An investigation into the perceptions of gender roles amongst adolescents of high schools in Pinetown, KZN

Adhis(ivani) Chetty

A research report submitted to the School of Education, University of Natal, Durban in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

KwaZulu Natal, November, 2003
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that ‘An investigation into the perception of gender roles among adolescents in Pinetown, KZN’ is my own work and that all sources consulted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Adhis Chetty
November 2003
SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

THIS DISSERTATION WAS COMPLETED IN NOVEMBER 2003 AND SUBMITTED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SUPERVISOR WHO INDICATED TO THE STUDENT AT THAT POINT THAT SHE HAD HEEDED EVERY SINGLE ONE OF HIS SUGGESTIONS IN TOTO AND THAT HE WILL SUBMIT HER WORK FOR EXAMINATION IN NOVEMBER 2003.
DEDICATION

In memory of the boundless reservoir of knowledge, acumen and formidable skills of non-graduates and non-academics, who attended and attend the best university in the world: The university of Life. I wish to salute these countless remarkable people who house in their minds multiple MED and PHD dissertations, and who hold unconferred professorships in myriad fields, among them my father, MUNSAMI CHUNDELRAIN who has always been and still is a visionary in the sphere of human rights for women. May their role as producers of knowledge be acknowledged and elevated. I also wish to salute the countless teachers in classrooms who positioned on the periphery in the sphere of education, plod on—often against insurmountable odds, serving poor, working class children who themselves sit on the very margins of society. Needless to say, teachers are positioned permanently and daily at the very sites of research in education and effective teaching entails daily, ongoing research. Would that the inexhaustible knowledge, skills and resources of teachers gleaned in the pursuit of their teaching which is perforce also researching were tapped, validated or at the very least acknowledged! May those so arbitrarily positioned in the centre cease to relegate the peripheral others to mere consumers of knowledge ……and may it come to pass that the ‘centre cannot hold’.

III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the dear children and their teachers without whom this research will not have been possible. I also wish to thank all the significant others in my life who helped sustain me through my disillusionment, dismay and disgust with a human being which formed the aftermath of this experience. People are never what they seem and warped minds and conscienceless souls that enslaved nations and continents with ease still exist.
ABSTRACT

This research project was aimed at identifying the perceptions of adolescent boys and girls with regard to the role function of men and women in society. Quantitative and qualitative methods, and a hybrid form of sampling were employed in this research project. The sample for this study was drawn from 5 secondary schools and comprised 65 boys and 65 girls. The adolescents' perceptions were analysed and interrogated critically against the yardstick provided by the non-sexist values of the South African constitution. An attempt was made to identify the extent to which the adolescents' perceptions are in synch with rigid patriarchy, sexism and the gendered division of labour, and the extent to which the adolescents' perceptions are in synch with the non-sexist South African constitution. The analysis of the adolescents' perceptions were informed inter alia by the theories of essentialism and constructivism.

The research revealed, inter alia, that most of the adolescents reject rigid patriarchy; reject the gendered division of labour in some spheres; accept the gendered division of labour in some spheres; accept and favour the economic empowerment of women; believe that sex should be negotiated; believe that men are more suited to be leaders than women; are against the perpetration of violence by either of the sexes and are homophobic and heterosexist. It was also evident that while both boys and girls rejected rigid patriarchy; girls were decidedly more receptive to the empowerment of women than boys. The study revealed that while there has been an erosion of the rigid division of the masculinized public sphere and the feminized domestic sphere, the public sphere is perceived as one in which men should dominate while the domestic sphere is deemed more suitable for women than men with women and men playing supportive, subdued albeit ever increasing roles in the public and domestic spheres respectively – the researcher as termed the existing perception the yin-yang worldview and the emergent perception the yanging-yin-yining-yang worldview. The study also highlighted that perceptions are not determined entirely by knowledge and ideals and served to bring home forcefully, the overriding potency of social realities and conditioning in shaping and regulating perceptions.

In short the study demonstrated that the adolescents have not fully embraced the non-sexist values of the new constitution. The findings of the study were utilized by the researcher as a diagnostic instrument to produce recommendations and solutions – based on Freirean praxis – for the elimination of sexist, patriarchal perceptions.
An adaptation of the original for the purposes of this dissertation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPERVISOR’S STATEMENT</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARTOON</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARTWORK</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>VIII &amp; IX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.0 CHAPTER 1  INTRODUCTION, CONTEXTUALIZATION OF STUDY AND OVERVIEW  
1.1 INTRODUCTION  
1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF PERCEPTIONS  
1.3 RESEARCH LOCATION  
1.4 RESEARCH METHODS  
1.5 CONTEXT AND FOCUS OF STUDY  

2.0 CHAPTER 2  RESEARCH METHOD  
2.1 INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH  
2.2 SAMPLING  
2.3 PROCEDURE  
2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS  
2.5 RESEARCH TOOLS  
2.6 LIMITATIONS  
2.7 STRENGTHS  
2.8 CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, CONTEXTUALIZATION OF STUDY AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

_In the midst of a Revolution_ (a poem)

The woman who teaches me English ... ?? The wimmin who ..... ? The womyn who ....... ?? The female who ..........?? I struggle .... A prisoner chained by words ..... Anyway, my English teacher asked me to write a poem on Evolving Women And so it is I must begin the long, tedious process of writing

TICK, TOCK! TICK, TOCK! TICK, TOCK! Monotonous, Predictable, Regular and Regulated by unseen mechanisms!
It is 12.00 O’clock – midnight and I write:
"My great-great gran had 12 kids, no help and toiled all day – cooking, washing, cleaning, shopping, ploughing, feeding .......... Her hubby worked as a fisherman
She of course didn’t work!
My great gran had 9 kids, no help and toiled all day – cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping, ploughing, feeding .......... Her hubby worked as a clerk
She of course didn’t work!"

It is now 12.30 and I write:
"My gran had 6 kids, no help and toiled all day – cooking, washing, cleaning, shopping, ploughing, feeding ............ She worked in a clothing factory, until her first child my dad was born
Thereafter she stayed at home: cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping, ploughing, feeding ............ Her hubby worked as a furniture salesman!
She of course didn’t work!"

It is now 12.45 and I write:
"My mum has 2 kids – me and my brother
She works in the bank as a clerk
Her hubby works as a bank manager
She has domestic help and my baby brother goes to a crèche
When mum comes home from work she cooks....sometimes dad helps her."

It is now 12.55 and I write:
"When I grow up I want to work as an engineer
I may or may not get married!
I may or may not have children!"
I just want to BE ....me .... ME!
Just being - Being Me - from a myriad ways of being - shouldn't be a problem! ”

The minute hand nears the completion of the revolution and my sleepy mind thinks: evolving 
women? Revolving women? .......... Revolved women!!
It is still quite dark!

From a distance I can hear the faint, indistinguishable, polytonous sound of music yet to be 
composed
In a few hours it will be Dawn and he may cook the breakfast, put up the clothes on the line and he 
may ......and he may ............ ; and she may ...... and she may and he-she ?? may

............... ?? ??

Written by Ashleen Ogle (16 year old girl from the Pinetown district ) One of the 
respondents of the sampled study and one of the researcher’s learners

The role function of women has changed drastically over the years and these changes are reflected 
in the high number of women who work outside the home, the increasing number of women in the 
fields of science and technology which was once the preserve of men, the high number of women 
who combine the roles of mother, wife and employee outside the home and the many women in 
leadership and managerial roles in the public sphere. Women now prepare themselves for roles 
other than domestic chores, child rearing and marriage. Furthermore, there is clearly a wider social 
movement in which men are taking on “more domestic responsibility” and women are beginning to 
assume “ higher public profiles ”. (Segal, in Morrell, 1998: 7)

There is an obvious break away from the practice of most traditional societies in which there was a 
rigid sexual division of labour on the grounds of the universal biological difference of reproduction 
between men and women which was used as a basis for allotting tasks. Children were taught 
through a process of socialization how they should behave in order to be perceived by others and 
themselves as either masculine or feminine. Women were supposed to be nurturant, passive, weak 
and non-competitive while men were supposed to be aggressive, active, powerful and competitive –
qualities frequently used to justify male dominance. Throughout their lives this was reinforced by parents, teachers, peers, their culture and society. Hence behaviour between the sexes came to be quite detached from the differing sexual functions of men and women. What emerged was a hierarchical, patriarchal gendered division of labour. (Oakley, 1972) According to this definition, sex is connected with biology whereas the gender identities of men and women in any given society are socially, psychologically, historically and culturally determined. It is not surprising therefore that the gender identities of men and women have been subjected to social change.

The last few decades in particular have been characterized by progressive movements that have ensured that legislation be set in place which grants men and women the same rights. In our country, South Africa, we have a constitution that takes a stand against patriarchy. Gender justice, as a pillar of democracy, is a measure of the relevance of the constitution to the citizen, and speaks to the very quality of the democracy (Cockburn, 1995). However, women continue to be abused and raped, and in spite of their forming more than 50% of the workforce women continue to be marginalized in the workplace where men dominate in managerial, leadership positions (Budlender, 2001). Hence, it seems that although patriarchy has been legislated out of the statute books; it is firmly entrenched in society.

1.2 The Importance of Perceptions

The sources of patriarchy are undoubtedly myriad (socialization through childrearing, schooling, the media etc), all of which shape perceptions which in turn can influence behaviour. It is being posited that perceptions shape behaviour, although perceptions are not the only determinants of behaviour, and hence the sexism and patriarchy evident in society are perhaps
traceable to patriarchal perceptions. People are neither passive reflections of stereotyped images and ideas nor compliant victims of oppressive social conditions. Conversely, we are all not active social agents able to make free choices and resist social injustice or embrace social justice. Society and cultural-conditioning, perceptions of obligation and appropriateness, expectations, responsibilities – all of these conspire to constrain choice in both genders. (Horowitz, 1997)

Furthermore, the human mind is in constant interaction with the environment, constantly learning and changing. There are countless examples whereby the “systems” of law, religion and tradition have been changed because of a change in perceptions and attitudes. (Underwood, 1991) Herein lies the importance of identifying perceptions. The indispensability of perceptions to assess and effect change is perhaps best summed up by Aurelio Peccei in the foreword to his book Making it Happen: “At the root of the problem seems to be an incapacity or unwillingness to change our world outlook, our mentality, our attitudes. At the very moment when fundamental change and innovation have become indispensable, we seem frozen in our ways of being and modes of doing.” (Aurelio Peccei, 1990: 150)

This research assumes particular significance in a country governed by a non-sexist constitution in which there is greater coverage of women’s rights than ever before and which finds expression in among other things: National Women’s Day, International Women’s Day; and the popularization of the “new man” who shuns violence, respects the rights and feelings of women and who is skilled in the domestic chores of nurturing babies and minding the home. It was therefore deemed interesting and informative to gauge the extent to which adolescents have embraced the values of the new constitution, the extent to which they have been influenced by the changing roles of men
and women in society and the extent to which they are still caught in the grip of patriarchy and sexism.

Women's and girls' lives have become and are becoming visibly de-traditionalized. Humankind has travelled a long distance away from rigid patriarchy but we need to pause and assess how far a distance we are yet to trudge. This research is meant to constitute just such a "pause". While behaviour is not always a function of perceptions and attitudes; it is true that perceptions and attitudes can and do influence behaviour. As was pointed earlier, changed mind-sets can produce changed behaviour. This is also in keeping with the BASNEF model; propounded by Hubley (1994); which identifies beliefs, attitudes, subjective norms and enabling factors as determinants of behaviour changes. However, expressed thoughts and expressed beliefs are not always reflective of actual thoughts, actual beliefs and even actions therefore cognizance of this will inform the inferential process.

This study is meant to identify the perceptions of adolescents and in so doing access a useful barometer by which we could measure the extent to which adolescents subscribe to rigid patriarchy and sexism; and perhaps more importantly identify what we need to do to create a non-sexist society free of the grip of patriarchy.

1.3 Research Location

The study is located in the Pinetown District, Durban South Region, KZN and comprised a sample of 130 respondents: 65 boys and 65 girls who were not handpicked in terms of race and class. The sample was drawn from 5 secondary schools in the Pinetown district and the grade 11 learners in
each school, aged 16-18, constituted the population or universum for the study. The population comprised learners from all 4 race groups: African, Indian, White and Coloured from both the middle class and the working class.

1.4 Research Methods

Convenience sampling was used to identify the 5 schools used in the study while random sampling was used to identify the 65 boys and the 65 girls who constituted the sample. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Hence, data extracted from the study were both quantified and analysed qualitatively.

1.5 Context and Focus of the Study

The study is located in the broad field of social justice in education and dealt specifically with the issue of sexism. The goal of the study was to identify whether sexism is present in the minds of the boys and girls and the extent to which the boys and girls have been liberated from rigid patriarchy and sexism. With this end in mind, the study focused on the perceptions of boys and girls with regard to the role functions of men and women in society in the following spheres: the domestic sphere, the public sphere and the sphere of sex and sexuality. Among the issues probed in the study were perceptions with regard to: homosexuality, the role of sex workers, the commodification of women, the gendered division of labour, the masculinization and feminization of school subjects, the gendered division of sport, courtship, marriage and the negotiation of sex.
1.6 Outcome of Research

The research demonstrated that while most of the boys and girls do not accept rigid patriarchy and the rigid, gendered division of labour; most boys and girls still hold many sexist, patriarchal notions about the roles of men and women in society. The respondents’ perceptions were reflective of their subscription to both the essentialist and the constructivist world-views. The study also highlighted the common perceptions of the boys and girls, the distinctive perceptions of the boys and the distinctive perceptions of the girls. A clear indication emerged from the study that the respondents had not fully imbibed the values of the new constitution.

1.7 Conclusion

The study investigated the perceptions of 65 boys and 65 girls with regard to the role function of men and women in society and employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. A hybrid form of sampling that included convenience sampling and purposive random sampling was used. The chapters that follow will deal at length with the research methods employed in the study; review the literature of studies conducted in among other places Africa, Asia, Australia and Europe on perceptions with regard to the role function of men and women in society; present a detailed analysis of data extracted from the study; and then recommend possible solutions to the problems identified.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Introductory Paragraph

In a discussion of the methods employed for this study, the researcher will focus on the following salient issues: Sampling, Procedure, Research Questions, Analysis of the Research Tools, Strengths inherent in the Research tools used and the Limitations that may have been imposed by the Research Tools used. The discussion will also cover the approaches to the analyses of data.

2.2 Sampling

A convenience sample of 5 schools from the Pinetown district were selected. The schools selected happened to be situated in the urban and peri-urban areas. The sampling of the schools; while dictated by convenience; was also accompanied by a degree of purposiveness since the population provided by the schools earmarked for study embraced African, Indian, Coloured and White children from high income as well as African, Indian, Coloured and White children from low income homes. Since non-probable sampling was used to identify the schools for study, the purpose of the research was not so much to make generalized findings about the population being sampled as it was to obtain insights, ideas and critical appraisals about the subject being studied.

The sample from each school was identified through a method of random sampling. Each element enjoyed an equal probability of being included in the sample. This lend a degree of representativity
to the sample and hence the study and the findings. The composite register of the boys and the composite register of the girls who are in Grade 11 from each of the selected schools was used. The researcher then attached numbers in numerical order starting from 1 to the alphabetical listings of names. These numbers were placed in 2 separate hats: one for girls and the other for boys. The first 13 numbers selected from the respective hats for each of the respective sexes were then matched with the alphabetical listings and these learners then constituted the sample for study. The sample identified for research comprised the following strata: 65 boys and 65 girls.

Hence, purposive sampling was used to ensure that both sexes were represented equally in the sample for study. The basic assumption behind purposive sampling is that with good judgement and an appropriate strategy; the population elements can be handpicked so as to suit to needs of the researcher: the equal representation of both sexes being a need in this instance. (Judd 1979)

However, it does bear mentioning that the population elements were not handpicked in terms of class or race. The researcher acknowledges that race, class and ethnicity are important determinants of social attitudes and there was some consideration of these variables in the analyses of data; but this study was not meant to be a class-specific, race-specific study.

2.3 Procedure

A pretest was conducted with a sample from the population to eliminate ambiguities in the questionnaire. A scrutiny of questionnaires filled in the pretest phase revealed that there was a need to include more open-ended questions focusing on certain issues in order to fully probe the perceptions of the respondents with regard to certain issues. Questionnaires were then distributed to
the different schools and teachers were briefed on the procedure. Respondents were allowed as much time as they desired to fill in the questionnaire; although 3 hours of class time was allowed for this activity; and each respondent was required to fill in the questionnaire in his or her own individual capacity. Respondents were free to seek clarification from their teachers with regard to perceived ambiguities. The questionnaires were then collected from the respective schools and then analysed. The researcher was allowed the freedom to liaise with respondents via their teachers if the need arose to seek clarification, elaboration and explanation pertaining to the respondents' responses.

2.4 Research Questions

This research was informed by the following pertinent questions:

1. What are the perceptions of boys with regard to the role function of men and women in society?

2. What are the perceptions of girls with regard to the role function of men and women in society?

3. To what extent do the girls' perceptions and the boys' perceptions reflect the values of our new non-sexist constitution and to what extent do the girls' perceptions and the boys' perceptions reflect patriarchy and sexism?

4. What are the implications of the findings of this for education and the development of a non-sexist, non-patriarchal society?

2.5 Research Tools
Both qualitative and quantitative tools were used. A questionnaire entailing closed-ended and open-ended questions was used. The questionnaire comprised 3 sections: Sections A, B and C. What follows is a discussion of the nature of the questions posed and a justification thereof. Each of the demarcated sections in the questionnaire will be discussed.

**Section A**

This section was quantitative in nature and comprised 37 multiple choice questions. The answers of the respondents were quantified and thereafter analyzed. The questions were aimed at identifying the perceptions of boys and girls with regard to the role functions of men and women in the following domains: the role of men and women in the domestic sphere, the role of men and women in the public sphere and the role of men and women in the sphere of sex and sexuality. A deliberate attempt was made by the researcher to desist from sexist language and to avoid the imposition of a sexist vision of the world. A deliberate attempt was also made to avoid streamlining/structuring of perceptions based on the researcher’s preconceived notions/assumptions/expectations of adolescents’ perceptions. Hence, while many of the questions were underpinned by prevailing attitudes and existing stereotypes, an equal number of questions were underpinned by a worldview that represents an alternative to the one characterized by existing stereotypes and prevailing attitudes, and or a debunking of existing stereotypes and prevailing attitudes. This is an illustrative example: Question 3 in Section A is based on the stereotype that motherhood is crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of women while question 12 in Section A is based on the debunking of this stereotypical expectation of women only, extending the expectation to men.

Inherent in the multiple choices presented to the respondents for all of the multiple choice
questions were choices based on gendered world views and ungendered world-views, and views based on stereotypes as well as views based on alternatives to these stereotypes. Furthermore, the last option provided for each of the multiple choice questions was termed “Other” – affording participants an opportunity to present views which may represent alternatives or qualifications to those presented by the researcher. Hence, every attempt was made to prevent the streamlining and structuring of respondents’ perceptions based on the researcher’s preconceived notions and expectations.

Section B

This section provided respondents with a list of 30 occupations. The responses were tabulated, quantified and then analyzed. Respondents were expected to indicate whether they associated each of these occupations with a male, a female, both of the sexes or none of the sexes. This was designed to identify the extent to which each of the sexes shared sexist stereotypes associated with the different occupations and to obtain an insight into how they viewed the roles of women and men being played out in society.

Section C

This section comprised 15 open-ended questions. Among these were questions based on a cartoon and questions based on hypothetical scenarios. This section represented the qualitative component of the questionnaire and as such the main and pertinent features of the responses were jotted down and then analyzed qualitatively. The questions were designed to encourage divergent thinking, lengthy, argumentative responses and the free, spontaneous expression of ideas and
thoughts. The use of open-ended questions were deemed essential since the research dealt with subjective experiences and social meanings. This qualitative form of cultural analysis enabled the researcher to “know the internal dynamics of the situation as experienced by the participants” (Willis, 1983:176), thereby providing valuable insight into the boys’ and girls’ perceptions. Furthermore, the open-ended questions allowed the respondents to convey the fine shades of their attitudes and enabled the researcher to access the full range of attitude positions in the population under study.

2.6 Limitations

The research hinged almost entirely on the respondents’ written responses to the Questions and was based on the premise that the respondents were either male or female. This male-female categorization is a gendered assumption that makes no provision for androgynous beings who may defy these categorizations. The oral mode of communication, which is more conducive to the free, spontaneous expression of ideas was not the primary means for the extraction of data. Writing for communication is by its very nature a structured, deliberate, conscious process therefore it cannot always be an accurate indicator of thoughts and perceptions: people do not always write what they believe/perceive; they may well express what is socially acceptable. (Moore, 1983:174). While it is true that actions do not always reflect perceptions because human beings may choose not to act on their perceptions; it is equally true that actions may reflect perceptions more accurately than words which represent mere claims. It is being suggested that an observation of the actions of the respondents will have complemented the research tools used and hence strengthened the research.
It also bears re-mentioning that the population elements were not handpicked in terms of race, class and ethnicity because the study was not meant to be a class-specific, race-specific study. However, South African society is a polarized society with diverse cultural, religious and sociological perceptions many of which may be unique to specific race, ethnic and class groupings. The generalizable validity of this study has therefore been considerably reduced.

2.7 Strengths

The purposiveness of the sampling of schools which ensured that adolescents of all races (African, Indian, White, Coloured) and adolescents of both the middle class and working class constituted the population or universum of the study; and the simple random sampling by which the respondents for the study were identified—affording all elements of the population an equal chance of being selected for the sample, served as antidotes to a biased selection of respondents based on the researcher's preconceived notions of perceptions and anticipated outcomes of the study. Hence, the sampling methods employed lend a degree of objectivity, authenticity and credibility to the research. The pre-test which preceded the administration of the questionnaire allowed for the elimination of ambiguities in terms of the respondents' interpretations of questions/stimuli. The open channel of communication maintained between the researcher and the teachers of participating schools for the duration of the study enabled the researcher to seek clarification and elaboration from the respondents via their teachers who acted as conduits between the researcher and the respondents. This served to reduce the misinterpretation and distortion of data.
The questionnaire was comprehensive and multidimensional and focused on the different spheres of human existence wherein women and men play out their roles. The attitudes of the respondents to the same pertinent issues were gauged through several stimuli: multiple choice questions (Section A), questions entailing categorizations (Section B), responses to cartoons, responses to hypothetical questions and other open-ended questions. This served to identify whether the responses were consistent or contradictory, and therefore invalid. Hence, the researcher was thorough in identifying the accuracy and validity of perceptions. Furthermore, the use of open-ended questions encouraged the free, spontaneous and frank expression of ideas and thoughts. Many of the open-ended questions were couched within a capsule of subtlety so as to gauge respondents' perceptions without overtly suggesting to them the actual issues being probed; thereby encouraging honesty and spontaneity, and preventing them from deliberately orchestrating their responses to conform to what is deemed socially acceptable and in vogue. The reader is being directed to refer to Section C in Appendix I, which comprises hypothetical scenarios and case studies, for an illustration of the subtlety of the questioning technique employed by the researcher.

2.8 Concluding Paragraph

The study employed qualitative and quantitative methods. Elements of convenient sampling, purposive sampling and simple random sampling were utilized. The study may not have far reaching generalizable validity because of the heterogenous nature of the sample in a society in which there are perceptions unique to distinctive homogenous groups; but it does provide valuable insights into the perceptions and changing perceptions of adolescents. The researcher explored the
multidimensional nature of perceptions and was thorough and meticulous in assessing the validity of perceptions.
CHAPTER THREE

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed encompasses research conducted in the 1970’s, 1980’s, 1990’s and as recent as 2002. Implicit in the literature being reviewed are the attitudes and perceptions of adolescents with regard to the role function of men and women in society in among other places England, America, Australia, Asia and Africa. Some of the literature reviewed was selected to highlight the evolving roles played by men and women in society – this being deemed an indicator of prevailing perceptions since actions are informed by perceptions even as perceptions influence actions. The researcher has chosen to present the review achronologically without categorizing the studies in terms of the goals of the studies, the findings of the studies, year of study and countries where the studies where conducted. It was deemed that this presentation will not thwart the goal of this review – this being to present a holistic, unstructured picture of the relevant attitudes and perceptions. Some of the mentioned categories have however been highlighted to allow for easy access for reference purposes.

3.2 An Overview of the Relevant Studies

The debate between the essentialist theory which argues that functions performed by men and women in society are determined by biology and the constructivist theory
which argues that the role function of men and women are socially constructed through the processes of socialization and social conditioning, is one that has raged on for many decades. Crucial to this debate is how boys and girls perceive one another and how they perceive themselves. To this end, Guttenag and Bray (1976) conducted a research project in the USA which was designed to gauge the attitudes of pupils to sex roles. They found that boys thought that girls should be neat, sensitive, gentle, good-looking, obedient, with a tendency to cry a lot and be weak; and the girls concurred with this perception of themselves. The girls felt that boys should be competitive, ambitious, hardworking and strong; and the boys concurred that these were desirable qualities in boys. The findings of this research are in keeping with the patriarchal view that men are strong and therefore should be successful and dominant in society; while women who are weak and vulnerable; should be relegated to roles of subordination and dependency.

Another study conducted by Paul Willis (1977) stressed that the lads he studied in Hammertown hold deeply sexist beliefs about women. They hold a double standard about the steady girlfriend (virtuous and sexually faithful) and the “easy lay” (cheap and promiscuous) damning and scorning the “easy lay” while condoning promiscuous activities amongst boys – sexual experience being seen as a sign of maturity and masculinity by the “lads”. The lads also expressed that the ability to clean and cook is one they would look for in a prospective wife. “Pen Pushing” (studious activities) was scorned while physical labour was elevated. The boys clearly subscribed to a sexual division of labour labeling arduous, manual labour as “manly” while expecting women to clean and cook for them. It is also clear that they expected women to repress and suppress their sexuality even as they embraced sexual potency and promiscuity as
dominant expressions of their masculinity.

A study by Angela McRobbie (1970) of working class girls and middle class girls in Birmingham found that: Romance and Marriage were extremely important to all the girls. The working class girls in the sample opposed the authority and the discipline in the school by embracing an informal feminine culture which was organized around romance, pop, fashion, beauty and boys. All the girls in the study connected femininity with motherhood and the home; and perceived the economic benefits of marriage. However, the same researcher studying a similar sample of girls in the 1990's found that the girls prioritized a career/job before marriage and did not value the financial incentives in marriage. Neither could they see themselves leaving work after motherhood. These studies clearly demonstrate the changing femininities and the change in the perceptions of women who no longer see their roles being restricted to the domestic sphere; but who in fact value their roles in the public sphere and prize their economic independence.

The increasing empowerment of women and the erosion of the masculinized public domain and the feminized private domain; and the erosion of the artificial masculinization of certain fields and the artificial feminization of other fields are borne out in the comparison of the outcome of studies conducted in the 1950's, 1960's, 1970's and 1980's with the outcome of more recent research. Studies conducted in the 50's, 60's, 70's and 80's found that boys were outshining girls in the fields of science and technology. (Walter, 1999) However, this is no longer the case as illustrated by the national results in Britain which indicate that girls are performing better than boys. (Walter, 1999) It was found that girls were
outstripping boys in areas where they had previously lagged behind - specifically in maths, science and technology. This has resulted in a concomitant increase in the number of girls who are entering exclusively male domains – a trend that is indicative of the obvious shift in the perceptions of the role functions of men and women in society.

The role function of men and women in the sphere of sex and sexuality and the expression thereof has been and remains a site of oppression for girls and women who find themselves disempowered and subjected to sexual repression and suppression while their male counterparts are empowered as initiators and allowed free sexual expression.

Deidre Wilson (1978) and Lesley Smith (1978) studied girls between 13 and 15 in a city in Northern England. The girls divided their fellow girls into virgins who were termed “nice girls” and who only had sex when in love with a steady responsible boy and “lays” who would have sex with anyone and who should be avoided because they would tarnish the reputation of the “nice girls”. In a related study Griffin (1982) found that dominant images of female deviance at school centred on “uncontrolled sexuality”. In their study of working class girls in Britain, Celia Cowie and Sue Lees (1984) found that girls who were sexually available were labeled as “slags” while the “nice girls” were labeled as “drags”. Conventional decency was elevated over overt sexuality. However, the girls were expected to be attractive to boys and were hence pressured to walk “the narrow tightrope to achieve sexual attractiveness without the taint of sexuality”. (Gilbert P and Taylor S, 1991:142) Hence, the “politics of reputation” (Gilbert P and Taylor S, 1991:143) forces girls to organize their lives in terms of a notion of honour that prevents them from being overtly sexual.
Patrick Wight's study (1994) and Holland et al's (1998) study identified the double standard that allows boys to enjoy sexual freedom without condemnation but which condemns similar behaviour on the part of girls. One of the respondents in the Holland et al's study had this to say: "... the girl is not meant to want sex, and she is not meant to say she does, but I mean a boy, he's meant to be sort of dominant, 'I want sex', you know, this - man type of thing." (Holland et al, 1998:174) These studies demonstrate that free expression of sexuality on the part of women is seen as being unbecoming, deviating from the emphasized femininity that encourages restraint and passivity while sexual expression, on the part of men, is seen positively as a mark of masculinity. Boys and girls are clearly expected to perform different and unequal roles in the sphere of sex and sexuality, and the expression thereof.

Galloway (1973) sampled students from Edinburgh university and Moray House College of Education. She found that the women believed that housework was for women; washing clothes and bed making were unmanly tasks and it was the duty of women to stay at home and rear children particularly in their formative years while the men went to work. These girls clearly subscribed to the gendered division of labour.

Griffin's (1984) study of "typical girls" in England highlighted the importance of domestic responsibilities and childcare as inevitable shaping influences in their lives. Griffin found that while Asian and Carribean girls were more critical of romantic love than white girls; all of them saw their role function in society as being centred around being wives and mothers. The girls saw themselves as merely supplementing the incomes of their husbands and the pressure to get a man influenced their job expectations.
The findings of Galloway's and Griffin's studies find resonance in the studies undertaken in America by Broverman et al (1970) and Bem (1972) which were aimed at identifying the perceptions of high school students in Wisconsin and university students in California with regard to masculinity and femininity. These revealed that the young people saw masculine qualities as being suitable for the primary, dominant role in society while they saw feminine qualities as being suitable for secondary, expressive and cooperative social roles. Furthermore all the respondents indicated that childrearing was the primary responsibility of the mother and that men should be the primary breadwinners. Hence, both boys and girls had internalized the gendered division of labour.

A Canadian study conducted by Baker (1985) found that girls saw their primary role in society as wives and mothers; tended to romanticize marriage and believed that they were immune to divorces even though they were aware of divorces. A defining characteristic espoused by the girls was that of heterosexuality. The findings of the Canadian study were echoed in Australia but an extension of the feminine role was detectable. Research conducted by Thomas (1980), Moran (1983) and Wilson and Wyn (1987) show that the Australian girls not only accepted that they are likely to spend a significant part of their lives in paid work but that they are also likely to be involved in childrearing. However, in the Australian study conducted by Thomas (1980) of two girls' state schools: one middle class and the other working class; he found some interesting differences. Both groups of girls resisted the academic demands of the school; although the working class girls were less subdued than the middle class girls- presenting themselves as "tough and worldly". The acceptance of motherhood and marriage as integral features of femininity and womanhood transcended class differences.
Linley (1983) found in her study of working class girls in Sydney that the girls rejected traditional notions of femininity and were overtly sexual earning themselves the label of “promiscuous”. However, all the girls could not see any future for themselves outside marriage and could not conceive of alternatives to motherhood and childrearing. The demarcation of marital responsibilities between provider-husbands and domestic–wives clearly finds favour with most people. (Okin, 1989)

A study conducted in India illustrates the patriarchal perceptions of Indian men and women. These are the words of Indian women who were sampled for the study: “I expect my husband to be unfaithful to me – he is after all a man.” ; “When I married him I became his property.” ; “My husband has a right to beat me.” ; “It is my duty to provide male children for my husband.” ; “It is the dharma (duty) of all women to marry and serve her Lord and Master: her husband.” (Jung, 1997: 55)

This perception of marriage is also echoed in the Cameroon and Nigeria in Africa where it is termed the “highest degree” Muslim women can achieve. (Habi, 2002:152). Women are meant to be mothers and housewives and are expected to end up in the kitchen irrespective of what they achieve. Furthermore, unmarried women were insulted and stigmatized. Studies conducted by Tegomoh (1999) and Habi (2002) found that many young girls feel they have to end their education in order to gain acceptance and respect from society because many men believe that tertiary institutions empower women rendering them unsuitable for the role of hardworking, obliging, dutiful, respectful and obedient wives and mothers - these being clear expectations of Nigerian society.
In the traditional African society of the Eastern Cape in South Africa, gendering was constructed from a "cultural template" or ideal pattern and individual lives were mapped out and divided into stages on the basis of biological sex and change (Bem, 1993: 134). Girls were geared for domestic labour which included agricultural production, the supply of water, cooking, and child rearing. Boys, on the other hand, were geared for hunting and defence. Both the boys and girls were prepared for heterosexual sex and marriage, with the prenuptial relationship centring on metsha/ukulobonga or external intercourse which was intended for the sexual release of the male rather than the female. These masculinities and femininities were constructed during stickfighting and imitshotsho (dances) and girls who failed to carry out orders from the boys might be beaten with a stick (Laubscher, 1937). In other words, violence against women was sanctioned. Furthermore, there was intlonipho which was a system that regulated speech and movement of married women in relation to the men in a household. A study by Mdantsane (1993) found that intlonipho also ensured the subordination of the women to their husbands and even mothers-in-law. Since marriage and children were the keys to social acceptance, women complied and disparaged those who did not. (Dowling, 1988) Wife beating like concubinage was the norm with husbands enjoying the right to phutuma his wife (Seymour, 1960: 67). Hence, boys' sexual needs were prioritized; they were cast in a dominant role as the wooers, controllers, and protectors of women; and women were expected to be compliant.

It appears that these expressions of masculinity and femininity in the Eastern Cape are still prevalent in many African societies. Girls feel pressured to prove their fertility by falling pregnant and girls often sleep with boys because they fear being beaten.
(Varga and Makubalo, 1995). Boys dominate girls who have no decision making powers (Ulin, 1992) and girls who are economically dependent on men (Varga and Blose, 1995). Girls are disempowered in relationships with boys; feel obligated to have sex with them on their terms which often means not using a condom because girls and boys have fallen prey to the prevailing gender roles (Hulton et al, 2000)

Furthermore there exists a tolerance of multiple sexual partners for men; but moral and social sanctions are exerted on women (Obbo, 1995) - a clear indication of gendered double standards. In addition to this, sex in traditional and even modern African societies continues to be a heterosexist terrain dominated by men. It bears mentioning that same sex practices continues to be taboo in major parts of the African continent (Bujra, 2000)

However, despite the patriarchal nature of much of pre-colonial and even post-colonial Africa; not all African societies were always characterized by a rigid patriarchal order which disempowered women relegating them to the margins of society. In Ghana; the office of Okyeame or chief’s spokesperson originated through a woman. The queen mothers in Ghana, Uganda and Nigeria were often called upon to advise the chief about his conduct. Among the matrilineal Akan people of Ghana; women often served as chiefs (Busia, 1951); a prominent chief being Yaa Asetewa who led the Ashanti warriors in the final Anglo-Ashanti war of 1900-1901. In Sierra Leone female chiefs enjoyed the same authority as male chiefs. Among the Kikuyi of Kenya; women performed social, economic and judicial functions (Smock, 1977). A study by Sacks (1982) found that colonialism which was characterized by male hegemony entrenched existing male hegemonic structures in African societies or eroded the rights and privileges enjoyed by women in the more enlightened
African societies. What is clear is that the hierarchical, patriarchal division of labour which restricted women to the private domain and debarred them from public life; was not always the norm in all traditional African societies.

The gendered, socially constructivist nature of labour is also highlighted by Professor George Murdock’s study in the 1970’s of 224 preliterate societies. He found that: lumbering is not an exclusively masculine activity; cooking was not an exclusively feminine activity and that child rearing was the equal and joint responsibility of both men and women amongst the Aarapesh and the Trobriand Islanders. Hence, the gendered, stereotypical roles of men and women were not the universal norm. This finding is also borne out by Evelyn Reed’s thesis on prehistoric women, undertaken and carried out in the 1970’s. She found that prehistoric societies were matriarchical - not patriarchal- and women were the organizers and leaders of social life. She notes that the physical strength of men over women is a cultivated product of modern life and attitudes about masculinity and femininity; and that in primitive societies women were found to be superior to men in physical strength.(Reed, 1975:86) In her study Reed cites Childe who gives credit to prehistoric women for “the chemistry of pot-making, the physics of spinning, the mechanics of the loom, and the botany of flax and cotton”(Childe in Reed, 1975:113) Reed’s theory of early society as one that was matriarchical and not patriarchal is a further indication of the constructivist, non-essentialist nature of patriarchy.

3.3 Conclusion

The aforementioned studies that have been outlined demonstrate that most societies
across the globe have been characterized by a hierarchical, patriarchal gendered division of labour which resulted in men being elevated at the expense of women who were subordinated; that in most societies labour and duty were separated into the masculinized public domain and the feminized private domain; that unequal power relations were the norm between men and women in most societies and that both men and women subscribed to this norm with its resultant empowerment of men and disempowerment of women.

The studies also demonstrate that in the 1950's, 1960's, 1970's, 1980's both boys and girls shared the following perceptions with regard to the role functions of men and women in society: men should be the breadwinners in the home; women should take care of babies and be adept at household chores such as cooking – these being their primary and central duties; hard labour manual work is more suitable for men than women; women should repress and suppress their sexual feelings and be denied the right to initiate relationships; men had the right to be sexually expressive and were empowered in the sphere of sex and sexuality to initiate relationships; promiscuity is a sign of a positive expression of masculinity in boys while overt sexual expression, let alone promiscuity, is a sign of immorality and amorality in women; a woman’s femininity is synonymous with being able to attract a man, marry him and fall pregnant; heterosexuality is the norm for men and women; and the status quo which grants men economic, social and political power is deemed desirable and unquestionable.

However, studies conducted in the 1990's in certain European countries demonstrate that women have begun to value their economic independence over marriage although
marriage and motherhood are valued greatly; and that girls are outshining boys in the traditional masculinized subjects like science and maths – hence there are clear signs of the questioning of the status quo. Nevertheless, studies in Africa in the 1990’s and in the 2000’s affirm that both men and women subscribe to gendered power relations which validate the dominance of men at the expense of women in the different spheres of human existence.

Notwithstanding the pervasive practice and universal acceptance of the gendered division of labour, the literature review also demonstrates that exceptional societies did exist in which men and women enjoyed equal power relations in some spheres. Yet other exceptional societies existed in which the traditional roles of men and women were either reversed or combined equitably. Furthermore, prehistoric societies appear to be matriarchal and not patriarchal. These studies clearly demonstrate that the sexual division of labour and patriarchy are socially constructed, and not essentialist in nature and biologically determined.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introductory Paragraph

The respondents’ perceptions with regard to the role function of men and women in society will be highlighted, analysed and discussed under the following categories: The Role of Men and Women in the Domestic Sphere, The role of Women and Men in the Public Sphere; and The Role of Men and Women in the Sphere of Sex and Sexuality and the expressions thereof. The specified categories must not be seen as rigid and self-contained because human behaviour cannot be compartmentalized and the different spheres of human existence tend to intersect. Hence, a degree of overlapping is to be expected. The discussion will draw attention to the shared perceptions of the boys and girls, the distinctive perceptions of the boys, the distinctive perceptions of the girls and the differentiated perceptions of the boys and girls. (It is being brought to the notice of the reader that these perceptions have been tabulated for purposes of easy reference – see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.) Furthermore, a consideration of the extent to which the respondents’ perceptions conform to and or deviate from the gendered division of labour and sexist stereotypes has been incorporated in the discussion.

4.2 The Role of Men and Women in The Domestic Sphere

The domestic sphere has been traditionally associated with the exploitation and undervaluation of female labour and it has been characterized by a rigid gendered division
of labour. The stimuli presented to the respondents were designed to gauge the extent to which they subscribe to this rigid sexual division of labour.

78.4% of the male respondents and 80% of the female respondents indicated that cooking, which is a traditional duty of women, should be shared by both men and women. 21.6% of the male respondents indicated that cooking should be the primary responsibility of women. 20% of the female respondents indicated that cooking should be the primary responsibility of women. None of the respondents indicated that cooking should be the primary responsibility of the man. However, 89.2% of the male respondents and 87.6% of the female respondents indicated that the job of a chef is ideally suited for males – this being indicative of the belief that men are not so suited for unpaid tasks such as cooking at home; while cooking outside the home for remuneration is best suited for men. It is clear that most of the respondents have broken away from the notion that cooking in the home is exclusively the job of the female but vestiges of the perception that the kitchen is the place for the woman but never the man are obviously still present. This was also borne out in the perception of 92.3% of the respondents that the job of a home executive is more suited for women rather than men – a perception that is clearly a product of the traditional gendered division of labour which has resulted in the feminization of the nurturant roles associated with home and hearth.

In a similar vein, 87.6% of the respondents indicated that children should be the equal responsibility of the man and the woman. 12.4% of the respondents indicated that children should be the responsibility of only the mother. None of the respondents indicated that children should be the primary responsibility of the father. However, 84.6% of the boys and 84.6% of the girls indicated that mothers were more suited than fathers to take care of very young children (babies).
because babies have an “instinctive need of their mothers”; the “mother-child bond is very strong because of pregnancy”; and “babies need breast milk.” The view that women are suited to early childcare was resonated in the association shared by 86.3% of the adolescents of a nursery school teacher with a female. The other 14.7% of the male and female respondents saw crèches and nannies as viable alternatives to maternal care in the early years of a child’s life; suggesting that women utilize these avenues of socialized child care instead of relinquishing or taking prolonged leave from work outside the home. These advocates of socialized health care also subscribed to the view that men and women are equally suitable for childcare, even in the early years of a child’s life. Hence, the gendered division of labour with regard to childcare, particularly in the early years of a child’s life is seen as essentialist in nature and biologically determined by most respondents.

With regard to ensuring that the house is clean, neat and tidy; 69.4% of the female and 69.5% of the male respondents indicated that this should be the shared responsibility of the man and the woman; approximately 10% indicated that this should be the responsibility of either the man or the woman while approximately 20% indicated that cleaning the house should be the primary responsibility of the woman. None of the respondents indicated that cleaning should be the primary responsibility of the man. There is an obvious shift from the perception that childcare and household chores such as cleaning the house be reserved exclusively for women to the dominant perception that these tasks should be shared by both men and women. That none of the respondents saw these tasks as the exclusive preserve of men while many, though not most, saw these tasks as the exclusive preserve of women is indicative of the existence of the perception among many adolescents of the gendered division of labour which positions women in the domestic sphere which they have designated as a dominant though not exclusively feminine sphere.
However, with regard to the disciplining of children which is a part of child rearing, 81% of the boys and 80% of the girls indicated that the disciplining of children should be the responsibility of the man while only 20% of the girls and 19% of the boys indicated that this responsibility should be shared by both men and women. This gendered ascription of the task of disciplining is a possible reflection of the respondents' perception of disciplining as one that requires firmness, authority and strength - essentialist qualities they indicated they associated with men while they associated women with sensitivity, flexibility and kindness- qualities perceived as biologically determined, essentialist qualities unique to women.

89.2% of the respondents indicated that it was the man's responsibility to sort out the car, while the other approximately 10% of the respondents indicated that both the man and the woman should sort out the car or either the man or the woman should sort out the car. None of the respondents indicated that it was the woman's responsibility to sort out the car. It was not surprising therefore to learn that 95.3% of both male and female respondents indicated that the job of a motor mechanic was suitable for males and not females. Similarly; the jobs of a plumber, welder, miner, carpenter and TV/Video/Computer technician were also deemed suitable for males and not females. Most of the adolescents clearly share the perception that jobs that require manual labor and technical skills are more suitable for men than women; and in fact women are unsuitable for these jobs. It is clear that the social reality which sees men in these occupations and the social sexist stereotyping associated with manual and technical skills have come to be mystified and naturalized—hence the masculinization of these tasks.
92% of the boys and 90% of the girls indicated that the protection of the house should be the duty of the man while 12% of the boys and 10% of the girls indicated that this should be the joint responsibility of the man and the woman. None of the respondents indicated that this should be solely the woman's responsibility. This is a possible indication of the perception, expressed elsewhere in the responses to the questionnaire, that men are stronger than women, more resilient than women and perhaps even in charge of women therefore they are aptly cast in the role of protectors. That none of the respondents share the view that women should be the protectors is a legacy of the sexism which saw men as dominating over women; and men as being less vulnerable and more powerful than women. It's also an expression of a masculinity that embraces chivalry and invulnerability as its core features. Akin to the role of protector, is that of the role of a soldier. 100% of the boys and 100% of the girls associated the job of a soldier with a male. All the boys and all the girls could not conceive of girls being soldiers. The boys and girls are clearly products of a prevailing hegemonic masculinity that sees men as big, physically strong and therefore capable of defence; and they are also products of a prevailing emphasized femininity that sees women as being vulnerable, delicate and in need of protection. However, it is interesting to note that all the respondents expressed their dislike of aggressive boys, aggressive girls, and boys and girls who acted as bullies. The respondents clearly did not favour the use of physical strength for indiscriminate aggression and oppression.

81.5% of the respondents indicated that the carrying of heavy objects should be the task of men while 19.5% of the respondents agreed that this should be the task of both men and women. None of the respondents indicated that this should be solely the task of women. It is clear that most of the boys and girls accepted the gendered division of labor based on the premise that men are
physically stronger and hence more capable than women of executing physically taxing tasks. That none of the respondents allocated this task to women is evidence of the existence of the sexist stereotype that some tasks are the exclusive terrain of men. The response of the approximately 20% of the respondents indicates that many, although not most, adolescents accept that chores should be shared equally between men and women. The gendered perception of labor as well as the shifting perceptions amongst adolescents are also borne out in the adolescents' perceptions of tasks such as interior decoration and shopping. 21.5% of the respondents saw these tasks as the exclusive preserve of women. None of the respondents saw these tasks as the exclusive preserve of men. However, 79.5% of the respondents felt that these tasks should be performed by either men or women. This is clear evidence of the erosion of the consensual and uncritical acceptance of the rigid gendered division of labor, and an acceptance of the sharing of some tasks amongst men and women.

The vastly different perceptions of boys and girls to metalwork and woodwork are noteworthy. 82% of the boys felt that woodwork and metalwork were more suitable for boys than girls. (This sexist perception is perhaps traceable to the social reality: these subjects have not been offered widely to girls—hence girls have not been given an opportunity to prove themselves suitable in these fields.) It is useful to compare this sexist perception with that of the non-sexist perception with regard to maths and science which is discussed under the subheading _The Role of Men and Women in the Public Sphere._ It becomes clear that social realities shape perceptions inasmuch as perceptions shape social realities.) However, most girls (84.6%) rejected this sexist stereotyping of tasks and espoused the view that metalwork and woodwork were suitable for some boys and some girls and unsuitable for some boys and some girls. This suggests that the
girls are opposed to these tasks (metalwork and woodwork) being the exclusive terrain of men while the boys seem content with this sexual division of labor. This view of the girls was however contradicted in the dominant perception amongst girls that the jobs of a carpenter and welder are more suitable for men. This suggests that while girls may have the competence, desire and flair to master certain tasks; they may be unwilling to pursue occupations in these spheres because of their unwillingness to enter traditional male terrains. Social realities are clear determinants of perception. Hence, whilst the dominant social discourse with respect to the acquisition of skills that have come to be gendered is being contested by most girls in the terrain of the human mind; this dominant gendered social discourse remains a potent determinant of girls’ decisions and actions in the sphere of choice of occupation/career.

The aforementioned differentiated perception of boys and girls was also borne out in their perceptions of sewing and cooking. Most of the boys (90%) indicated that these tasks were more suitable for girls than boys, while most of the girls (95.3%) indicated that these tasks were equally suitable for boys and girls. The differentiated perceptions of boys and girls with regard to certain occupations demonstrate that boys are more committed than girls to preserving the demarcation of certain tasks as exclusively feminine and other tasks as exclusively masculine, while girls seem to be more committed to breaking away from the sexist stereotypical moulds of traditional feminine and traditional masculine occupations. However, most boys and girls associated the job of a dress designer with both men and women, while they associated the job of a chef with a male. This is perhaps because dress designers are widely popularized as being both male and female while chefs are popularized as being male. Clearly, popular images and the status quo influence perceptions. Furthermore these jobs are associated with high remuneration – hence they are not perceived as the exclusive terrain of women although the unpaid, poorly paid
or relatively less lucrative tasks of cooking, sewing and even nursing are perceived by girls and more so boys as the preserve of women. Both boys and girls have clearly imbibed the social sexist gendered stereotyping of labour/skills. This deeply engrained stereotyping clearly constitutes a dominant discourse which has served to largely condition and regulate the responses of boys and girls although it is evident that the hegemonic gendered division and indeed hegemonic gendered reservation of labour/skills are being questioned by most girls, even as this dominant discourse continues to govern their perceptions and even actions—determining their constructions of themselves and others.

However, there can be no doubt that the rigid sexual division of labor which reserved household chores for women; even as it sanctioned the home as a place where men could relax at the expense of women has been denounced vehemently by 100% of both the male and female respondents. This was evident in the responses to the cartoon in section c which depicted a heavily pregnant woman being overworked in the home while the husband relaxes with a drink and watches TV on National Woman’s Day. The man was labeled by respondents as “lazy, barbaric, ignorant, exploitative, selfish, cruel, inconsiderate”; a “male chauvinist pig” and “uncool.” While all the respondents expressed sympathy for the woman, most of the male and the female respondents attributed blame to the woman for her exploitation, recommending that she be more assertive and take a definitive stand against the gendered division of labour in her home which results in her husband relaxing at her expense. These were among the suggestions and criticisms directed at the women: “Women should not allow themselves to be
doormats!"; “She should practise family planning.”; “She should space her children—she is having too many children too soon!”; “She should sit, relax, watch TV and forget about housework...... withdraw her labour......may be then her husband will not take her for granted.”; and “....instead of pulling her face and slaving; she should speak up and speak out.” All the respondents concurred that not only should the man share the household chores and help with the children and that this should be the normative practice, but given his wife’s pregnant state, he should execute all the tasks. It is clear that both boys and girls do not accept the gendered division of labour in the home as an unquestionable, naturalized truth and that they are in fact receptive to the sharing of household chores such as cleaning and child minding. Furthermore, they are not averse to the empowerment and assertion of women in the face of oppression. The respondents’ responses are indicative of the contestation of female subservience, female subordination and female servitude in the home and male undomestication, male autocracy and male luxuriation in the home. There is a dominant perception that the home should be a site of shared labour and not a male haven designed for male sustenance, male pampering and male gratification at the expense of women.

The tendency on the part of a significant number of boys to cling to patriarchal power, although many boys appear to have shifted from this, is borne out in this: 62% of the boys feel that the father should be the head of the house; while 38% of the boys feel that the father and the mother should enjoy equal status as heads of the family. These were some of the views expressed by the boys: “Women should not be ill-treated and taken advantage of....she should have a say, a voice, but the man being a man should have more say.”; How can a man let his wife donderer him...he must tell her what to do...she must know that he is wearing the pants in the house.”; and “A man must be prepared to listen to suggestions from his wife - she should have a say - but he
should have more say and the final say.” None of the boys felt that the mothers should be the heads of the families although many of them come from female dominated homes with absentee fathers. Interestingly, the girls’ perceptions did not differ too vastly from that of the boys: 55.3% of the girls felt that the father should be the head of the family while 44.7% felt that the mother and the father should be joint heads of the family. These were some of the views expressed by the girls: “…when the father is weak and the mother in control … the children go out of hand.”; “…boys especially keep a straight path when the father is in control.” and; “….the man must wear the pants in the house; otherwise he is weak.” That none of the respondents saw the ideal situation as one in which the woman is the head, although many of them come from female-dominated homes with absentee fathers, is significant because it suggests that: the boys and girls do not favour female domination in the home as the ideal although a significant number of them favour and accept male domination in the home as being ideal, internalized domination whereby boys have accepted their innate superiority to girls is present amongst the boys, internalized sexism whereby girls have accepted their innate inferiority to boys is present amongst the girls and that the majority of the boys and girls are more receptive to casting men rather than women in the role of leaders and decision makers in the home. These sexist views shared by the majority of the respondents in the sampled study were also echoed in the perception shared by 100% of the boys and girls that the job of the president of a country is ideally suited for a male and only a male! Hence, power in both the domestic and public sphere has come to be masculinized. Social realities expressive through a male hegemony of leadership and managerial positions assume mystification and beget the myth that because men are in leadership positions and not women; then only men are capable of leadership roles and women are not in leadership positions because they are incapable. Hence, the gendered division of labour is perceived as being essentialist and biologically determined. The social forces that have shaped and constructed these gendered
realities remain invisible and concealed under the multiple, imbricated layers of social practice, social conditioning and the powerful, highly visible and highly audible dominant discourses of male hegemony. Clearly social realities act as and constitute dominant discourses that shape perceptions.

The revolution of the last century resulted in the chains, tying women to the kitchen, being broken with 90% of the boys and 89.2% of the girls indicating that it is the duty of the wife and husband to go out and work and it is the duty of the wife and husband to take care of the house and children, with only approximately 10% of both sexes indicating that either the man or the woman should go out and work, and either the man or the woman should take care of the house and child. This is a clear indication of the acceptance of the dual role of both men and women in both the domestic and public spheres. The economic empowerment of women seems to find favour with both boys and girls who find it inconceivable for women to be restricted to the home, although the perception that women, rather than men are more suited to be home executives has remained largely unquestioned- 95% of the boys and 95% of the girls having vouched for this. However, 90.7% of the girls felt that it was unimportant who earns more money while just 44.6% of the boys felt that it was unimportant for men to earn more money. In other words, many boys and girls felt that it was unimportant who earns more money therefore many boys and girls do not typecast men as the primary or sole breadwinners which is a clear shift from the traditional perception. It is noteworthy however that 46% more boys than girls felt that it was more important for a man to earn more money than a woman in a household. Hence the changing perception that men should be primary breadwinners has been embraced to a greater extent by
girls than boys, many of whom seem intent to cling to the traditional role of primary breadwinners, which is probably a feature of an hegemonic masculinity that sees men wielding more economic power than women as being synonymous with "being a real man". The unanimous acceptance of the economic empowerment of women is traceable to social reality, a product of a changing economy, which sees women working outside the home; just as the perception that women are best suited as home executives is also traceable to a social reality which sees women working a double shift (at home and outside home) and assuming the bulk of the responsibility of domestic chores. Hence, social realities often constitute dominant hegemonic discourses and are powerful determinants of perceptions, barricading the emergence and growth of alternative discourses—the sprouting of which may arise from knowledge, ideals, desires and predilections.

100% of both boys and girls disapproved of the beating of women by men; and the beating of men by women. Many of the respondents objected to all forms of abuse by either of the spouses and expressed the unanimous view that differences and conflicts should be resolved exclusively through dialogue and mediation. This clearly points out that boys and girls have rejected the sanctioning of male domination in the house through violence; and this is also reflective of the changing and developing masculinities among boys who have rejected as taboo an aggressive masculinity; and embraced in its stead features of a masculinity espoused by "The New Man"—touting the view that real men don't rape.
4.3 The Role of Women in the Public Sphere

The clichéd dictum: “The woman’s place is at home” is an archaic notion in the minds of the boys and girls sampled for this study who unanimously rejected this notion. 93.8% of the boys mentioned that a career and marriage are equally important for women while 81.5% of the girls indicated that a career and marriage are equally important for women. The other respondents indicated that a career is more important than marriage for a woman. None of the respondents indicated that marriage was more important than a career for either men or women. The role of women outside the home, that is, in the public sphere was unanimously accepted and acknowledged. The economic empowerment of women is clearly valued by both boys and girls who have implicitly rejected the total economic dependence of women on men.

The overwhelming majority of boys and girls accepted that some men are good leaders, some women are good leaders and that some men are bad leaders and some women are bad leaders. Hence, the majority of boys and girls have rejected the stereotype that men are better leaders than women. However, 45% of the boys felt that men are better leaders than women while 15% of the girls felt that men are better leaders than women. None of the boys felt that women are better leaders than men. This indicates that the stereotype that men are better leaders than women is more prevalent amongst boys than girls; and most boys clearly find it inconceivable for a woman to be a better leader than a man. Hence, girls seem more receptive than boys to a world which sees women in leadership positions. The hegemonic masculinity which elevates men as leaders privileges men over women and it is clear that many boys wish to cling to this outcome of
privilege; even as many girls seem to challenge the hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity that jointly conspire to define women in positions of subordination to men. This differentiated gendered perception of the girls and boys were resonated in their responses to the choice of a CEO: Most boys indicated that a man was more suitable for the job of a CEO than a woman because men are more likely to command the respect of people. These are some of the boys’ responses: “…workers will take advantage of a woman.”; “A man will be able to control workers.”; “Workers will give women a hard time and productivity will go down.”. The respondents indicated that men will better be able to control and motivate people; and that a female CEO is likely to be undermined. Hence, the job of a CEO and the characteristics of leading, controlling, and disciplining people associated with the job have come to be masculinized. Women are clearly seen as being innately unfit for this job – clear evidence of the boys’ essentialist construction of reality. While some girls shared this perception of the boys; most girls indicated that there was a need for a female CEO to challenge a male dominated terrain and to feminize this job with qualities such as sensitivity, flexibility, and patience – qualities they identified as those a female CEO will bring to the job. These are some of the girls’ responses: “There are hardly any female CEOS … if a woman gets this job; then people will realize that woman too can do these responsible jobs.”; “workers need sympathy … not harshness....a woman is more patient and caring.”. It is clear that the girls are more receptive to new constructions of social reality – constructions that will see women empowered in exclusive masculine terrains. If most girls can conceive of women as good leaders, it bodes well for a society which is presently dominated by male leaders in all spheres of life.
However, the attention of the reader is being drawn to Appendix 4 which reflects that both boys and girls find it easier to perceive women in subordinate rather than in powerful, leadership positions. The converse holds true for their perceptions of men. The boys’ and girls’ sexist categorizations of powerful, leading roles such as farmer, principal, manager need to be compared with their categorizations of jobs such as farm worker, teacher and bank clerk. The stereotype that women are not as suitable as men for leadership roles is still present! The perceptions of the girls expressed in their responses to the hypothetical scenario concerning choice of CEO proved to be inconsistent and contradictory with their categorizations of occupations. This demonstrates that the girls are victims of conditioning to social realities which sees men in leadership positions and women in subordinate positions – hence their categorizations were in keeping with social realities and the status quo; although they have the knowledge to perceive that women can acquit themselves competently as leaders as borne out in their responses to the hypothetical scenario on the choice of CEO – their non-sexist responses here were in keeping with their idealistic vision – a vision that could find easy expression in a hypothetical situation. Social realities tend to mystify constructivist gendered practices as being biologically determined and essentialist in nature; and can clearly have a potent effect on perceptions - a power that outshines knowledge, gender awareness and ideals that girls may have.

Science, Maths and Technology were fields traditionally dominated by men while the Arts and languages were fields traditionally dominated by women. However, it was encouraging to note that 89.2% of the boys and 87.6% of the girls felt that some boys were in good in maths and science and some girls were good in maths and science; just as some girls and some boys were weak in maths and science. This non-sexist perception, which is in defiance of the sexist stereotyping of these subjects, has no doubt been shaped by social realities: these subjects have
been offered to both boys and girls in most urban schools and national results reveal that girls are performing just as well as boys if not outshining boys in these fields. Clearly, the masculinizing and feminizing of certain subjects have been rejected by most boys and girls although the gendered demarcation of these fields exists in society. Nevertheless, this perception bodes well for the demasculinizing and defeminizing of these fields in society at large as increasing numbers of women enter the fields of maths, science, and technology, and increasing numbers of men feel free, if so inclined to enter the fields of the arts and literature without having to bear the gendered stigmatized brunt of this being a preferred, even exclusive sphere for women. Some facets of the rigid gendered division of labour are clearly being questioned.

The gendered division of sport is the norm in society at large as well as in schools. However, 46.1% of the girls and 45% of the boys rejected the gendered division of sport while 49.2% of both sexes indicated that sport should be played separately. Approximately 5% of both sexes indicated that whether boys and girls should play sport together or separately depended on the nature of the sport. The view was expressed that some sports like rugby and boxing were more suitable for men than women because they were deemed “rough sports” and women’s bodies were considered to be more vulnerable than men’s bodies. These were some of the views expressed by the respondents: “...a woman’s body is soft and she can get hurt”; “a woman’s breasts can get bruised and her womb can get dislocated in rough sports” and “… boys are tougher and can get hurt less easily than girls.” Netball was deemed more suitable for girls than boys. Soccer and athletics were deemed equally suitable for boys and girls although they were expected to compete separately – the perception that these codes are suitable for women is probably traceable to the popularization of these sport as being suitable for women through, among other things, the media. It is clear that most boys and girls accepted the gendered division of sport and the
gendered sexist stereotyping of certain sport codes which exist in society. The separation of boys and girls in the sphere of sport was justified on the grounds that sport is among other things an expression of physical strength and men are stronger than women. Many of the respondents stated that “....boys were stronger than girls ...it would be unfair for them to compete with each other.”

The economic and social implications for the gendered division of sports were not probed since these did not constitute the brief of the research. However, it bears mentioning that all the respondents favored the participation of boys and girls and, men and women in sport, expressing the view that both sexes should enjoy equal access to sport and equality of opportunity to excel in sport. The gendered division of sport is clearly serving to reinforce the perceived invulnerability of men which constitutes a feature of a hegemonic masculinity and the perceived vulnerability of women which constitutes a feature of an emphasized femininity.

4.4 Sexuality and the Sexual Function of Men and Women in Society

Many of the questions and stimuli presented were aimed at probing the boys’ and girls’ perceptions in the sphere of human sexuality as reflections of vital characteristics of their constructions of masculinity and femininity.

Most girls (80%) felt that the single state was ideal for women while most boys (72.3%) indicated that the married state was the ideal state for women. However, most girls who favoured the single state, also favoured being involved in a relationship and being independent even as they retained the single status. There was an obvious perception amongst girls that marriage was a threat to their independence. Nevertheless, most girls could see themselves being married with children. On the other hand 50% of the girls felt that the ideal state for a man was to be married while
72.3% of the boys felt that being married was the ideal state for a man. There is a greater desire for marriage amongst boys than girls, perhaps because marriage is seen to hold more benefits for men than women. The overwhelming majority of both boys and girls, felt that marriage and having a baby were crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of some men and women, but not crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of all men and women. There is a clear shift on the part of both boys and girls from the perception that marriage and becoming parents are non-negotiable prescribed roles for all men and women. Nevertheless, most boys and girls could see themselves being married with children and were not averse to heterosexual relationships. The female respondents did not see marriage as an ideal state because of the existing unequal power relations between men and women in a marriage. This female respondent's words are reflective of the thoughts of many respondents: “...it is nice to have someone special who loves you and whom you love....and sex can be good .... It’s important to have a child......but men can be such dogs...some of them just want a wife as a slave and they go chasing after other women ...and then they feel they can bully you.” All the female respondents expressed the desirability of heterosexual relationships based on “mutual respect, equality and love”. Hence, the female respondents are clearly contesting an emphasized femininity which Connell defined as one that exists in relation to female subordination to men and an exclusively focused orientation to the interests and desires of men (Connell, 1987: 83) although they have not totally rejected other features of an emphasized femininity: the role of women as reproducers and nurturers.

In terms of initiating a relationship: 52.3% of the boys and 50% of the girls felt that boys should ask girls out for the first date while the other 50% of the girls and 47.7% of the boys felt that either of the sexes should ask the other sex out for the first time. This indicates that while many people
are still caught in the grip of patriarchy and chauvinism which cast men as initiators of relationships, at least half of the adolescents - both male and female, rejected this sexist practice and favoured the empowerment of women to initiate relationships. With regard to the issue of sex and marriage, 83% of both the boys and 81.5% girls felt that sex and marriage should be initiated by either a man or a woman. Hence there is a clear shift in the perception that sex, courtship and marriage should be dominated by men who were cast in the roles of initiators, pursuers and conquistadors; while women were expected to coyly and subtly beckon a man to begin the process of conquest.

It was interesting to note that most girls and boys indicated that among the qualities they disliked most in girls was that of "flirtation", "girls throwing themselves on boys" and "girls dressing revealingly". Clearly, sexual expression on the part of girls is resented by both boys and girls while similar views were not expressed about boys. This contradicts the approval expressed for girls initiating relationships with boys. This is suggestive of the dominant discourse of double standards for men and women, and boys and girls in the sphere of sex and sexuality - a discourse which seems to be adherent.

However, both boys and girls expressed their dislike of "ice-creams" whom they characterized as girls who "thought they were too good for others"; "unfriendly and cold" and "played too hard to get." This suggests that both boys and girls do not believe that girls should be subjected to sexual repression and in fact favour sexual responsiveness on the part of girls. Nevertheless, both boys and girls expressed their dislike and disapproval of boys and girls who had multiple partners and who were promiscuous; indicating their approval of fidelity. This view of a male respondent is the representative view of most male respondents: "I hate a girl who two times me or other
guys." A female respondent whose thoughts are reflective of most female respondents had this to say: "...it is okay for a boy to date many girls, but if I am his steady girlfriend; he should not be seeing other girls!" Multiple sexual partners and promiscuity have been labeled as "uncool" and the adolescents indicated that "it is dangerous for both boys and girls to sleep around .... both can get HIV". However, promiscuity was considered to be more unacceptable for girls than boys. Promiscuous girls were defined as girls who had several boyfriends and or girls who had sex with several boys and were labeled by both boys and girls as "scabarashes" and "bitches" – both derogatory terms. No derogatory term exists for promiscuous boys who were labeled as "players" – because it is believed that "they play a game with girls". Although boys and girls declared that promiscuity was unacceptable for both boys and girls; the language of the boys and girls indicates that they subscribe to double standards with regard to what is deemed acceptable sexual conduct for men and women. Promiscuity was clearly deemed more unacceptable for girls than boys - a perception shared by both boys and girls. Hence a contradiction exists between what the respondents claim to believe and their linguistic usage. Since language reflects perception (Moore, 1993:213), even as perception is shaped by language, we can assume that although the adolescents understand that the double standards for men and women with regard to sexual conduct is illogical; the social reality of living in a sexist society characterized by double standards for men and women plays a more decisive role in influencing perceptions. Hence, their sexist linguistic conceptualization. Language is indeed knowledge in an unreflected form "imposing itself on individuals from the outside guiding them willy-nilly towards notions that may be ....exact or with little foundation." (Foucault, 1970:86) There is a clear move towards an understanding that the double standards for boys and girls, and men and women with regard to sexual conduct is undesirable, and a move towards an understanding that uniform social expectations for both men and women are desirable and logical. However, the boys' and girls' perceptions seem to be
chained to a dominant sexist social reality, which is supported by sexist language, wherein the light of understanding cannot penetrate. Clearly, understanding and knowledge are not the only determinants of perception.

Existing social realities – what they see in society, and their lived experiences have come to be so naturalized and normalized rendering re-constructed social realities and alternative social realities impossible though not inconceivable; even when there is a recognition that the social practices underpinning the social reality are undesirable and illogical: the adolescents recognize that double standards with regard to sexual conduct for men and women are unacceptable, they accept that uniform practices are logical and desirable; yet they remain unwittingly committed to double standards for men and women. There is a clear tyranny of social realities. Clearly, there is an obvious need for the critical interrogation of social realities as well as an introspective critical interrogation of an obstinate gendered mind – set on clinging to tradition and custom and that will not give way to the perceived light of reason.

100% of the boys and girls indicated that it was the joint and equal responsibility of the man and woman to ensure that safe sex is practised. 98.4% of the male and 98.4% of the female respondents indicated that a wife has the right to say “No” to sex in a marriage; 98.4% of the female respondents agreed that a man has a right to say “No” to sex in a marriage and only 40% of the male respondents agreed that a man has a right to say “No” to sex in a marriage. The other 60% of the male respondents indicated that a man has a duty to have sex with his wife. These figures demonstrate that sexual potency and a demonstration thereof are obvious features of the boys’ perception of masculinity. Hence, the prominence of the view that men have a duty to have sex with their wives. Interestingly, the majority of the boys respect the right of women to say
“No” to sex in a marriage; favouring consensual sex in a marriage and eschewing a masculinity that entitles men to sex; according them the right to impose themselves often violently on women. Girls on the hand also favour consensual sex in defiance of the social expectation that women have the duty to have sex with their husbands; upon his request because “men” after all “need sex”.

The unwritten rules governing access to sex in a marriage by men and women are clearly being questioned; even as the changing perceptions expressed with regard to this issue serve as powerful reflectors of changing masculinities and femininities.

Respondents were asked to identify their ideal sexual relationship and all respondents concurred that the ideal sexual relationship was that between a man and a woman thereby implying that homosexual/lesbian relationships were undesirable. This heterosexist view was resonated in the respondents’ projected attitude to the hypothetical scenario which required them to respond to the discovery that their brother/sister/friend is gay. Respondents’ projected responses ranged from anger, shock, disappointment, disgust to sadness and grief. These are the representative views of most respondents: “...it would not be so hard if it were my friend, but if it’s my brother I’ll be ashamed...it will reflect badly on the whole family.”; “I’ll avoid the person......people may think that I’m gay and that he is my partner.”; “I’ll be sad for the person...he or she will never be able to live a normal life.” and “It would be like there is a new member in the family...I’ll look at the person in a whole new light.” However, 86.1% of the 130 respondents also indicated that they will eventually accept the gay person and that they had no right to be judgemental about a person’s sexual orientation and that in fact the person’s sexual orientation did not change the person.

Respondents had this to say: “Maybe he or she can’t help being who they are.”; and “The
person is still the same – nothing about him will change because he or she is gay.” However, there was a clear prejudice against homosexuals and homosexual relationships were unanimously deemed undesirable and unwholesome. The respondents’ response to Section C, question 2 in the questionnaire which expected them to identify suitable adoptive parents also served to highlight the obvious prejudice against homosexuals/lesbians who were deemed unsuitable by 98.4% of the respondents. Respondents justified their choice of heterosexual adoptive parents (a man and a woman) on the basis that “a child needed exposure to both male and female role models”; “a child will be mocked for having 2 mothers and 2 fathers”; homosexuals forfeited their right to parenthood because God “made man and woman to reproduce”; God did not approve of same sex unions and; men had distinctive masculine qualities and women had distinctive feminine qualities – the child had a right to be exposed to both a male and a female role model and to “both distinctive feminine and distinctive masculine characteristics”. Many of the respondents indicated that the heterosexual couple could not be blamed for their childlessness expressing the view that they felt “sorry for the heterosexual couple”; while the homosexual couples were “unworthy of sympathy because they brought childlessness on themselves”; and therefore the heterosexual couple was more deserving of the child. It bears mentioning that at least 5% of the respondents felt that sexual orientation of the persons should not be the criterion used in determining suitability of parents – “capacity to love, nurture and provide for the child should be determining criteria”. The respondents’ choice of parents was clearly not only a function of the social prejudice against homosexuals but also a function of the gendered division of labour and the gendered characteristics of men and women which express themselves as being distinctively masculine and distinctively feminine; as well as a reflection of the respondents’ subscription to the biological determinism of role functions performed by men and women. Furthermore, most boys and girls indicated that “seeing a boy behave like a moffie” is what they found most
Closely linked to sex and sexual expression is that of physical appearance. Question 14 in section C was designed to gauge perceptions with regard to this issue. The commodification of women’s bodies is commonplace and women are subjected to pressure to conform to society’s arbitrary standards of beauty. Most boys (55.3%) expressed the view that it is important for women to use make-up, jewellery and to strive to look as pretty and young as possible and this is not important for men, while most girls (75.3%) indicated that a woman should not derive confidence from her physical appearance; should be content with her physical appearance; should strive for a healthy body, mind and soul and she should derive confidence from her inner being. These are a representation of the views expressed by some of the girls: “A person should be comfortable with who she is”; “Who decides what is beautiful? Not so beautiful, attractive, unattractive and ugly?”; “What happens when there are wrinkles and grey hair...can this be stopped...should a woman feel less of a person because of this?”; “Why is it important for a woman to look good and not a man?...he is seen as sexy even when he is grey...” Hence, the role function of girls as decorative commodities and the sexism, ageism and even racism; associated with social standards of beauty as well as its arbitrariness have been rejected by most girls, and many but not all boys. Clearly, the emphasized femininity which emphasizes feminine appearance and sexual desirability has become a sphere of contestation for both boys and girls albeit in the human mind; although it continues to regulate the perception of most boys and a significant number of girls. There is a clear medley of femininities – each femininity an expression of women’s distinctive responses to the world and its stimuli, its expectations, its ideals, its unwritten and written rules and women’s distinctive responses to the prevailing hegemonic masculinity which often nourishes an
emphasized femininity. It is clear that not all girls have subscribed in toto to an emphasized femininity which is meant to reduce women to passive, docile recipients of hegemonic male expectations and desires; and that they are in fact able to perceive alternative ways of being. If the girls can act on and live out their expressed beliefs, then a subversive, non-compliant femininity that celebrates the essentialist characteristics of being female while abjuring many of the constructivist characteristics of being female is in the making. The perceptions are indicative of these visions of femininity being definitely present in the human mind.

With regard to the issue of prostitution and sex workers, all participants agreed that this was an undesirable profession although boys showed greater tolerance and were less judgemental than girls. This is a representative view of one of the female respondents: “This is something a woman should never do......only a loose woman will do this......there must be other ways of earning a living.” This is the representative view of the male respondents: “Maybe the woman is a good woman and she tried to get a job but couldn’t. Maybe she had a child to support...and they would have starved if she didn’t do this.” Many boys indicated that sex workers were functional because in their absence “rape will increase” and there will be more instances of other sexual aberrations. The boys indicated that in the absence of sex workers “some men may abuse young girls and even children to get their kicks.” The boys perceptions are suggestive of a belief that some men do have unbridled sexual desires that are innate to men and essentialist in nature and that there is a need for society to provide outlets for these desires – a clear acknowledgement on the part of the boys of the existence of a masculinity that embraces sexual potency, high libido and the belief that men need sexual gratification. Although the girls perceived the economic reasons for prostitution the profession was unanimously condemned by them as one a woman should never resort to. While most of the respondents raised the issue of HIV/AIDS seeing sex workers as
sources as well as victims of the scourge; none of the respondents saw the need to protect these sex workers through any form of legislation. While most of the respondents perceived the female sex workers as criminals; none of the respondents perceived their male clients as criminals. These are the representative views expressed by the respondents: “If the police don’t deal with prostitutes; then they will be encouraging prostitution” and “Prostitutes are bad ....they can spread HIV/AIDS ........the police must deal with prostitutes and punish them.” Also the gendered nature of this profession has gone unquestioned. These findings demonstrate that most boys and girls are against the sexual exploitation of women but lack the will, knowledge and skills to take an informed stand so as to remove sex workers from the margins of society to the centre; and in so doing afford them protection. The marginalized, exploitable role function performed by female sex workers and their status as criminals have gone largely unquestioned. The perceptions of sex work and sex workers are revelatory of the potency of social stereotyping in mystifying social realities and producing perceptions that are almost always consistent with social stereotypes. Hence, oppressive naturalized social reality acts like a regime, propped up by the despotism of stereotypes, and serves to regulate human behaviour.

4.5 Concluding Paragraph

The study demonstrates that there has been an erosion of the gendered hierarchical, patriarchal division of labor in the domestic sphere, the public domain and in the sphere of sex and sexuality. However, gendered stereotypes and a gendered perception of the division of labor still persist. Hence, while the role functions of men and women in society are not perceived as one that should be totally symmetrical with tasks shared equitably and equally regardless of sex, there is a clear erosion of an asymmetrical worldview which relegated women solely to the domestic sphere while
assigning the public sphere solely for men. Much of the asymmetry in the world-view of the respondents is derived from the perception that while both men and women should play an important role in both the public sphere and private sphere, men should play a more important role in the public sphere than women and domestic chores are more suited to women than men. In other words, there is an acceptance of the dual roles men and women are expected to play in the domestic sphere and the public sphere but the dual roles men and women are expected to play in both the public and private spheres are expected to be asymmetrical with women executing more tasks than men in the domestic sphere and men dominating in the public sphere with women in supportive, subordinate roles. Furthermore, there appears to be a masculinization of technical, physically demanding and leadership, authoritative tasks/roles and a feminization of subordinate, nurturant, domesticated roles/tasks.

The gendered nature of the dual roles of men and women is reminiscent of the yin-yang emblem (see Appendix 4): a Chinese circular emblem divided into a feminine yin half and a masculine yang half by a curved line with a little bit of the masculine yang in the yin half and a little bit of the feminine yin in the yang half. Hence, the respondents' world-view of gender roles reflects men dominating in the public yang sphere with women playing a relatively small role and women dominating in the domestic yin sphere with men playing a relatively small role although the changing femininities and changing masculinities as well as the erosion of rigid patriarchy indicate a growing presence of the yin in the yang and a growing presence of the yang in the yin. The researcher has coined the term the yin-yang world-view to refer to this gendered perception of roles amongst boys and girls and the term yanging–yin–yining–yang world-view has been coined to refer to the emergent world view amongst adolescents.
Some of the boys' and girls' perceptions reflect the underlying belief that gender roles are essentialist and biologically determined while some of the boys' and girls' perceptions are reflective of an understanding that gender roles are not cast in stone, traditional roles can be abandoned, alternative changing roles can be pursued and that in fact gender roles are constructed and constructivist in nature. Furthermore, while boys' and girls' perceptions are synchronous with regard to some role functions; there also exists an obvious differentiation in the perceptions between boys and girls with regard to other role functions. The findings also demonstrated that social reality often acts as a dominant discourse that shapes and regulates human perceptions, determining how humans construct themselves, others and the world. There is a clear tyranny of social reality.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will serve to summarize the pertinent findings of the research, present possible solutions and recommendations to the problems identified by the researcher and then conclude with visions of a sexist world and a non-sexist world.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The study demonstrated that both the boys and the girls in the study do notsubscribe slavishly and unquestioningly to a rigid hierarchical, patriarchal gendered division of labour that was the normative practice, and perhaps still is the normative practice in so many societies. Some gendered roles are perceived as being essentialist in nature while other gender roles are perceived as being constructivist in nature. The hold of biological determinism has clearly been loosened although the respondents have not totally extricated themselves from the regulating force of essentialism/biological determinism. That traditional gender roles are being eroded is suggestive of the growing impetus of constructivism as an emerging, powerful though not necessarily dominant discourse in society. Most boys and girls favor the sharing of household tasks between men and women and there is universal acceptance of the economic empowerment of women; and acknowledgement of the role played by women beyond the confines of the home. There is an acceptance of the dual role of both men and women in both the domestic and public spheres.
However, vestiges of the perception that men should monopolize the public sphere with women playing a marginal herein and women are more suited to domestic chores in the private sphere wherein men are more suitable as marginal roleplayers, are still present. This perception has been termed by the researcher the *yin-yang world-view*. The respondents' perceptions reflect a receptiveness to the increasing presence of yin in the yang and yang in the yin although the perceptions in terms of role functions of men and women are presently asymmetrical. However we could well be moving towards symmetry. Perhaps the world-view identified should more appropriately be termed the *yanging-yin-yining-yang-worldview*.

Furthermore, the sexist stereotyping of certain fields of study such as science, maths and technology as the exclusive terrains of men and other fields of study such as the arts and the languages as being more suitable for women than men have been challenged and rejected by both boys and girls. There are clear signs of the defeminization and demasculinization of certain traditional masculine and traditional feminine fields. However, the sexist stereotyping and gendered association of certain jobs such as that of the plumber, TV/Radio/Video/Computer Technician and carpenter as being the exclusive terrains of men; and that of the dressmaker, nurse and nursery school teacher being the exclusive and ideal terrains for women still persist. It is clear that certain sexist social realities have come be so naturalized in the minds of the boys and girls that they see the gendered divisions as essentialist and biologically determined.

It was found that the respondents tended to see jobs associated with good remuneration as being ideally suited for men; and jobs associated with low or no remuneration with women. None of the boys and girls could conceive of a female soldier or miner. Both boys and girls saw tasks entailing physical strength such as carrying heavy objects and tasks
entailing firmness and the exercise of authority such as disciplining children as being ideally suited for men and not women. This perception also explains why the status quo with regard to the gendered division of sport, which is perceived as a function of physical strength, is largely unquestioned. Hence, both boys and girls accept many facets of the gendered division of labour. The study also found that while most girls were at times receptive to seeing women in leadership roles and even acknowledged the need to empower women as leaders and managers, most boys consistently dismissed women as being unfit for leadership roles. The emphasized femininity and hegemonic masculinity that privilege boys over girls in the sphere of leadership are clearly being contested to a greater extent by girls than boys. However, all the boys and girls could not conceive of a female president – declaring that this number 1 position in the land was suitable only for men! A scrutiny of Appendix 3 indicates that not only boys, but also girls are apt to cast men in leadership roles and women as subordinates. As was suggested earlier, this is indicative of the potency of social realities in shaping perceptions – a power that outshines knowledge, gender awareness and ideals that the girls may have. In fact existing and lived social reality are so powerful in conditioning, proselytizing and propagating that they find agents for their perpetuation in most people thereby depriving them of their agency to construct alternative femininities, masculinities and indeed humanities. Hence, the researcher has aptly termed this as the tyrannical regime of social reality. This finding emphasizes the need for the interrogation of social realities in order to change sexist perceptions.

Clearly, sexism still prevails in our society and sexist notions have been imbibed by both boys and girls. However, the study indicated that while both boys and girls have begun to move away from the rigid, separatist sexist moulds of society; girls are
markedly more receptive to the non-sexist winds of change than boys. Nevertheless, both boys and girls favour the empowerment and assertion of women in the face of oppression and exploitation. They do not expect women to be passive, docile “doormats”.

In the sphere of human sexuality there seems to be a shift towards the perception that equal power relations should exist between men and women in terms of courtship, marriage, the initiation of relationships and the negotiation of sex. Furthermore, most boys and girls expressed their objection to the exploitation of women through sex, although boys were more tolerant of sex workers than girls. Moreover, all the boys and girls expressed the view that having multiple sex partners was equally abhorrent in both boys and girls, thereby rejecting the normative double standards of sexual conduct for boys/girls, men/women; as well as rejecting a masculinity and a femininity that glorify the having of multiple sexual partners and signs of sexual desirability. However, a metalinguistic interrogation of the sexist language of the respondents revealed that both the boys and girls in the study were not free of the gendered perception characterized by double standards for men and women in the sphere of sexual expression which accords men greater freedom of expression even as constraints and restraints are imposed on women. In addition, all the boys and girls expressed their vehement opposition to the use of physical violence by both men and women in a marriage - favouring dialogue and discussion. The empowerment of men over women in the mentioned facets of heterosexual relationships has been clearly challenged by both boys and girls.

However, it was found that the perceptions of boys and girls are decidedly heterosexist and homophobic. There is a widespread acceptance of heterosexuality as the desirable norm and
homosexuality as a deviant aberration that should be tolerated because it is the humane thing to do; but should be discouraged because of its perceived undesirable nature—clear expressions of a hegemonic masculinity and a hegemonic femininity that tend to glorify heterosexuality. Akin to sex and sexual expression is that of the physical body and its commodification. It was heartening to note that while most boys, though not all, have unquestioningly accepted the commodification of women and social expectations of feminine beauty as a reified truth; an overwhelming majority of the girls rejected social expectations of feminine beauty as arbitrary and invalid; often smacking of racism, elitism and ageism, and declared that a woman must strive to attain a healthy body, soul and mind. There are clear signs of the emergence of alternative even oppositional femininities in the minds of the female respondents.

In short, the study has clearly demonstrated that while there is a move away from sexist, patriarchal perceptions; vestiges of sexism and patriarchal perceptions still exist. And yes, the clause in subsection 3 in the Bill of Rights in our new constitution forbidding any persons from “unfairly discriminating directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds including ... gender, sex ...” and “…sexual orientation” remains a de jure ideal that the adolescents studied are yet to embrace fully; let alone concretize these ideals into de facto action and practice.

5.2 Recommendations and possible solutions

Suggestions and recommendations will now be made to eliminate gendered sexist patriarchal perceptions which have come to colonize the human mind. It is clear that if we want to change people’s perceptions then we have to raise the level of people’s
awareness of oppressive social realities that have come to be naturalized and essentialized. It is only through this process of conscientization that the hold of the tyranny of social reality on human perception and action can be broken. Diagram A below is meant to illustrate the researcher’s concept of the nature of gendered human perception and Diagram B is meant to illustrate the researcher’s understanding of how gendered perceptions can be degendered.

Diagram A illustrates that perception is a function of social conditioning which produces a gendered lens through which the world is perceived. This perception, because it is filtered through a gendered lens, is selective, biased, unwholistic, and inaccurate. The solution being proposed,
which is illustrated in Diagram B is the deconditioning of the human mind which will produce an ungendered lens, which in turn will produce an ungendered, holistic, unbiased world-view. Crucial to the process of deconditioning is that of the conscientization of both boys and girls. Central to this process of conscientization being advocated is that of Freirean praxis, advocated by the human rights activist, educator and educationalist Paulo Freire (Freire, 2000). Freirean praxis entails a critical reflection of all actions – personal and social. Hence all gendered structures and gendered actions should be subjected to critical scrutiny. The research has demonstrated that there is also a clear need for the subjection of all gendered perceptions to an introspective critical scrutiny so that the roots and nourishing nutrients of sexism are traced in the domain of the human mind, understood and then uprooted. It is being suggested that Freirean praxis be accompanied by workshops in gender studies so as to empower participants with an insight into the social, political, economic, psychological and cultural dimensions of gender - the workshops should incorporate a dialectical discourse, cooperative learning and a democratic approach. Workshops are deemed necessary because critical Freirean reflection cannot take place effectively in a vacuum, void of discovered knowledge, notwithstanding its commitment to the production of new knowledge. The demystification of normative social practice and normative social actions can take place more effectively when participants are equipped with the knowledge to combat ignorance. The diagrams on the next page are meant to illustrate the researcher’s understanding of how Freirean praxis can be used to combat sexist perceptions. The degendering of perceptions through a process of deconditioning is being proposed.
gendered sexist perception

gendered social conditioning

gendered sexist action

gendered social reality

Intervention program –
Freirean critical reflection – degendering of perceptions
Cycle broken

Deconditioning

Ungendered sexist perception

Ungendered action

Infinite possibilities
Equipped with knowledge (through intervention strategies), the participants can then de-immiser themselves from their social reality, into which they are so immersed that all actions and structures appear to be naturalized, gain objective distance therefrom and thereafter interrogate their actions and social reality critically. When social reality is subjected to demystification, it loses its tyrannical hold on the human mind, paving the way for the construction of alternate discourses and realities. This can be followed by a change in erroneous perceptions, the production of new knowledge and thereafter the capacity to change actions, that is, the capacity to act differently or effect changed action. Hence the perpetual cycle of a gendered world view, gendered actions and a gendered world ceases; and a new cycle begins paving the way for a revised/reconstructed/ungendered world view with ungendered actions, ungendered social realities and infinite possibilities.

What follows are suggestions which could form part of the proposed intervention programme which may be implemented in schools with a view to changing gendered perceptions or degendering sexist perceptions. The suggestions are aimed at realizing the Freirean goals of enabling learners to be able to read not only the world but also the world.

- Gender Studies be incorporated into the curriculum of the school in the compulsory learning area now demarcated as Life Orientation; and gender issues become an integral foci of all learning areas - a cross-curricular, multi-disciplinary approach is being advocated.
• A deliberate attempt be made to focus not just on men but on women as well in the social sciences for example: in History- herstory needs to be told

• A feminist reading, together with other readings should be done of literary texts, examining the role of women and men and the extent of their empowerment and disempowerment

• Critical language teaching focusing on sexism in all languages become an integral part of language syllabi seeing that knowledge and language are rigorously interwoven, supporting and complementing each other (Foucault, 1970:86)

• The micro-research project is now compulsory for all learners in the secondary school – it is being suggested that all learners be encouraged to undertake at least one research project on an issue related to gender

• Learners be exposed to texts that challenge gender stereotypes and they be presented with ungendered, alternative ways of being

• Popular perceptions of masculinities and femininities and expressions thereof be subjected to Freirean praxis and alternative perceptions of masculinities and femininities based on an ungendered world view be explored. The different expressions of masculinities and femininities in society should be identified and then analysed in terms of the extent to which these promote human rights, health and well-being of the men and women who embrace these masculinities and femininities as well as the people with whom they interact. Alternative ways of being a man and alternative ways of being a woman that promote the health and well-being of men, women and society can then be explored. Rape, homophobia, heterosexism, violence in schools, sexual harassment, the gendered division of sport in schools and society, the feminization of
poverty, the plight of sex workers, the gendered division of labour, the yang-yin–yining-yang world view, the masculinizing and feminizing of school subjects, the gendered hierarchy in schools, expressions of femininities and masculinities, expectations of what is termed appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour, patriarchy and the unequal power relations between men and women in all spheres should be subjected to critical scrutiny and critical interrogation so as to demystify these practices and perceptions that have come to be naturalized thereby enabling learners to perceive the constructivist nature of certain practices.

- Freirean praxis should be extended to incorporate an introspective critical interrogation of perceptions so as to unearth/trace/de-immerse the underlying sources of sexist, patriarchal perceptions. It is clear that an interrogation of social realities and social actions will not necessarily, on its own, effect changed action because of the potency and complexity of perceptions. Furthermore overt, purported perceptions may not be in synch with covert perceptions as was demonstrated in the contradictory responses of the girls to leadership roles and the boys' and girls' contradictory responses to sexual conduct for men and women. Covert perceptions, underlying emotions and perceptions can determine behavior—hence the need to take Freirean critical dissection and reflection into the human psyche and subconscious. Therefore, a Freirean psychanalysis is being proposed by the researcher: the deimmersion or unearthing of covert/repressed perceptions and the subjection of these emotions and perceptions to critical interrogation or reflection which will result in catharsis which in turn will produce change in the terrain of the human mind. The materials and means for the proposed critical reflection/dissection of the human mind and psyche do not fall within the scope of this discussion.
Perceptions can influence human actions although it is true that people don’t always act on their perceptions. As long as changed perceptions can effect changed behaviour; we have a responsibility to change the sexist perceptions of learners so as to hold out the hope of changed behaviour and its Freirean consequence: changed actions. This will help engender a changed, more humane, less unjust and non-patriarchical society - a society in keeping with the vision expressed in our new constitution.

5.3 Concluding Paragraph

Ours is a society in transition. Our boys and girls have undoubtedly left the shore of rigid, hierarchical, patriarchical gendered division of labour for the shore across – the shore of ungendered power relations; non-sexism, and dare I say it ……even androgyny. Mindful of our distant prehistoric matriarchical past, Biology can no longer be an all-determining force with overweening clout beyond and unrelated to its muscle power. The gendered shore may beckon some; but there can be no turning back for the salty sea waters have eroded what was once an exclusively gendered hierarchical space. The citadels of legislated sexism have been virtually eroded but for the ruins that are sustained in our minds. Blasting the granite rocks of tradition fed by sexist notions of an hegemonic masculinity and an emphasized femininity will pave the way for the safe passage towards a non-sexist world where ungendered people dance an ungendered; androgynous dance to a song that loudly proclaims our common, ungendered humanity! ..............
Alas! These ideals evaporate into nothingness. Reality twists and re-twists HIS sharp, long knife into my entrails – fallopian tube, ovaries and womb all-inclusive- as I stare vacantly, vacuously into the headline:

AMINA LAWAL TO BE STONED TO DEATH FOR ADULTERY

(THE DAILY NEWS, SEPTEMBER 2003) This sentence was subsequently repealed.

!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! !???????????????????????? ?

I bow down – deflated but not defeated!
The struggle against hierarchical, patriarchal, exploitative, gendered power relations is far from over!

Inspiration can be drawn from the words of the African writer Sylvia Tamale who stated in her book _When Hens Begin to Crow_ that the “chant of crowing hens will one day reverberate around the 4 corners of Africa.” (Tamale, 1999: 151) I wish to qualify this by saying that the _synchronous_ chant of crowing hens and crowing roosters – crowing for a common cause – will one day reverberate around the 4 corners of Africa and indeed the world!
markedly more receptive to the non-sexist winds of change than boys. Nevertheless, both boys and girls favour the empowerment and assertion of women in the face of oppression and exploitation. They do not expect women to be passive, docile “doormats”.

In the sphere of human sexuality there seems to be a shift towards the perception that equal power relations should exist between men and women in terms of courtship, marriage, the initiation of relationships and the negotiation of sex. Furthermore, most boys and girls expressed their objection to the exploitation of women through sex, although boys were more tolerant of sex workers than girls. Moreover, all the boys and girls expressed the view that having multiple sex partners was equally abhorrent in both boys and girls, thereby rejecting the normative double standards of sexual conduct for boys/girls, men/women; as well as rejecting a masculinity and a femininity that glorify the having of multiple sexual partners and signs of sexual desirability. However, a metalinguistic interrogation of the sexist language of the respondents revealed that both the boys and girls in the study were not free of the gendered perception characterized by double standards for men and women in the sphere of sexual expression which accords men greater freedom of expression even as constraints and restraints are imposed on women. In addition, all the boys and girls expressed their vehement opposition to the use of physical violence by both men and women in a marriage - favouring dialogue and discussion. The empowerment of men over women in the mentioned facets of heterosexual relationships has been clearly challenged by both boys and girls.

However, it was found that the perceptions of boys and girls are decidedly heterosexist and homophobic. There is a widespread acceptance of heterosexuality as the desirable norm and
homosexuality as a deviant aberration that should be tolerated because it is the humane thing to do; but should be discouraged because of its perceived undesirable nature—clear expressions of a hegemonic masculinity and a hegemonic femininity that tend to glorify heterosexuality. Akin to sex and sexual expression is that of the physical body and its commodification. It was heartening to note that while most boys, though not all, have unquestioningly accepted the commodification of women and social expectations of feminine beauty as a reified truth; an overwhelming majority of the girls rejected social expectations of feminine beauty as arbitrary and invalid; often smacking of racism, elitism and ageism, and declared that a woman must strive to attain a healthy body, soul and mind. There are clear signs of the emergence of alternative even oppositional femininities in the minds of the female respondents.

In short, the study has clearly demonstrated that while there is a move away from sexist, patriarchal perceptions; vestiges of sexism and patriarchal perceptions still exist. And yes, the clause in subsection 3 in the Bill of Rights in our new constitution forbidding any persons from “unfairly discriminating directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds including ....gender, sex ....” and “....sexual orientation” remains a de jure ideal that the adolescents studied are yet to embrace fully; let alone concretize these ideals into de facto action and practice.

5.2 Recommendations and possible solutions

Suggestions and recommendations will now be made to eliminate gendered sexist patriarchal perceptions which have come to colonize the human mind. It is clear that if we want to change people’s perceptions then we have to raise the level of people’s
awareness of oppressive social realities that have come to be naturalized and essentialized. It is only through this process of conscientization that the hold of the tyranny of social reality on human perception and action can be broken. Diagram A below is meant to illustrate the researcher’s concept of the nature of gendered human perception and Diagram B is meant to illustrate the researcher’s understanding of how gendered perceptions can be degendered.

Diagram A

social conditioning

produces

human mind

gendered lens

gendered world view

Diagram B

deconditioning

produces

human mind

critical reflection

produces

human mind

ungendered lens

gendered world view

Diagram A illustrates that perception is a function of social conditioning which produces a gendered lens through which the world is perceived. This perception, because it is filtered through a gendered lens, is selective, biased, unwholistic and inaccurate. The solution being proposed,
which is illustrated in Diagram B is the deconditioning of the human mind which will produce an ungendered lens, which in turn will produce an ungendered, holistic, unbiased worldview.

Crucial to the process of deconditioning is that of the conscientization of both boys and girls. Central to this process of conscientization being advocated is that of Freirean praxis, advocated by the human rights activist, educator and educationalist Paulo Freire (Freire, 2000). Freirean praxis entails a critical reflection of all actions—personal and social. Hence all gendered structures and gendered actions should be subjected to critical scrutiny. The research has demonstrated that there is also a clear need for the subjection of all gendered perceptions to an introspective critical scrutiny so that the roots and nourishing nutrients of sexism are traced in the domain of the human mind, understood and then uprooted. It is being suggested that Freirean praxis be accompanied by workshops in gender studies so as to empower participants with an insight into the social, political, economic, psychological and cultural dimensions of gender—the workshops should incorporate a dialectical discourse, cooperative learning and a democratic approach. Workshops are deemed necessary because critical Freirean reflection cannot take place effectively in a vacuum, void of discovered knowledge, notwithstanding its commitment to the production of new knowledge. The demystification of normative social practice and normative social actions can take place more effectively when participants are equipped with the knowledge to combat ignorance. The diagrams on the next page are meant to illustrate the researcher’s understanding of how Freirean praxis can be used to combat sexist perceptions. The degendering of perceptions through a process of deconditioning is being proposed.
Intervention program – Freirean critical reflection – degendering of perceptions
Cycle broken

Deconditioning

Ungendered sexist perception

Ungendered action

Infinite possibilities
Equipped with knowledge (through intervention strategies), the participants can then de-immense themselves from their social reality, into which they are so immersed that all actions and structures appear to be naturalized, gain objective distance therefrom and thereafter interrogate their actions and social reality critically. When social reality is subjected to demystification, it loses its tyrannical hold on the human mind, paving the way for the construction of alternate discourses and realities. This can be followed by a change in erroneous perceptions, the production of new knowledge and thereafter the capacity to change actions, that is, the capacity to act differently or effect changed action. Hence the perpetual cycle of a gendered world view, gendered actions and a gendered world ceases; and a new cycle begins paving the way for a revised/reconstructed/ungendered world view with ungendered actions, ungendered social realities and infinite possibilities.

What follows are suggestions which could form part of the proposed intervention programme which may be implemented in schools with a view to changing gendered perceptions or degendering sexist perceptions. The suggestions are aimed at realizing the Freirean goals of enabling learners to be able to read not only the word but also the world.

- Gender Studies be incorporated into the curriculum of the school in the compulsory learning area now demarcated as Life Orientation; and gender issues become an integral foci of all learning areas - a cross-curricular, multi-disciplinary approach is being advocated.
• A deliberate attempt be made to focus not just on men but on women as well in the social sciences for example: in History- herstory needs to be told

• A feminist reading, together with other readings should be done of literary texts, examining the role of women and men and the extent of their empowerment and disempowerment

• Critical language teaching focusing on sexism in all languages become an integral part of language syllabi seeing that knowledge and language are rigorously interwoven, supporting and complementing each other (Foucault, 1970:86)

• The micro-research project is now compulsory for all learners in the secondary school – it is being suggested that all learners be encouraged to undertake at least one research project on an issue related to gender

• Learners be exposed to texts that challenge gender stereotypes and they be presented with ungendered, alternative ways of being

• Popular perceptions of masculinities and femininities and expressions thereof be subjected to Freirean praxis and alternative perceptions of masculinities and femininities based on an ungendered world view be explored. The different expressions of masculinities and femininities in society should be identified and then analysed in terms of the extent to which these promote human rights, health and well-being of the men and women who embrace these masculinities and femininities as well as the people with whom they interact. Alternative ways of being a man and alternative ways of being a woman that promote the health and well-being of men, women and society can then be explored. Rape, homophobia, heterosexism, violence in schools, sexual harassment, the gendered division of sport in schools and society, the feminization of
poverty, the plight of sex workers, the gendered division of labour, the yanging-yin–
yining-yang world view, the masculinizing and feminizing of school subjects, the
gendered hierarchy in schools, expressions of femininities and masculinities,
expectations of what is termed appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour,
patriarchy and the unequal power relations between men and women in all spheres
should be subjected to critical scrutiny and critical interrogation so as to demystify these
practices and perceptions that have come to be naturalized thereby enabling learners to
perceive the constructivist nature of certain practices.

- Freirean praxis should be extended to incorporate an introspective critical interrogation of
  perceptions so as to unearth/trace/de-immers the underlying sources of sexist,
patriarchical perceptions. It is clear that an interrogation of social realities and social actions
will not necessarily, on its own, effect changed action because of the potency and
complexity of perceptions. Furthermore overt, purported perceptions may not be in synch
with covert perceptions as was demonstrated in the contradictory responses of the girls to
leadership roles and the boys’ and girls’ contradictory responses to sexual conduct for men
and women. Covert perceptions, underlying emotions and perceptions can determine
behavior – hence the need to take Freirean critical dissection and reflection into the human
psyche and subconscious. Therefore a Freirean psychanalysis is being proposed by the
researcher: the deimmersion or unearthing of covert, repressed perceptions and the
subjection of these emotions and perceptions to critical interrogation or reflection which
will result in cartharsis which in turn will produce change in the terrain of the human
mind. The materials and means for the proposed critical reflection/dissection of the human
mind and psyche do not fall within the scope of this discussion.
Perceptions can influence human actions although it is true that people don’t always act on their perceptions. As long as changed perceptions can effect changed behaviour; we have a responsibility to change the sexist perceptions of learners so as to hold out the hope of changed behaviour and its Freirean consequence: changed actions. This will help engender a changed, more humane, less unjust and non-patriarchal society - a society in keeping with the vision expressed in our new constitution.

5.3 Concluding Paragraph

Ours is a society in transition. Our boys and girls have undoubtedly left the shore of rigid, hierarchical, patriarchical gendered division of labour for the shore across – the shore of ungendered power relations; non-sexism, and dare I say it ......even androgyny. Mindful of our distant prehistoric matriarchical past, Biology can no longer be an all-determining force with overweening clout beyond and unrelated to its muscle power. The gendered shore may beckon some; but there can be no turning back for the salty sea waters have eroded what was once an exclusively gendered hierarchical space. The citadels of legislated sexism have been virtually eroded but for the ruins that are sustained in our minds. Blasting the granite rocks of tradition fed by sexist notions of an hegemonic masculinity and an emphasized femininity will pave the way for the safe passage towards a non-sexist world where ungendered people dance an ungendered; androgynous dance to a song that loudly proclaims our common, ungendered humanity! .............
REFERENCES
Bujra J (2000) Targeting men for a change: *Aids Discourse and Activism in Africa*, in Agenda, 44
Busia K (1951) *The position of the Chief in the modern political system of the Ashanti: A study of the influence of contemporary social changes in the modern political system of the Ashanti*, Oxford University Press: London
Laubscher B (1937) *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology*, London: Routledge
McRobbie A (1991) *Feminism and Youth Culture*, Hong Kong: Macmillan Press
Merriam S B (1998) *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*, Jossey Bass Publishers
Morrell R (1998) *The New Men?*, in *Agenda*, 37, 7-12
APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

NAME: __________________________
SURNAME: __________________________
DATE OF BIRTH: __________________________
AGE: __________________________
ADDRESS: __________________________
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION: __________________________
FATHER'S OCCUPATION: __________________________
SEX: __________________________
GRADE: __________________________
RACE: __________________________

SECTION A

You are required to ring the most suitable response for each of the following. If your views are not in agreement with the statements provided or your views are not summed up/covered in the statements provided; then write down your views next to the word ‘other’.

1. The ideal state for a woman is to:
   a) be single
   b) be married
   c) be divorced
   d) other __________________________

2. Women should:
   a) strive to maintain their “looks” and look as pretty and young as possible
   b) not be concerned about maintaining their good “looks” and looking as pretty and young as possible
   c) other __________________________

3. Having a child:
   a) is crucial to a woman’s happiness and fulfillment
   b) not crucial to a woman’s happiness and fulfillment
   c) crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of some women but not crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of all women
   d) other __________________________

4. It is proper:
   a) for a man to ask a woman out for a date for the first time
   b) for a woman to ask a man out for a date for the first time
   c) it is equally proper for either of the sexes to ask the other sex out for a date for the first time - it doesn’t matter whether a man asks a woman out for a date or if a woman asks a man out for a date for the first time
   d) other __________________________

5. Sex and marriage:
   a) should be initiated by men
   __________________________
b) initiated by women
c) initiated by either men or women
d) other

6. It is the duty of:
   a) the woman to provide the condoms and ensure that safe sex is practised
   b) it is the duty of the man to provide the condoms and ensure that safe sex is practised
   c) it is the joint and equal responsibility of both the man and the woman to ensure that safe sex is practised
   d) other

7. In a marriage:
   a) A wife has a right to say “No” to sex
   b) A wife has a duty to have sex with her husband whenever he requests for it
   c) other

8. In a marriage:
   a) a husband has a right to say “No” to sex
   b) a husband has a duty to have sex with his wife if she desires it
   c) other

9. Make-up and jewellery:
   a) are essential for women
   b) are more essential for men than for women
   c) are more essential for men than women
   d) are equally non-essential for men and women
   e) other

10. Men should:
    a) strive to maintain their youthful appearance for as long as possible and look as handsome as possible
    b) not bother about a youthful appearance and a handsome face should not be important to men
    c) other

11. Choose the most suitable statement:
    a) Looking attractive should be more important to men than women
    b) Looking attractive should be more important to women than men
    c) Looking attractive should be equally important to men and women
    d) other

12. Having a child is crucial to:
    a) the fulfillment and happiness of a man
    b) not crucial to the fulfillment and happiness of a man
c) crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of some men but not crucial to the happiness and fulfillment of all men
d) other

13. The ideal sexual relationship is:
a) a relationship between 2 men
b) a relationship between 2 women
c) a relationship between a man and a woman
d) other

14. Choose the statement you agree with most:
a) it is more important for a woman to have a career than a marriage
b) it is more important for a woman to have a marriage than a career
c) a career and a marriage are equally important for women
d) other

15. Cooking in the house:
a) is the primary duty of men/boys
b) the primary duty of women/girls
c) should be shared by both men and women
d) other

16. Child care is:
a) the primary duty of the mother
b) the primary responsibility of the father
c) the joint and equal responsibility of the mother and the father
d) other

17. Ensuring that the house is clean, neat and tidy:
a) is the responsibility of the women
b) is the responsibility of the man
c) is the joint and equal responsibility of the man and the woman
d) can be the responsibility of either the man or the woman
e) other

18. When the car breaks down:
a) it is the man’s responsibility to sort it out
b) it is the woman’s responsibility to sort it out
c) either the man or the woman should sort it out
d) it should be the joint responsibility of the man and the woman to sort it out
e) other

19. When a house/household is being attacked:
a) it is the man’s duty to protect the house
b) the woman’s duty to protect the house
c) the joint and equal responsibility of the man and the woman to protect the house
20. Tasks involving the carrying of heavy objects should:
   a) be the duty of men
   b) be the duty of women
   c) be the duty of both men and women
   d) other

21. In a family in which there is a mother and father it is proper:
   a) for the father to be the head of the family
   b) for the mother to be the head of the family
   c) for either the mother or the father to be the head of the family
   d) for both the mother and father to enjoy equal status as joint heads of the family
   e) other

22. The disciplining of children should be the responsibility:
   a) of the mother
   b) of the father
   c) the responsibility of the father and the mother but more the responsibility of the father
   d) other

23. The ideal family unit comprises:
   a) husband, wife and children
   b) mother and children
   c) husband and wife
   d) father and children
   e) grandparents, parents and children
   f) other

24. The choice of curtaining, furniture (interior decoration) of the house is best suited to:
   a) men
   b) women
   c) either the man or the woman
   d) the responsibility of both the man and the woman
   e) other

25. Shopping for groceries should be the responsibility of:
   a) women
   b) men
   c) both men and women
   d) either men or women
   e) other

26. A woman has:
   a) a right to beat her husband physically under certain circumstances
20. Tasks involving the carrying of heavy objects should:
   a) be the duty of men
   b) be the duty of women
   c) be the duty of both men and women
   d) other

21. In a family in which there is a mother and father it is proper:
   a) for the father to be the head of the family
   b) for the mother to be the head of the family
   c) for either the mother or the father to be the head of the family
   d) for both the mother and father to enjoy equal status as joint heads of the family
   e) other

22. The disciplining of children should be the responsibility:
   a) of the mother
   b) of the father
   c) the responsibility of the father and the mother but more the responsibility of the father
   d) other

23. The ideal family unit comprises:
   a) husband, wife and children
   b) mother and children
   c) husband and wife
   d) father and children
   e) grandparents, parents and children
   f) other

24. The choice of curtaining, furniture (interior decoration) of the house is best suited to:
   a) men
   b) women
   c) either the man or the woman
   d) the responsibility of both the man and the woman
   e) other

25. Shopping for groceries should be the responsibility of:
   a) women
   b) men
   c) both men and women
   d) either men or women
   e) other

26. A woman has:
   a) a right to beat her husband physically under certain circumstances
b) has no right to beat her husband under any circumstances

c) other

27. A man has:
   a) a right to beat his wife under certain circumstances
   b) has no right to beat his wife physically under any circumstances
   c) other

28. Choose the statement that you agree with most:
   a) it is more important for a man to have a career than a marriage
   b) it is more important for a man to have a marriage than a career
   c) both a career and a marriage are equally important to a man
   d) other

29. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) a career is more important to a man than it is to woman
   b) a career is more important to a woman than it is to a man
   c) a career is equally important to a man and a woman
   d) other

30. Housework when performed by a spouse in a relationship should be regarded as:
   a) the duty of the spouse and therefore should go unpaid
   b) should be regarded as a job/work and therefore the spouse performing this should be paid/remunerated
   c) other

31. In a household:
   a) it is the husband's duty to go out and work and provide the material needs of the family while the wife should take care of the house and children
   b) it is the wife's duty to go out and work and provide the material needs of the family while the husband should take care of the house and children
   c) it is the duty of both the husband and wife to go out and work and take care of the house and children
   d) either the husband or wife should go out and work; and either the husband or wife should stay at home and take care of the family
   e) other

32. When both a man and a woman are working outside the home it is ideal/preferable:
   a) for the man to earn more than the woman
   b) the woman to earn more than the man
   c) it is totally unimportant as to who earns more money
   d) other

33. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) Men are better leaders than women
   b) Women are better leaders than men
c) Some men are good leaders, some women are good leaders; Some men are bad leaders, some women are bad leaders

d) other ________________________________

34. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) It is fine for boys and girls to play sport separately
   b) Boys and girls should play sport together
   c) other ________________________________

35. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) Maths and science are more suitable for boys than girls and the languages and the Arts are more suitable for girls than boys
   b) Maths and science are more suitable for girls and the languages and the arts are more suitable for boys than girls
   c) Maths and science are suitable for some girls, the languages and the arts are suitable for some girls and; Maths and science are suitable for some boys, and the languages and the arts are suitable for some boys
   d) other ________________________________

36. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) Woodwork and metalwork are more suitable for boys than girls
   b) Woodwork and metalwork are more suitable for girls than boys
   c) Woodwork and metalwork are suitable for some boys; and woodwork and metalwork are suitable for some girls
   d) other ________________________________

37. Choose the statement you agree with most:
   a) Sewing and cookery are more suitable for girls than boys
   b) Sewing and needlework are more suitable for boys than girls
   c) Sewing and needlework are suitable for some boys; and sewing and needlework are suitable for some girls
   d) other ________________________________

SECTION B

STATE WHICH OF THE 2 SEXES (MALE OR FEMALE) IS MOST SUITABLE FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING JOBS. IF YOU FEEL THAT BOTH SEXES ARE EQUALLY SUITABLE; PLEASE INDICATE THIS.

1. engineer
2. medical doctor
3. Plumber
4. Motor Mechanic
5. TV/Video Technician
6. Computer technician
7. welder
8. priest
9. nurse
SECTION C (open-ended responses)

Feel free to provide lengthy responses and to express your views.

1. John and Jane have a 2 month old baby who needs parental care. Both John and Jane are working but they realize that one of them needs to stay at home to take care of the baby. Who do you think should stay at home and take care of the baby? Give reasons for your response.

2. You are a social worker and you have in your care a baby who needs to be adopted. You have the following 3 couples who wish to adopt the baby:
   a) 2 women who are lesbians
   b) 2 men who are homosexuals
   c) a heterosexual couple: a man and a woman
   Say, with reasons; which couple you will consider to be most suitable as adoptive parents.

3. Mr Brown owns a firm in which a vacancy exists for a CEO (Chief Executive Officer). The workers in the family are predominantly male. After having studied the CV’s of the applicants for the post; 2 people emerged as the top candidates: a man and a woman. Both candidates have the same strengths and weaknesses and are members of the same race group. Who do you think should be appointed as CEO? Provide reasons.

4. List those qualities/trait which you dislike most in girls.

5. List those qualities/trait which you dislike most in boys.

6. List those qualities/trait which you like most in boys.

7. List those qualities/trait which you like most in girls.
8. The cartoon below makes reference to National Women’s Day which is celebrated on the 9 August. Study the cartoon below and answer the questions that follow.

8.1 Do you think that the behaviour of the man in the cartoon is acceptable? Explain
8.2 Do you think that the behaviour of the woman in the cartoon is acceptable? Explain
8.3 Consider the roles being performed by the man and the woman in this cartoon. Is there anything that you think should be changed? Explain/ Elaborate
8.4 Do you think that men/boys are being treated fairly in society? Explain
8.5 Do you think women/girls are being treated fairly in society? Explain

9. Imagine that you have discovered that your best friend is gay. How do you think you will feel?

10. Imagine that you have discovered that your brother/sister is gay. How do you think you will feel?

11. Girls and Boys play different codes of sport in your school and they compete differently.
11.1 Why do you think this is so?
11.2 Do you agree that girls and boys should play sport separately? Give reasons

12. “There are more female sex workers (prostitutes) than male sex workers.” Why do you think this is so? Do you think that prostitution should be legalized? Give reasons

13. “Jane is penniless and unemployed with a young child to support. The police apprehend Jane while she is practising her trade with a male client. The male client goes home disappointed without have had his needs serviced.” Is Jane justified in becoming a sex worker? Give reasons. Do you think that the police was being fair? Give reasons.

14. “Rani, you are a strange woman! You need to take care of your body! It is about time you start applying lotion throughout your body, using an anti-aging cream and an eye cream, foundation and a bit of
make-up ... even jewellery. After all, if you don't look young and pretty you won't be able to sustain the attention of your husband ... and what about other men? They won't even notice you! A woman must take pride in her appearance. It is important for a woman to look good and pretty." Sally (a woman in her 20's)

14.1 Provide reasons for the views expressed by Sally.
14.2 Do you agree with the views expressed by Sally?
14.3 Do you think cosmetics and jewellery are more popular with women than men? Explain.
14.4 Would you like your girlfriend/wife or boyfriend/husband to use make-up and jewellery? Give reasons.
### APPENDIX 2

**DOMINANT PERCEPTIONS OF BOYS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Perception</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking should be the joint responsibility of both men and women</td>
<td>Cooking should be the joint responsibility of both men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers are more suitable than fathers to take care of very young children</td>
<td>Mothers were more suitable than fathers to take care of young children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child rearing should be the joint and equal responsibility of both men and women</td>
<td>Childrearing should be the joint and equal responsibility of the man and woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning the house should be the shared responsibility of the man and the woman</td>
<td>Cleaning the house should be the shared responsibility of the man and the woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplining the children should be the responsibility of the man</td>
<td>Disciplining of children should be the responsibility of the man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of the house is the man’s responsibility</td>
<td>Protection of the house is the man’s responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys/Men who are aggressive and act as bullies are repugnant</td>
<td>Men and Boys who are aggressive and act as bullies are repugnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork and metalwork are more suitable for boys than girls</td>
<td>Woodwork and metal work are equally suitable for boys and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookery and sewing are more suitable for girls than boys</td>
<td>Cookery and sewing are equally suitable for boys and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The father should be the head of the house</td>
<td>The father should be the head of the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both the husband and wife should go out and work</td>
<td>Both the husband and wife should go out and work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is unimportant whether a man or a woman earns more money in a household</td>
<td>It is important for men to earn more money than women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should not beat woman physically. Women should not beat men physically</td>
<td>Men should not beat women physically. Women should not beat men physically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and marriage are equally important for men and women</td>
<td>Career and marriage are equally important for men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men are more suitable for the job of a CEO than a woman</td>
<td>Women should be given an opportunity to be CEO’s and they will be efficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men are better leaders than women</td>
<td>Women are better leaders than men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys and girls are equally good or equally bad in Maths, Science and Technology</td>
<td>Boys and Girls are equally good or equally bad in Maths, Science and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys and girls should play sport separately</td>
<td>Boys and girls should play sport separately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could see themselves being married with children</td>
<td>Could see themselves being married with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage is the ideal state for men and women</td>
<td>Marriage may be the ideal state for men but it is not the ideal state for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex and marriage should be initiated by either men or women</td>
<td>Sex and marriage should be initiated by either men or women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DOMINANT PERCEPTIONS OF GIRLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Perception</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMINANT PERCEPTIONS OF BOYS</td>
<td>DOMINANT PERCEPTIONS OF GIRLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual relationships are unacceptable</td>
<td>Homosexual relationships are unacceptable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The job of a president of a country is unsuitable for women</td>
<td>The job of a president of a country is unsuitable for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex workers should be allowed to practise their trade and should be viewed with sympathy</td>
<td>Sex workers should not be allowed to practise their trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make-up, jewellery, looking good should be more important to women than men</td>
<td>Make-up, jewellery, looking good should be equally unimportant to men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying heavy objects should not be the task of women</td>
<td>Carrying heavy objects should not be the task of women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs that require manual labour and technical skills are more suitable for men than women</td>
<td>Jobs that require manual labour and technical skills are more suitable for men than women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of housewife (home executive) is more suited to women</td>
<td>The role of housewife (home executive) is more suited to women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total economic dependence of women on men is undesirable</td>
<td>The total economic dependence of women on men is undesirable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage is not more important than a career for both men and women</td>
<td>Marriage and career should be equally important to a man but a career should be more important than a marriage to a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fidelity should be important in both men and women</td>
<td>Fidelity should be important in both men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuality is undesirable</td>
<td>Homosexuality is undesirable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual couples are unfit to be adoptive parents</td>
<td>Homosexual couples are unfit to be adoptive parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and men should assume joint and equal responsibility for safe sex</td>
<td>Women and men should assume joint and equal responsibility for safe sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man does not have a right to say &quot;No&quot; to sex in a marriage but a woman does have a right to say &quot;No&quot; to sex in a marriage</td>
<td>A woman has a right to say &quot;No&quot; to sex in a marriage and a man has a right to say &quot;No&quot; to sex in a marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3

The table below reflects the boys' and girls' categorizations of 30 different occupations. The first row for each occupation reflects the boys' categorizations (B) and the second row for each occupation reflects the girls' categorizations (G). The figures under: MALE, FEMALE, BOTH and NONE indicate the percentage of boys and girls who indicated that the respective occupations are ideally suited for males, female, both sexes or none of the sexes respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>BOTH</th>
<th>NONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.ENGINEER (B)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGINEER (G)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.MEDICAL DOCTOR (B)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDICAL DOCTOR (G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PLUMBER</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUMBER</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.MOTOR MECHANIC</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.TV/VIDEO TECHNICIAN</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.COMPUTER TECHNICIAN</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.WELDER</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELDER</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.PRIEST</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIEST</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.NURSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NURSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.TEACHER (JUNIOR PRIMARY)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEACHER (JUNIOR PRIMARY)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.TEACHER (HIGH SCHOOL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEACHER (HIGH SCHOOL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.MANAGER</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGER</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.DRESS DESIGNER</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRESS DESIGNER</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.CHEF</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEF</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.CARPENTER</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARPENTER</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.DRESSMAKER</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRESSMAKER</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.POLITICIAN/MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICIAN/MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. President of a Country</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. CEO</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Gardner</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Nursery School Teacher</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Miner</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Soldier</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Domestic Worker</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Sex Worker</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Principal</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Clerk</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Home Executive (House Wife)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Farmer</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Farm Worker</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4  (The Yin-Yang Emblem)
LIVED LIVING HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.