of qualifications equivalent to at least a matriculation certificate plus three years of teacher training;

3.2.2. should the qualifications be lower than the requirements as mentioned in 3.2.1. they must have completed at least 5 years continuous service in the Department (i.e. subsequent to the 1 April 1966 in Natal or 1 April 1967 in the Transvaal) in the teaching of one of the following subjects:

3.2.2.1. Afrikaans

3.2.2.2. Domestic Science / Needlework

3.2.2.3. Music or

3.2.2.4. Physical Education;

3.2.3. teachers mentioned in 3.2.1. must have received fair service reports;

3.2.4. teachers mentioned in 3.2.2. must have received satisfactory service reports;

....

**3.2.6. their husbands or future husbands must signify by completion of a certificate as shown below, that they have no objection to their wives being appointed in a permanent capacity.**

CERTIFICATE BY HUSBAND (OR FUTURE HUSBAND)

I (full names) \_\_\_\_\_  
resident at \_\_\_\_\_

hereby declare that I as/will be the husband of  
Mrs/Miss \_\_\_\_\_

And that I have no objection to her being employed by the Department of Indian Affairs in a permanent capacity and that I am aware that she will be subject to the conditions of service applicable to teachers as determined in the Government Notice R1288 dated 26 August 1966.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_