

ENTERING THE TEACHING PROFESSION AS A WOMAN :  
SOME STUDENT PERCEPTIONS

BY

MARYNA BELL SHEPHERD

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PREFACE

As a teacher and counsellor of adolescent girls both in Natal high schools and at the Edgewood College of Education in Pinetown, it interested me that so many of the very able girls in the so-called "A" class or top academic class gave teaching as their first career choice. This was in marked contrast with the adolescent boys I had previously taught at two different boys' high schools. The boys seemed aware of a far greater range of career options and few of them opted for teaching.

This difference in choice and especially in the popularity of teaching as a first choice for girls, appeared significant, especially as circumstances in "white" schools in Natal have traditionally discriminated against women teachers and present teaching offers very little job security to, especially, white women teachers. Staff cut-backs, limited student teacher intake, and news of future massive retrenchments are well-publicised, yet Edgewood College continues to receive far more applicants from women matriculants than can be accommodated.

To probe the reasons for this phenomenon, and to test whether this trend continues today, I asked a sample of women students at Edgewood College of Education two basic questions: What is your perception of teaching? and Why did you choose teaching?

The answers to these questions appear vital because, from

experience, I know teaching to be a very demanding career and it perturbs me that so many young girls perceive it only as a convenient short-term "job" which can be easily combined with marriage and which requires little commitment.

It seemed to me that many adolescent girls still regard post-matric educational training as an "insurance policy" that will become effective only in the event of their marriages failing. Teaching as a choice of a job is seen too often as a safety measure "to fall back on", rather than a career which will help the woman to realise her full potential. Few new recruits to teaching appear to realise that combining successful teaching and a good marriage requires a great deal of sacrifice from both marriage partners, especially in the light of the many after-school hours commitments like preparation, marking and extra-curricular activities. I was sure it would be interesting to see if the Edgewood College women students also held these views.

I am grateful for the help received in this study from my University of Natal supervisors: Professor Valerie Moller for advice on the statistical analysis, Mr Robert Morrell for careful guidance of the educational aspects and especially to Doctor Ros Posel for two years of inspiration on feminist issues in the Women's Studies course.

A further debt of gratitude is owed to Dr Terry Dachs Deputy Rector of Edgewood College for providing statistical information so willingly, and above all to Professor Andre le Roux, Rector of the college, whose inspiration as an academic leader and whose guidance as a personal mentor I cannot praise too highly.

To the typist of this thesis Annys Dubber my deep thanks, and then finally my gratitude to my son Nicholas Shepherd without whose financial assistance and constant, constructive advice and interest, this project would never have materialised.

ABSTRACT OF RESEARCH

The overall aim of this research is to probe, and attempt an understanding of, women student teachers' choice of teaching as a career. Because of various limitations, this research is no more than an exploratory study, which, hopefully may contribute to a deeper appreciation of teaching as a worthy career.

This researcher's own feminist perspective has determined the questions asked in this study. Both quantitative and qualitative research was undertaken, in order to answer the central question of this research: How do some women students at Edgewood College of Education perceive the teaching profession and their role in it?

It became obvious that teaching is perceived by too many as a short term job, rather than as a long-term career; but when circumstances governing teachers' employment, coupled with the influences of a patriarchal society are considered, this perception is perhaps not unexpected.

Some tentative recommendations are offered to counter this negative perception of teaching as a convenient, but temporary job for women.

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CHAPTER 1 : WOMEN TEACHERS1.1 Historical Context of the Study

Teaching in South Africa is a career in which women predominate: 65,5% of white educators or 38 421 are women.<sup>1</sup> Any study of women teachers should be grounded upon an understanding of the historical foundations of the educational system<sup>2</sup> and the role women have played in the development of educational institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Until 1856, when Natal received representative government status, control of education had lain in the hands of James Rose-Innes, the Superintendent-General of Public Education, first for the Cape Colony and later for "all settled parts of South Africa".<sup>4</sup> To improve the quality of education Rose-Innes selected trained men from Britain to teach in the colony. It is not surprising therefore that after 1856, an all-male "Chief Central Board of Education" was appointed in Natal, with R.J. Mann selected as superintendent in 1859.<sup>5</sup> Due to a colonial preference for separate schools for each sex, Mann tried to implement the policy of separating the sexes where possible. All-girls' schools were usually staffed by all-women teachers and principals; and all-boys' schools remained a masculine domain.

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) there was an influx of teachers, mainly women, from Great Britain, to teach in the concentration camps scattered over the Orange Free State and Transvaal,<sup>6</sup> but in Natal, where no such influx occurred, progress was slower. The number of women in the teaching force was further reduced by the implementation of regulation 4 of Notice 206 of the Natal Provincial Gazette of 30 October 1912, which stated:

All women teachers must vacate their appointments on marriage.<sup>7</sup>

The first government boys' high school in Natal was opened in 1863, but it was not until 1914 that the "Girls' Model School", eventuated in the Durban High School for Girls. In 1920 Pietermaritzburg Girls' High School was opened.

By 1937 co-education which was initially only tolerated as a financial necessity, had become accepted. Women teachers were now found in greater numbers than men, but more women had only two years training (rather than four years) and so were predominantly placed in primary schools. The constraints placed on women by their training, in many cases by their marriage, and also male prejudice of women in positions of authority, also effectively restricted them to the lower levels in co-educational schools.

As schools grew larger and further managerial posts were created, the position of women in teaching was once again reviewed. In the wake of World War II where women moved forcibly into the labour market, the Provincial Education Committee of 1946 recommended:

In co-educational schools where the Principal is a man and numbers justify a Vice-Principal, that post should be filled by a woman, and where there is no Vice-Principal a senior woman assistant should be appointed.<sup>8</sup>

As women teachers were in general less qualified academically than men, and married women only employed as temporary staff members and therefore not eligible for promotion, there were numerous occasions where no suitable woman was available to fill the post.

In 1958 it was therefore decided that the Director of Education might appoint, in co-educational schools with enrolments of over 600 pupils where the Vice-Principal was a man, a senior woman to a post of special responsibility.<sup>9</sup>

While unmarried women were regularly appearing at the top of the promotional ladder in girls' schools, and some attempts were being made to accommodate them in certain senior positions in co-educational schools, their presence, at any

level, was actively resisted in the boys' high schools as "unsuitable".

A real note of regret is evident in the following report, when, because of the continuing shortage of male teachers

... it was found necessary to break with tradition and appoint women teachers at such schools as Maritzburg College, Durban High School and Glenwood.<sup>10</sup>

These historical trends, i.e. where women teachers predominate in primary schools, girls' high schools, co-educational high schools and are increasingly evident in boys' high schools, persist today.

The marriage restriction has been abolished and most white women teachers now receive a four year degree or diploma and today 65,5% of white educators are women.

However, their historical underrepresentation in positions of authority, except in girls'-only schools, also persists and will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 2.

## 1.2 Group to be Studied from Edgewood College of Education

The "group" to be studied is first and fourth year aspirant women teachers from the Edgewood College of Education, Pinetown. Their views represent a reasonable cross-section of women students' opinions, as they are drawn from every teaching phase offered at the college.

The college opened in 1966 in temporary accommodation at Glenashley Primary School, Durban with 42 students and 3 lecturers, under the principalship of Miss Margaret Martin. The following year the expanded college moved to the new Danville Park Girls' High School, again on a temporary basis. Mr Eric Edminson became Rector in 1969 and the following year, Edgewood moved to its own Pinetown campus. In 1974, Mr Edminson retired and was succeeded by Professor Andre L. le Roux. In 1976, the Edgewood Council was appointed by the Administrator of Natal. This Council has strong representation from the Natal Education Department, the University of Natal, the Natal Teachers' Society, the community and the private sector. The College enjoys a large measure of autonomy: it is administered by the Council and funded by the Natal Education Department.

The College Council favours a non-racial admission policy. Historically the College had been an all-white institution, but threatened with closure due to a decrease in need for white teachers, the Rector waged an increasing battle to open the College to all races. In recent years students from all race groups have been admitted to primary school degree studies at Edgewood and in 1992 the first 130 black students to study for a diploma in education have been admitted.

Edgewood College of Education is the largest provincial teachers' college in Natal. It offers 4 years training for every phase of schooling: Pre-Primary and Junior Primary (pupils from 3 years of age to Standard 1); Senior Primary (pupils from Standards 2 to 5) and Secondary Education (pupils from Standards 6 to 10).

The Secondary courses in Arts, Commerce, Science or Technika<sup>11</sup> and the Bachelor of Primary Education degree are offered in close collaboration with the University of Natal.

Of the total enrolment in 1991 of 518 students, 382 or 74% were women. The group chosen for the questionnaire and interviews were first and fourth year women students at the College where women constitute 70% and 73,5% respectively. All the fourth year student respondents and all but six of the first year respondents were white.

The College started its life as an all-girls College and women students have always outnumbered the men students quite significantly. Even the composition of the staff members show this bias, but to a much smaller degree: of the 72 staff members 40 or 56% are women. However, just because women show a numerical superiority on the staff does not mean they wield the power at the college: the most senior woman staff member is a senior head of department while the next four senior positions, namely two Vice-Rectors, a Deputy Rector and the Rector, are all men. In this respect the College reflects the prevailing power structure in the education departments: a majority of women clustered along the lower eschelons of power, with the majority of senior positions held by men.

The students participating in this research were asked two main questions:

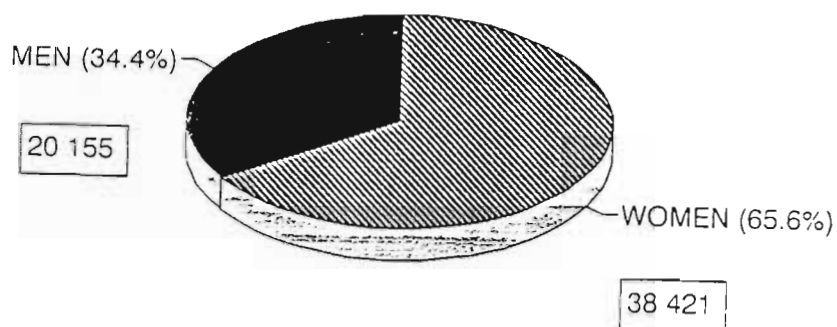
- a) their perceptions of teaching as a career, especially as a career for women, and
- b) their reasons for choosing teaching as a future career.

### 1.3 Place of Women in Teaching

Teaching is primarily a "world of women"<sup>12</sup> and diagram 1 supports this statement.



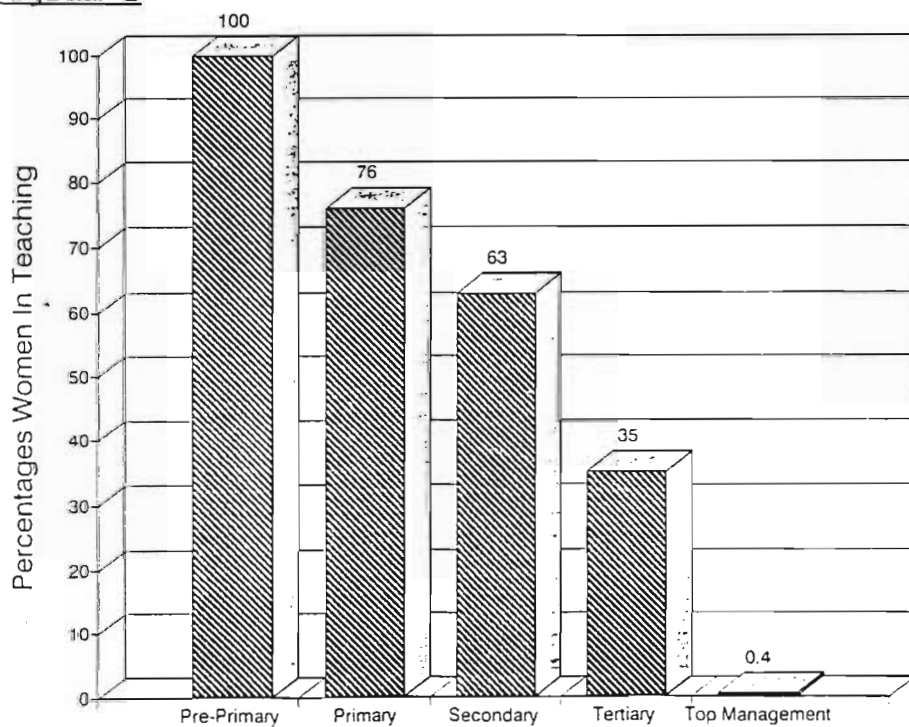
Diagram 1



NUMBER OF WHITE EDUCATORS IN SOUTH AFRICA (MARCH 1990)<sup>13</sup>

This 65,5% of white women in teaching is distributed in the teaching profession as follows:

Diagram 2



(March 1990)<sup>14</sup>

Blampied<sup>15</sup> was granted access by the Natal Education Department to the data obtained from the 1987 statistical returns from government schools including pre-primary schools. The details relevant in the present context were extracted and tabulated in Table 1. Figures are based on full-time equivalent units (F.T.E.).

Prior to the creation of the post of Senior Deputy Principal in 1988 the Post Level structure for government schools was as follows:

<u>Post Level</u>	<u>Posts</u>
1	Teacher Senior Teacher
2	Principal: Primary, IV Head of Department (Primary) Head of Department (Secondary)
3	Principal: Primary, III Deputy Principal (Primary) Deputy Principal (Secondary)
4	Principal: High, II Principal: Primary, II
5	Principal: High, I Principal: Primary, I
6	Principal: Large Complicated School

(Full details of the post levels for all positions are set out in Appendix.)

Table 1: FTE units of personnel at each post level in government schools administered by the Natal Education Department

<u>Post level</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	1 183	4 197	5 380
2	345	366	711
3	142	138	280
4	94	39	133
5	93	13	106
6	36	7	43
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 893</b>	<b>4 760</b>	<b>6 653</b>

The pattern becomes clearer if the data are presented as the percentage of women at each post level (Diagram 3).

Diagram 3: Percentage of women at each post level in government schools in Natal

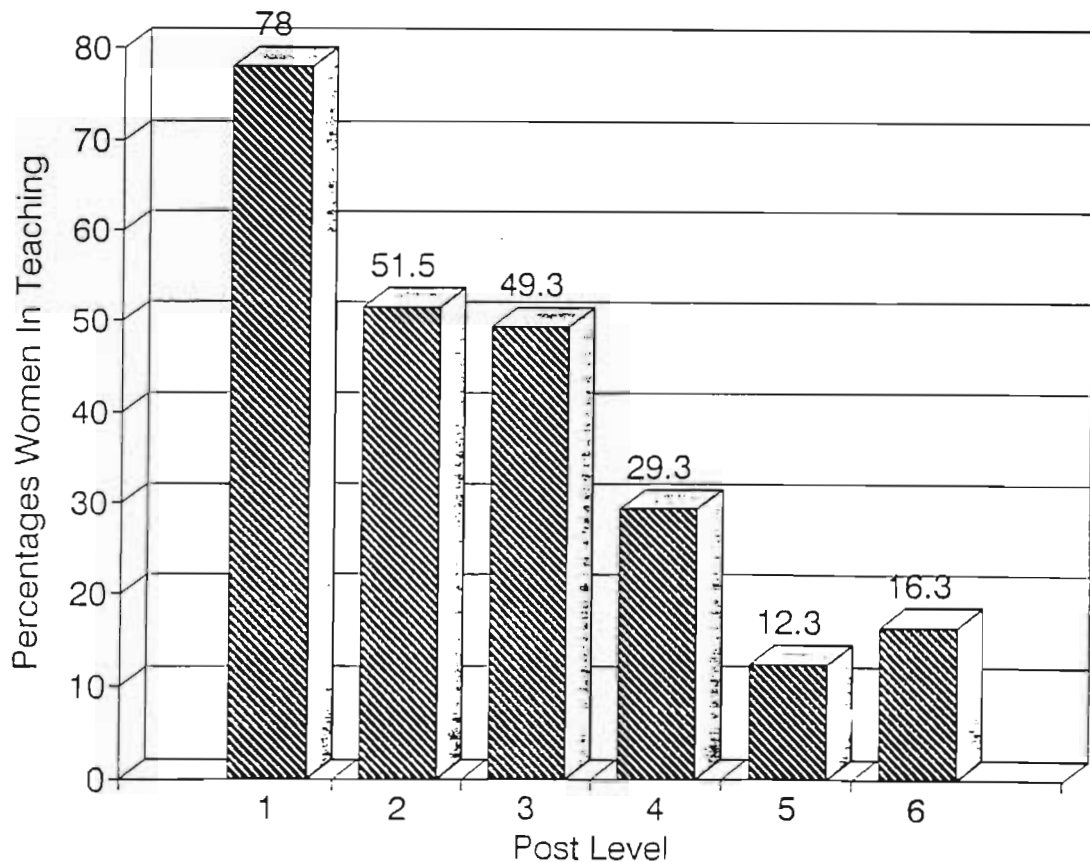


Table 2 shows that the percentage of women principals (levels 2-5) in Natal Primary schools has declined steadily since 1963, showing an erosion of women's position even where it had traditionally been secure.

Table 2: Total number of Natal Primary and Junior Primary Schools and the Proportion of Women Principals<sup>16</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Number of Women Principals</u>	<u>% of Principal Posts Held by Women</u>
1954	142	20	14,1
1963	170	47	27,6
1973	190	52	27,4
1984	195	49	25,1
1991	192	47 (17 SP/30 JP)	24,4

In tertiary institutions in South Africa women lecturers are evident, but in smaller numbers: at technikons and teachers' training colleges 48% of lecturers are women and at universities 35%.<sup>17</sup>

In the colleges of education, the same position is mirrored yet again - an overall predominance of women in junior posts or lecturing to all-women groups in the junior primary phase but the steady decline in the proportion of women in leadership roles.

One alleged reason for this discrepancy in power positions in education is that the women, carrying as many do, domestic responsibilities, fight shy of the work commitment of reorganisation in a promotion post, and of staffroom conflicts and decision-making required. Byrne<sup>19</sup> questions these reasons. She suspects overt and indirect sex discrimination by both men and women on the governing bodies, such as the College Council, who reproduce unfounded doubts and assumptions about women's suitability. Moreover, a substantial number of women in teacher training are in fact single or have grown-up children, thus their domestic responsibilities are lighter.

The questions raised by Table 2 (p.11) remain unanswered: Why has the position of women in the educational hierarchy, and specifically in co-educational primary schools, in fact worsened, when in most other professions, they are being promoted in increasing numbers to managerial positions? The reasons are unclear, but probably include such aspects as deeply entrenched patriarchal values in the conservative teaching world; the unsuccessful recruitment of men into teaching, and those in the job being "rewarded" with the lure of a promotion; and of course poor teacher remuneration. Poor salaries have caused many male breadwinners to leave teaching, and perhaps the authorities offer promotion posts as incentives to keep them in the schools. Women breadwinners often have access to a second salary via her husband's salary

or a maintenance grant after divorce, so they tend to remain in teaching despite poor salaries, especially as the working hours suit a mother. Whatever the reasons for this unequal distribution, the facts are clear: women teachers/lecturers are not being promoted in proportion to their numbers.

Women in education in South Africa and more specifically in Natal and at Edgewood College of Education, predominate in the lower echelons of teaching/lecturing. In Chapter 2 some reasons for this uneven distribution will be examined. Are aspirant women teachers aware that their chances of promotion in the senior primary and co-educational high schools are limited? Do they aspire to these promotion posts? These questions will be examined.

#### 1.4 Teaching as a Life-Time Career for a Woman

Lou Buchan<sup>20</sup> calls her paper on teaching: "It's a good job for a girl (but an awful career for a woman!)." She distinguishes between a "job" as a short term position for immediate gain, and a "career" which implies a long term means of making a livelihood with an attendant aspect of real commitment to that career.

Teaching is seen as a good "job" as it enables the new recruit, the "girl" to earn a salary, albeit at a lower rate

than her male colleague,<sup>21</sup> in a socially acceptable way. It is also a good job as it is considered "natural" in society's view for women and children to be placed together, as it is considered "natural" for the man to be the breadwinner and head of the household. Biblical values reinforce these patriarchal beliefs.

Teaching is considered to be a profession, or a "semi-profession" according to Sandra Acker<sup>22</sup>: it does not enjoy the full autonomy of a profession such as medicine or law and because, among other reasons, teachers are subject to control by too many outside agencies, such as the inspectorate, the parents of the pupils, the ex-pupil organisations, and especially, because teachers are subject to the ruling ideology of the government of the day. Nevertheless, teaching carries some prestige and job control usually by means of a code of conduct and as such is suitable for the aspirant recruit.

However, should a woman wish for more than a job and aspire to a career in teaching, the opportunities are not quite so available and the situation is far from ideal. Discrimination in conditions of service still exists: differential salaries, lower pension contributions and payouts with no widower's benefit and no housing subsidy for married women, are still part of every woman teacher's working life. The new massive

retrenchments of especially temporary women teachers (discussion follows), leads one to ask why women students still opt to teach.

Simon and Beard<sup>23</sup> remind us that when accounting for the position of women in the work force, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that family structure and the ideology of domestic responsibility play an important part, especially so in South Africa. In addition to this, the categories of work primarily undertaken by women have clearly been constructed along the lines of an ideology of gender which poses servicing and caring work as fine - eminently "feminine". Education systems operate in such a way as to reproduce systematically a division of labour between men and women in wage labour and as such they not only reflect, but also reinforce, the division of labour between men and women.

The present crisis in South African schooling has exacerbated women teachers' tenuous hold on their jobs. As the least senior and often temporary members of staff, they are the first to be retrenched.

Despite the "New South Africa" there are still 15 ministeries of education, funding is still unequal and unrest, especially in poorly funded "black" schools, still a reality. "White" schools in Natal have been particularly hard-hit by



retrenchments, as they have traditionally enjoyed a lower teacher:pupil ratio than white schools in the other three provinces, and a much lower ratio than those of "black" or "brown" schools. To "rationalise" education, this lower pupil:teacher ratio in Natal has to increase, and because "Own Affairs" education still exists, there is now a sudden "over-supply" of white teachers for the falling number of white pupils and massive retrenchments of white teachers have been decreed by central government. Exact figures of retrenchments in Natal white schools in 1991 are extremely difficult to obtain<sup>24</sup>, but it appears that 688 established posts (373 Permanent, 315 Temporary) will be terminated by the end of 1991, over and above the hundreds of "voluntary retirements" offered with "golden handshakes" earlier that year. 150 Temporary Pre-Primary posts (all women) have also been abolished, but apparently some of these teachers may be absorbed into the junior primary phase.

Entry into teacher training at Edgewood College has been directly affected by this crisis in schooling. The Natal Education Department determines how many applicants may be accepted, based on its projection of teacher needs in white schools. Consequently, numbers of acceptances have been dramatically reduced over the past few years and as an all-white institution the College appeared doomed with so few

students allowed. The Junior Primary and Senior Primary acceptances have been dramatically cut, and these phases are dominated by women entrants, so once again, it is the aspirant women teachers who have been particularly hard-hit by College cut backs.

Threatened closure was vigorously opposed as it was not College policy to remain a white institution. The College has now been permitted to remain open and to open its doors to diploma students of other races, provided it finds the necessary funding for them itself. Entry of white recruits has become extremely competitive: high matriculation symbols and an excellent school recommendation are essential. Those students prepared to teach the "scarce" subjects, like mathematics, science, and technika, have received preference for entry, and because fewer girls succeed in these subjects, or have been taught them at school, a measure of discrimination again exists for women student teachers. In interviews it became evident that the respondents felt the women students who did gain entry to the College, had to have had a far better academic record than the male recruits. This perception is widely held among lecturers too, who find many of the male recruits academically and especially linguistically inferior to their female counterparts.

Once training is successfully completed, most new white women

recruits to the profession are finding it increasingly difficult to be placed, especially in primary schools. Male heads of schools prefer to employ males who can assist with the boys' sport and school discipline, and especially so when there is no danger of the male teacher taking time off for accouchement leave! The few permanent posts available are reserved for males, to act as an incentive to their entering, and then remaining, in teaching.

Women recruits to teaching and women teachers in the profession thus face increasing difficulties in their chosen career/job. Women teachers can be excused for feeling that it suits the authorities to use lower paid women as an economic expediency, and as a sort of "reserve army of labour"<sup>26</sup> with the hiring policy of "last, in, first out". Women seem ideal candidates for this reserve army: married women especially can be drawn in when needed and fired when not and their husbands will support them, placing no burden on the state. While this may suit some married women teachers, the more serious career teachers (male and female) are suffering because of their lack of commitment.

However, the increasing economic necessity of women pursuing work outside the home, as well as raising a family, has contributed to the general view that teaching is an ideal job for a woman, with hours and holidays which match those of her

children<sup>27</sup> (compared with other "female jobs" such as nursing, office work and factory work). Financial stringency in our present poor economic climate, make it a necessity, and not a luxury, for both husband and wife to work to keep up their standard of living. Difficulties in finding jobs elsewhere in the limited job market are forcing women to stay in their teaching jobs.

The central question to be examined in this study, is the way women student teachers regard the teaching profession, and their role in it. Is their choice of profession informed primarily by their perception of teaching as a profession which accords with the traditional conception of women as caregivers, nurturers and, to a large extent, moral custodians of society? If so, is this view antithetical to the idea of teaching as a career with the goal of attaining top teaching and administrative posts? To what extent are such achievements perceived as being in accordance with the traditional conception of women as non-competitive and as essentially homemakers? To this end, two basic questions were posed to student teachers at Edgewood College of Education: What is your perception of teaching and why did you choose teaching?

## 1.5 Methodology

This project operated with a feminist methodology. While there is no one "feminist methodology", the general view taken has been one in which women's experiences, ideas and needs (different and differing as they may be) are valid in their own right and man-as-the-norm stops being the only recognised frame of reference for human beings. Therefore this research is "on" women, but also "for" women, in that it tries to take women's needs, interests and experiences into account and aims at being instrumental in improving women teachers' lives, in one way or another by highlighting some areas of direct discrimination in teaching. According to Renate Duelli Klein's definition,<sup>28</sup> this is one of the aims of feminist methodology.

This researcher's feminist perspective has determined the questions asked in this study. Women are at the centre of the study and they are neither compared to nor measured against the standards of men.

Simone de Beauvoir<sup>29</sup> explains the dilemma women writers/researchers face:

If I want to define myself, I must first of all say: I am a woman, on this truth must be based all further

discussion. A man never begins by presenting himself as an individual of a certain sex; it goes without saying that he is a man.

According to Weiler,<sup>30</sup> in feminist methodology three main themes occur. Firstly, feminist researchers begin their investigation of the social world from a grounded position in their own subjective oppression. Weiler feels this leads to a sensitivity to power that comes from being subordinate. A feminist research project begins with the vision of women in a male-defined society and intellectual tradition. Secondly, it is characterised by an emphasis on lived experience and the significance of everyday life and thirdly, it is politically committed i.e. committed to changing the position of women and so to changing society. As a woman teacher with 20 years of experience in the Natal Education Department, with all its discriminatory practices (both overt and covert), this researcher deems herself qualified on these counts.

Both quantitative and qualitative research was used in this study. Quantitative research was useful as a research process by which the data are analysed as numerical values (quantified to percentages here) to facilitate comparison and recognition of trends. Theory formulation, interpretation and dissemination formed an integral part of this process. The purpose of the research process was to gather and then examine

evidence (data) in order to find answers to the central question of this research: How do women student teachers regard the teaching profession, and their role in it?

Some feminists<sup>31</sup> including Jayaratne have criticised the value of traditional quantitative research in which data are analysed as numerical values, seeing it as inconsistent with a feminist methodology. Too often traditional quantitative analysis has ignored issues of importance to women and they feel too many final reports have had little impact on social problems. Jayaratne's final criticism of the quantitative method is that it cannot convey an in-depth understanding of or feeling for the persons under study.

To counteract such criticisms and to give a deeper insight into the responses to the questionnaire, the qualitative method of open-ended questions and formal and informal discussions, has also been employed in this study. The respondents' own words are used to provide more texture to the responses and to give a clearer picture of the persons involved.

A survey research with a questionnaire in four sections<sup>32</sup> was constructed to measure the range of attitudes towards teaching as a career, or teaching as a job, and to gauge the respondents' own reasons for choosing to teach. Their

knowledge of existing practices of promoting women as principals was also gauged. Open-ended questions were set to test their awareness of any discrimination in the promotion process. Implicit in these questions was an attempt to gauge their perception of any need for the status quo to change or not to do so.

In order to gauge whether four years at College had influenced their thinking about women in teaching, it was decided to administer the questionnaire to First and Fourth Year women students only.

Of the 75 Fourth Year students 42 replied i.e. 56%.

Of the 97 First Year students 79 replied i.e. 81%.

The total response was thus 121 out of 172 i.e. 70%.

The total number of women students (of all years) in the College in September 1991, when the questionnaire was administered, was 361. The percentage responses to the total number was 34%.

It was disappointing not to receive replies from all the First and Fourth Year women students; but two possible reasons for this were: firstly, that the responses were sought from volunteers only, and some students chose not to respond, and secondly the timing of the questionnaire appears to have been bad: it was administered in the second week of September, after a series of term tests and before study leave for the



final examinations, and many students absented themselves from lectures during this period. However, the responses from the 79% appear to be from a valid sample, as all phases were represented, with differing views being evident.<sup>33</sup>

The questionnaires were administered during the last 15 minutes of lecture time through the kind co-operation of colleagues in the Education Department of the College. A brief explanation of the purpose of the study was given verbally, as well as in writing on the top of the questionnaire, and volunteers were sought. The students know this researcher as a lecturer, and as one who includes gender issues in her lectures. A certain amount of "faking"<sup>34</sup> is thus likely to have taken place. This is acknowledged and questions in Section B and C were deliberately scrambled, or reworded slightly in the same section, in an attempt to obviate this problem. The analysis of these two sections is done statistically i.e. quantitatively, but trends and patterns have also been looked at. Section D contains the open-ended responses which were analysed descriptively: i.e. trends were recorded as well as reasons given in the respondents own words, so that a clearer picture of their reasoning may possibly have emerged.

A pre-test or pilot study<sup>35</sup> was done in July 1991, to test the clarity and validity of the questions to be asked in the

questionnaire. This pilot study was administered to 16 practising women teachers all with fairly strong views on their role in schools as teachers, and at home, some as wives and mothers but all with different life experiences. They were asked such questions as why they chose teaching as a career and also their opinions about the "over-representation" of women in teaching and their "under representation" in promotion posts. Their responses to these open-ended questions assisted in the formulation of questions in the questionnaire. That these practising teachers distinguished teaching as a job, from teaching as a career, became evident and helped to clarify the distinction for the researcher.

Replies received to the pilot study:

Co-educational Senior Primary School = 3

Co-educational High School = 3

Girls' High School = 3

Boys' High School = 5 (3 were asked, but 2 more teachers expressed a desire to complete the survey)

Edgewood College Lecturers = 2 (3 were asked but 1 declined)

Total = 16 teachers

Chapter one has attempted an historical overview of women teachers in especially, Natal schools. The emphasis then moves to the group to be studied; namely women student teachers at the Edgewood College of Education. In order to place them in context, a brief history of the College and its philosophy was necessary. Thereafter, the place of women teachers in their chosen career, coupled with society's perception of their role and the reality of their positions in Natal schools is discussed. Finally the research methodology used was examined and details given of the sample used in this research.

CHAPTER ONE : END NOTES

1. The most recent statistics available to this researcher are those of 31 March 1990 quoted by Dr M.M. Lane in "Die Vrou in die Onderwys" 1991 in Opvoeding en Kultuur. Silverton.
2. Behr, A.L. & Macmillan R.G. 1971. Education in South Africa, Van Schaik, Pretoria.
3. Vietzen, S. 1980. A History of Education for European Girls in Natal 1837-1902. University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
4. Bond, J. 1956. They were South Africans. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
5. Vietzen, S. op.cit., introduction.
6. Behr & Macmillan. op.cit., p.58.
7. Blampied, B. 1989. An investigation of Aspirations and Attitudes of Selected Women teachers ... M.Ed. Thesis. University of Natal, Durban.
8. Blampied, B. op.cit., p.15. Report of the Provincial Education Committee. Province of Natal 1946, p.184.

9. Provincial Notice No. 603. Natal Provincial Gazette, 13 November 1958.
10. Report of the Director of Education, Province of Natal, for the year 1965, p.6, in Blampied op.cit., p.16.
11. Technika comprises the following components: Electrical, Electronic, Mechanical, Computer Studies and Engineering Design. As a subject it is now offered in most boys' and co-educational high schools and at one (private) girls' high school.
12. Acker, S. 1983. Women and Teaching : A semi-detached Sociology of a Semi-Profession in Walker, S. & Barton, L. (eds): Gender, Class and Education. The Falmer Press, Sussex, p.124.
13. Lane, M.M. op.cit., p.12.
14. Ibid., p.15.  
By "Top Management" Lane refers to level 6 and above i.e. the top administrators in education. The actual statistic is 0,4%.
15. Blampied, B. 1989. op.cit., p.27.

16. Source: Province of Natal - Table of Educational Statistics, appendix to Annual Report of the Director of Education.
17. Lane, M.M. op.cit.
18. Source: Dr T.E. Dachs, Deputy Rector, Edgewood College.
19. Byrne, E.M. 1978. Women and Education. Tavistock Publications, London, p.181.
20. Buchan, L. in Spender, D. and Sarah E. (eds). 1988 (rev. ed.) Learning to Lose : Sexism in Education. The Women's Press, London, pp.81-89.
21. Parity of salary at post level 1 is gradually being phased in and should be complete by April 1992.
22. Acker, op.cit., p.123.
23. Simon, A. & Beard, P. "Discriminatory factors affecting women teachers in Natal" in Perspectives in Education 9(1), 1986, p.17.
24. Source: Mr Roger Burrows (MP for Pinetown and Democratic Party spokesman on Education) Telephonic conversation.  
No gender breakdown of retrenched teachers was available.

25. Source: Interviews with Primary School heads.
26. Barrett, M. 1987. "Marxist Feminism and the Work of Karl Marx" in Anne Phillips (ed) Feminism and Equality. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
27. Section B, Questions 3 and 5 of Questionnaire.
28. Methodology means both the overall conception of the research project - the doing of feminist research - as well as the choice of appropriate techniques for this process, including forms of presenting the research results. (Klein, p.89)
29. Simone de Beauvoir quoted in Weiler, K. 1988. Women Teaching for Change : Gender, Class and Power. Bergin & Garvey, Massachusetts, p.57.
30. Weiler, K., 1988, ibid, pp.58-63.
31. Analysed by Toby Epstein Jayaratne, 1983, chapter 10. "The value of quantitative methodology for feminist research" in Bowles & Klein, op.cit., p.145.
32. There are 4 Sections of the questionnaire:  
Section A - Personal Details  
Section B - Attitudes towards teaching as a profession

Section C - Own reasons for choosing teaching

Section D - Open-ended questions on women as principals;  
as student leaders and implicitly thus, the  
need to change the status quo.

33. It was interesting that some 1st and 4th year male students expressed an interest in answering the questions or at least to see what "subversive" activity was taking place! 28 1st year and 22 4th year men answered the questionnaire. Their replies have been most enlightening and an analysis of the most important findings are in Annexure.
34. "Faking" is Carole Beere's term used by Klein, R.D., 1983: "to give socially desirable responses rather than honest attributes" and it happens both consciously and unconsciously. (Beere, C., 1979. "Women and Women's Issues : A Handbook of Tests and Measures". San Francisco Jossey-Bass, p.385 in Klein, R.D. op.cit., p.91.)
35. Annexure



## CHAPTER 2 : TEACHING IS A WORLD OF WOMEN

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines teaching as an instance of women's work. If 72% of teachers in Natal state schools are women, as stated by Thurlow in his research,<sup>1</sup> then the vision of teaching as a "world of women" appears justified. The sample group of Edgewood College students echoed this vision and their views will be examined in detail in the following chapters.

This chapter gives a review of some of the literature on this topic, while looking at the situation in South Africa, and Natal white schools, in particular.

The under-representation of women teachers in promotion posts is then examined and possible reasons for this discrepancy proposed. When factors limiting women teachers' promotion opportunities are examined, the conclusion is reached that societal values, and not just internal factors peculiar to women such as reluctance to compete, contribute greatly to their absence in promotion posts. In a patriarchal society such as ours women are seen as care-givers and nurturers and therefore well-suited to teaching little children who need "mothering"; but they are not widely regarded as academic leaders who should fill the top leadership roles in education.

## 2.2 Women in South Africa's Labour Market

According to an analysis of the 1985 Census,<sup>2</sup> women make up just over half of South Africa's population (50,6%), but only a third of the paid workforce (36,4%). For numerous reasons such as child-care responsibilities; married women choosing not to be economically active; lack of skills and training or lack of opportunity, women have less access to the labour market.

According to the same analysis 72,3% of the female workforce is employed in three categories in South Africa, namely service, clerical and sales, and professional. These statistics exclude the populations of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, and therefore exclude the thousands of women employed in the informal sector and in factories in so-called border areas. Although census reports contain inaccuracies, they nevertheless remain an important source of information about national trends.

The trends in South African employment appears to mirror that of most developed countries. Juliet Mitchell<sup>3</sup> notes the following about the United States of America:

When they are not in the lowest positions on the factory-floor, they are normally in white-collar auxilliary

positions ... supportive to masculine roles. They are often jobs with a high expressive content, such as service tasks ... analogous to the wife-mother role in the family.

In this country three quarters of all professional women are either teachers or nurses,<sup>4</sup> careers with a "high expressive" content, and often "analogous to the wife-mother role" as Mitchell says.

Occupational segregation between men and women clearly exists. Women tend to do certain jobs and these jobs have come to be seen as "women's work" and are highly "feminised" as a result. Jobs such as nursing and teaching are obvious examples of such feminised work, where women's "natural" talents of caregiving and nurturing; their perceived gentleness and patience are best suited.

Teaching is primarily a "world of women". Women predominate in teaching, yet teaching is poorly paid and offers little promotion opportunity for women. Why is this the case?

In this study, we shall investigate why women take teaching degrees/diplomas with a view to entering the "profession", despite the clear disadvantages that pertain to such a career choice.

### 2.3 Women as Teachers

Teaching has an over-representation of women, but school teaching is not dominated by women, if we take domination to mean the exercise of authority:

Attempts to counter accusations of sexism by pointing to the preponderance of female teachers, fail to note that most of the decision-making posts in the education system are filled by men.<sup>5</sup>

While all the teachers and principals of pre-primary and junior primary schools are female, women leaders become increasingly under-represented as we move up the school age range (diagram 2, chapter 1). Teaching is seen largely as women's work, but teaching in leading schools, especially where boys are present is seen as more prestigious and therefore more suitable for male teachers. Not only is being in charge of boys seen as problematic for a woman, but the age of the pupil is also given as significant in deciding who should teach the senior classes. Women in South African schools predominate in the pre-primary, junior primary, junior classes (or slow classes of the senior primary) and co-educational high schools. The teaching of certain subjects too, is often gender specific in co-educational high schools: women predominate in the humanities and domestic sciences and

men in science and technological subjects.<sup>6</sup>

Acker<sup>7</sup> also mentions that women in promotion posts in England, (as in South Africa) in co-educational high schools such as deputy principals, usually hold different areas of responsibility from their male colleagues. [ They are often in charge of pastoral responsibilities, such as counselling, checking uniforms and school neatness, catering for school functions and organising all social occasions. Men typically hold responsibility for the administrative and curricular activities. Men and women thus generally have different chances for "rewards" within the system: parents interviewing a prospective head of school are certain to reward experience of time-tabling and school finances, more readily than experience of organising teas for speech days.

Many women teachers realise that their only opportunity to experience the full range of school responsibilities is within a girls-only school. There they teach all subjects, to all ages and must undertake all administrative and curricular responsibilities in a promotion post. Should women confine their ambitions to all-girls' schools only? Are single-sex schools desirable? Shaw<sup>8</sup> argues that all-girls' schools hold many advantages for both the women teachers and the girl pupils. She feels that the gender categorisation which causes girls to be seen by boys in a co-educational school, as a kind

of negative reference group which excuses their own comparative lack of academic success because at least they are "better than the girls", is avoided in an all-girls' school.

Gender stereotyping may operate less stringently in single-sex schools than in mixed ones, and girls are at least likely to be taught all their subjects (including Science) by women, thus removing beliefs prevalent in mixed schools that subjects taught by men and taken by boys are unsuitable for girls. Women teachers also hold all the immediate positions of authority in an all-girls school. The false incompatibility between female attractiveness and intelligence may be less emphasised than in mixed schools. However, an obvious disadvantage of an all-girls school, is that there is no provision for male-dominated technical subjects like woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing and technika.<sup>9</sup>

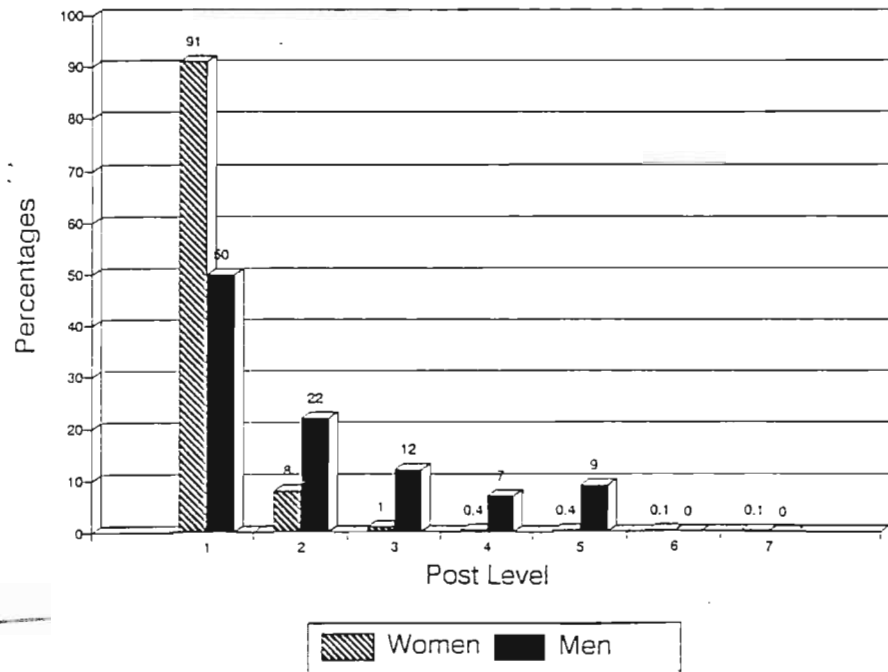
Women predominate in teaching; and they predominate in promotion posts in all girls, pre-primary and junior primary schools. Should women be satisfied that these are their "natural" areas of influence and not in co-educational primary or high schools? Certainly the answers of the sample group of student teachers seem to reflect this view.

## 2.4 Women Teachers in Promotion Posts

Women in white government schools occupy 100% of the promotion posts (i.e. heads of department, deputy principal and principal) in pre-primary and junior primary schools and 100% of the teachers are women.

In the senior primary schools where 76,2% of the educators are women,<sup>10</sup> very few hold positions of authority, as the following diagram shows.

Diagram 4



### Promotion Posts in Primary Schools

i.e. 91% of women primary school teachers are on post level 1  
(no promotion)

8% of women primary school teachers are on post level 2

0,4% of women primary school teachers are on post level 3

0,4% of women primary school teachers are on post level 4

0,1% of women primary school teachers are on post level 5

0,1% of women primary school teachers are on post level 6

In Natal, of the 162 senior primary schools in 1991, only 17 (or 10,4%) have a woman principal (or acting principal).

The 8 Boys' High Schools all have male principals.

The 11 Girls' High Schools all have woman principals.

The 45 Co-Educational High Schools all have male principals.

The 3 Colleges of Education in Natal all have male rectors.

Women teachers in Natal are not being chosen as principals of schools in any significant numbers, or are choosing not to apply for these posts.

## 2.5 Factors limiting women teachers' promotion opportunities

### 2.5.1 Women teachers who choose not to apply:

The one irrefutable argument advanced by male educators when quizzed on women's lack of advancement in the education hierarchy, is the fact that not many women apply for these posts. Lane<sup>11</sup> gives the statistics (table 3) to back this contention, and argues that more women ought to apply for a wide variety of promotion posts in education:



Vrouens behoort vir 'n wye verskeidenheid poste aansoek te doen en nie moet te verloor as hul aansoeke nie die eerste rondte slaag nie. (Translation provided)<sup>12</sup>

She provides the following table to support her view.<sup>13</sup>

Table 3

<u>Applications for Promotion</u>			
<u>Post Level</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
2	2749	985	2.8 : 1
3	1849	220	8.4 : 1
4	1339	60	22.3 : 1
5	1067	52	20.5 : 1
6	234	17	13.8 : 1
7	7	0	

In Teaching, as in most hierarchical systems, advancement up the ladder of success is usually step-by-step, and one seldom skips a rung, so attainment of level 7 usually means successful performance at level 6. Women on level 6 (large complicated school) are scarce as so few girls' high schools are so classified. However, it is significant that when such a school, the Durban Girls' High School, advertised the vacancy of their headship (level 6) in June 1991, not one application was received

for the post. An example such as this, coupled with Lane's statistics, provide proof that women teachers are not playing the promotion game. What Lane fails to explain is the very marked discrepancy among category D teachers, for instance, from among whose ranks most male primary school principals are drawn. If 62% of these teachers are women (Table 1), why are only 0,4% of them principals of even small senior primary schools? (Levels 3 and 4 are PIII and PII schools.) Why do women choose not to apply for these posts? Is it all as simple as Lane would have us believe? Do women simply opt out of the race for top posts or are there certain constraints limiting their opportunities? This researcher found definite constraints:

#### 2.5.2 Constraints limiting women teachers' opportunities:

While both the United States of America and Britain have legislation to prohibit discrimination in all aspects of employment,<sup>14</sup> South Africa has not yet introduced any Act to remove sex discrimination, especially in the workplace. In all advertisements it is permissible to stipulate that candidates of only one sex may apply and this system is widely used in the Government Gazette, in which vacant teaching posts are listed, as well as in advertisements in the private sector.<sup>15</sup> Legally thus, there are constraints placed on women's eligibility for

promotion posts in co-educational schools. Since 1986 the discriminatory practice of dismissal of women teachers, or demotion to a temporary post, upon marriage, has been removed. The situation now exists that a certain percentage of posts in schools are designated "permanent" while others are designated "temporary". This percentage is decided upon by the Education Department. A big girls' high school, for instance, has been commanded that 60% of their posts will be permanent, while 40% temporary. These vacant posts must be advertised as such and married or unmarried women may apply.

Marital status no longer creates a legal barrier to promotion in schools, but marriage does often limit a woman teacher's mobility. It is still customary for the wife to follow the husband to where his career takes him and with each move, the woman teacher loses any promotion she has held and must again join the ranks at level 1, and thereafter apply for a promotion post again.

A married woman teacher often faces the dilemma of family commitments versus<sup>16</sup> school commitments, unless she is prepared to be regarded as uncommitted to teaching by staying home with an ill child, for instance. She forfeits a day off her long-leave bonus for every school

day missed to be with her child. (Single fathers face the same dilemma, but they form a very small group in teaching.)

Of the total number of educators in South Africa 40% are married women and 20% unmarried.<sup>17</sup> Of all the women teachers 70% are married and 30% unmarried. According to Lane:

Uit hierdie gegewens ... is dit duidelik dat die vrou 'n substansiele bydrae tot die onderwys lewer. Die vrou verleen status aan haar beroep en daarom geniet die vrou ook 'n besondere status in die gemeenskap.<sup>18</sup> (Translation provided)

Perhaps Lane's statement is not applicable to the whole South African community, because the views of the English speaking teacher societies are more often that women, especially married women, lower the status of teaching.<sup>19</sup> What Lane means by the woman giving status to her profession is thus unclear to this researcher. Men teachers are seldom discussed in terms of their marital status, nor do researchers acknowledge the assistance men's wives might provide towards fulfilling the male teacher's career ambitions by further study, attendance at courses, overseas travel and so on.

Men are often enabled to immerse themselves fully in their careers because they have a 70 hour-a-week housewife backing them up.<sup>20</sup>

Being married and/or being placed on the temporary staff at schools place severe constraints on women teachers who wish to make teaching a full-time career.

However, the dedicated career-minded woman teacher (married or unmarried) does exist. She is constantly upgrading her academic qualifications.<sup>21</sup>

Table 4

20% of all the women teachers are in category C  
(3 years training)

12% of all the men teachers are in category C

62% of all the women teachers are in category D (4 yrs)

49% of all the men teachers are in category D

13% of all the women teachers are in category E (5 yrs)

21% of all the men teachers are in category E

3% of all the women teachers are in category F (6 yrs)

12% of all the men teachers are in category F

0,5% of all women teachers are in category G (7+ yrs)

3% of all the men teachers are in category G

Table 4 shows that men teachers are better qualified but when Lane compares these 1991 statistics with those of the previous year, she notes signs of increasing "professionalisation" among women in teaching. In the past year women in category E have increased from 11% to 13%, for instance. She feels that this increase in academic qualifications is a sign of the women teachers' commitment to advancement/promotion.

If legal barriers and academic qualifications thus only partly explain why so few women teachers hold, or apply for, senior positions in education, perhaps ideological, societal values play a much greater role than one would suppose. These constraints will now be examined:

### 2.5.3 Ideological/societal values which constrain women teachers' promotion opportunities:

Research documents the preference of many women to define career commitment as good classroom teaching rather than upward mobility through the system.<sup>22</sup> Women teachers enjoy staying in the classroom to have contact with their pupils on an intimate basis. The teaching "profession" has not yet recognised this truism: most people enter teaching to teach children and not to sit at a desk writing letters and performing monotonous administrative duties, losing contact with the pupils. However, this is

what promotion up the ladder in teaching means: the higher one progresses, the further away one moves from classroom teaching. As yet no structure exists to promote competent teachers and still keep them in the classroom. This progression is the pattern repeated in many businesses and many women reject this hierarchical development. Oram and Cunnison<sup>23</sup> both suggest that the status quo suits the interests of men, who have little to gain by changing or challenging it. The very existence of hierarchies according to Illich<sup>24</sup> favours men. There have also been biological arguments advanced for this thesis, for instance by Goldberg.<sup>25</sup> Radical feminist arguments about hierarchies tend to suggest women do not only lose at competition, but consciously choose to reject such hierarchies as politically oppressive in a patriarchal society.<sup>26</sup> The rejection of hierarchies is not biologically built into women. Women's socialisation and satisfying experiences of alternative values and forms of organisation, together with a kind of "situational adjustment"<sup>27</sup> i.e. coming to terms with a situation unlikely to be changed by wishing it so - provide a more credible explanation.

Sassen<sup>28</sup> points out that hierarchies mean competition and it is often this climate of competition which arouses anxiety in women. Women often reject competitive success

at the expense of their fellow workers. It may also be that a competitive, hierarchical system, plus men's belief in their right to promotion, encourages extra efforts and sacrifices from male teachers, creating a kind of motor for the whole system to carry on despite the undoubted stresses and rather paltry rewards on offer. Some women's own rejection of competitive success thus places a further constraint on their attainment of promotion positions.

Perhaps the unpleasant atmosphere which competition for the few available posts causes in staffrooms, places a further constraint on women. Cunnison<sup>29</sup> shows how some of the anger and resentment of disappointed men teachers may be deflected on to women teachers, especially those apparently on their way "up". Women may not be consciously deterred from seeking promotion by the prospect of being a target for hostility, but there are likely to be subtly discouraging effects of an institutional ethos that defines reality for its members in this way. Societal approval of promotion in an hierarchical structure with its attendant cut-throat competitive aspect, coupled with the anger of men when faced with competing women, appear to discourage women from applying for promotion.



Any discriminatory system continues when it is underpinned by powerful ideologies. Most prominent of these are the beliefs that tightly tie together women with marriage and children, and the complementary beliefs about men's role as breadwinners. Over time the image of a woman teacher has changed from that of a dedicated spinster (reinforced by Provincial ordinances) to a married woman. The images hold contradictions, as Oram<sup>30</sup> shows: the spinster, of uncertain sexuality and not quite a "real woman" is a second-best model, yet "normal" married women teachers, by working outside the home, are also compromised. That women are believed to "belong" with young children has given them a route to headships of junior primary schools largely denied to men,<sup>31</sup> but continues to disqualify them from management positions where older children are concerned.

Other societal ideologies influence women teachers' career path: if promotion is thought to be based on merit and individual striving, then women's decision to have children appears equivalent to renouncing interest in a career.<sup>32</sup> Career breaks to have and raise children mean self-evident lesser commitment to teaching in the eyes of many administrators and male colleagues<sup>33</sup> and men, the breadwinners, are more deserving of promotion.<sup>34</sup> These myths are so pervasive that most women student

respondents from Edgewood College echoed these sentiments.

Oram<sup>35</sup> further argues that while direct discrimination through government policy on pay, promotion and marriage bars has ended, a strong residue of indirect discrimination remains, less checked, because less overt and sometimes disguised as "market forces": for instance the ready availability of teacher loans for science, mathematics and technika subjects (in which men predominate) and not for the humanities, in which women predominate.

But how does the prevailing ideology of a society like ours, influence ambitious women teachers? As has been shown it affects the daily life of all teachers, but influences the woman teacher's promotion prospects more directly. Teaching as a branch of the government-controlled Civil Service, is directly influenced by ruling patriarchal philosophy. Calvinism places the male firmly at the head of the family, the church, the school, the government. Preserving the status quo suits the interests of conservative men, who have little to gain by changing or challenging it. Women and men are socialised in terms of values, beliefs and norms of the groups to which they belong. It is these interactions which can

produce obstacles to the promotion of women.

Adkinson<sup>36</sup> perceives discrimination arising from three sources:

Communities do not accept women in leadership positions, decision makers will not recruit and hire women for managerial positions, and potential colleagues and subordinates do not want to work with women.<sup>37</sup>

While the teaching "community" has had to accept women in the classroom and in leadership roles, often through lack of male applicants, many schools, especially those ruled by dominant patriarchal values, have done so reluctantly.

The teacher's "community" consists of her employers at the Education Department, at her school and among the parents whose children attend the school. Frequently the church plays a leading role too. Recently the influence of this community has increased greatly with the formation of Parent Governing Bodies which are actively involved in choosing teachers for all promotion posts, and for obtaining (and spending) funds for the school. This restructuring of school government has entrenched, rather than combated sexist patterns in schools. Even at

Durban girls' high schools, there is usually a Chairman of the board who conducts the interviews of all prospective candidates for promotion posts. The members of the board usually hold stereotyped views because, besides societal patriarchal values, they have themselves experienced gender stereotyping in schools through the curriculum, the contents of textbooks and subject choices.<sup>38</sup>

As Diagram 4 shows, the decision-makers in education are predominantly male and are inclined to choose to work with men, as it is often thought that the maintenance of a homogeneous staff who share common qualities is conducive to a harmonious existence.<sup>39</sup>

Prevailing societal prejudices thus appear to affect women teachers both directly and indirectly in their striving for promotion in teaching. While many barriers to promotion lie in the cultural or national foundations of our society, certain barriers transcend these boundaries and lie in the educational institution itself. Blampied<sup>40</sup> examines these aspects in detail, but one aspect mentioned by many aspirant teachers and practising teachers in interviews was that they perceive promotion posts as entailing too much paperwork and not enough educational content, and so reject these jobs as

uninteresting, preferring to remain in the classroom. Their reluctance to apply for senior positions lies then, not in their lack of aspirations, but in their alternate view of what constitutes a career or a job.

## 2.6 Conclusion

Teaching as an instance of women's work conforms to the pattern of all women's work: women occupy the lowest rungs of the promotional ladder, even when they are numerically superior to men.

Certain barriers exist which prevent ambitious women from becoming administrators of education: some of these barriers are internal to women, such as rejection of competition in a hierarchical system, but the dominant constraints appear to be legal ones, coupled with external, societal values.

These barriers have been examined in order to ask the question in chapter 3, whether the student teachers at Edgewood College are aware of these barriers to their career ambitions, or if they accept them as unproblematic.

CHAPTER 2 : END NOTES

1. Stated in Simon, A. and Beard, P. 1986. Discriminatory factors affecting women teachers in Natal in Perspectives in Education 9,1, p.22.
2. Maconachie, M. 1989 "Looking for patterns of Women's Employment and Educational Achievements in the 1985 Census" in Agenda No. 5. Durban.
3. Mitchell, J. 1972. "Women : The Longest Revolution" in Glazer-Malbin N. and Waehler H.Y. (eds) Woman in a Man-Made World. Rand McNally & Co, Chicago, p.47.
4. Maconachie, op.cit., p.84.
5. Posel, R. 1989. "The Role of Women in Educational Change" in The Organizer 3,5, p.19.
6. Acker, S. 1983. "Women and Teaching : A Semi-Detached Sociology of a Semi-Profession" in Walker S. and Barton L. (eds) Gender, Class and Education. The Falmer Press. Sussex, p.125.
7. Ibid., p.126.

- \*8. Shaw, J. 1980. Chapter 5 in Deem, R. (ed) Schooling for Women's Work. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London.
9. A private, all-girls school in Pietermaritzburg, The Wykeham-Collegiate, offers some of these subjects. At co-educational high schools like Hillcrest High, very few girls opt for the technical subjects, but the opportunity is provided.
10. Lane, M.M. 1991. "Die vrou in die Onderwys" in Opvoeding en Kultuur. Silverton, p.14.
11. Ibid., p.13 and 14.
12. Women ought to apply for a wide variety of posts and not lose hope if their applications do not succeed at the first attempt.
13. Lane, M.M. 1991, op.cit., p.14.
14. U.S.A (1964) Civil Rights Act (Title VII).  
Britain (1975) Sex Discrimination Act.
15. Government Gazette. One page included from 9/9/91 No. 4.  
(See page 55(a))

<u>Post</u> <u>Pos School / Skool</u>	<u>Post Description</u>
096 Brighton Beach Primary/ Primër (EM) P.O.Box/Posbus 16010 4009 BRIGHTON BEACH/STRAND (031-) 474860	<u>W.E.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 5. Swimming and girls' hockey a requirement. (621108).
097 Camperdown Primary/Primër (EM) P.O.Box/Posbus 35 3720 CAMPERDOWN (03251-) 51472	<u>M/W.E.</u> Temporary Jan to Dec 1992. Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education. Extra- mural activities a recommendation. (621415)
098 Clarence Primary/ Primër(EM) P.Bag/P.Sak X02 4023 GREYVILLE (031-) 3091520	<u>M.E.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education. Sport a requirement. (621713)
099 Dannhauser Primary/ Primër (PM) P.Bag/P.Sak 1025 3080 DANNHAUSER (0344-) 2646	<u>M.E.A.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 5. Handicraft, sport coaching and plays a requirement. (622214)
100 Drakensberg Primër/ Primary (AM) P.Sak/P.Bag X6646 2940 NEWCASTLE (03431-) 85011	<u>M.A.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 4/5. Physical Education training a requirement; extra-mural activities a recommendation.(622821)
101 Ditto.	<u>M.A.</u> Temporary Jan to Dec 1992. Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 4/5. Computer literacy a require- ment; programming and extra-mural activities a recommendation.(622835)
102 Egerton Primary/Primër (PM) P.O.Box/Posbus 89 3370 LADYSMITH (0351-)22244	<u>M/W.E.</u> Temporary Jan to Dec 1992. Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 4. Coaching of sport a require- ment. (623531)
103 Empangeni Primary/ Primër (PM) P.Bag/P.Sak X20012 3880 EMPANGENI (0351-) 21441	<u>M.E.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education. Afrikaans as Second Language up to Std 5, coaching rugby and athletics a requirement. (623824)
104 Forest View Primary/ Primër (PM) P.Bag/P.Sak 1009 Linkhills 3552 via HILLCREST (031-) 731390	<u>M/W.E.</u> Temporary Jan to Dec 1992. Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education. Zulu a recommendation. (624430)
105 Ditto.	<u>M/W.E.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary edu- cation. (624431)
106 Fynnlând Primary/Primër (EM) P.Bag/P.Sak 4020 FYNNLAND (031-) 462881	<u>M.E.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 5. Coaching of sport a recommendation. (624502)
107 Ditto.	<u>M.A.P.</u> Qualified and/or experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 4. Language across the curriculum and coaching of sport a recommendation. (624601)
108 Grantham Park Primary/ Primër (PM) P.Bag/P.Sak X20044 3880 EMPANGENI (0351-) 27291	<u>W.E.A.P.</u> Qualified and experienced in Senior Primary education to teach Std 5, and provide subject leadership in English as First Language and Afrikaans as Second Language. Bilinguality essential. Sport a recommendation. (626023)

Code: W = Woman                    A = Afrikaans  
M = Man                            P = Permanent  
E = English                        T = Temporary



16. It is recognised that most working mothers face this dilemma, but is mentioned here as a special dilemma of women teachers, as it is the reason most frequently used by administrators and male teachers at the Natal Teachers' Society's 1990 Conference, for women's unsuitability for promotion to top posts in education.
  
17. Statistics by Lane, M.M., op.cit., p.12.
  
18. Translation:  
From these statistics ... it is clear that women make a considerable contribution to teaching. A woman gives status to her profession and therefore she also enjoys a special status in the community.
  
19. Natal Teachers' Society conference on Professionalism. 1988.
  
20. Acker, S., op.cit., p.129.
  
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ibid, p.123.

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## CHAPTER 3 : WHAT THE STUDENT TEACHERS SAY ABOUT TEACHING

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the views of a sample of student teachers at Edgewood College of Education. It investigates awareness of the various ideological/societal barriers discussed in chapter 2. Using statistical analysis of data, their comments from the open-ended questions and personal observations from interviews, this awareness or lack of it is tested.

Clearly the institutional context in which the students operate must influence their perception and Edgewood College's role in preparing students for a non-racist, non-sexist society is examined.

The aspirant women teachers' attitudes to the hierarchical, competitive system of promotion in education is also examined, as well as their desire to be wives and mothers. Their awareness of indirect forms of discrimination is tested.

Finally, their wish to teach and succeed at teaching is examined. What becomes clear, however, is that they do not necessarily associate this wish for personal success with an

ambition to be a school principal. Their view of the most suitable principal illustrates this, and possible reasons are offered for their choices.

### 3.2 The Institutional Context appears to influence the Student Teachers' Awareness

When the results of the questionnaire are examined, one could conclude that the respondents are only partially aware of the societal barriers to their promotion. They do frequently express the idea that it is "not fair" that so few women are principals of senior primary schools and co-educational high schools, but many feel that it has always been so and will continue to be so in a patriarchal society. This fundamental belief of the majority of the respondents will be examined in detail when each constraint to their promotion in teaching is discussed.

The question then arises of just how aware these students are of women's role as leaders in society, and specifically at their college. At college very few women students make themselves available for election to positions of student leadership. A notable difference has been the 1992 Student Representative Council (S.R.C.), in which all but 3 positions were held by women. When questioned about this change, the answers given highlight the fact that the 1991 S.R.C. was

dominated by a particularly "loathsome, beer-swilling, paunchy" (their words) older male student, whose macho influence had made 1991 a particularly difficult year for women, and some men, students. In previous years there have been competent and incompetent male and a few female S.R.C. Presidents, but the vehemence of support for women student leaders has been unprecedented, and largely, one assumes, as a reaction against a bullying male.

Teachers' Training Colleges are, by their very composition, more conservative institutions than universities and Edgewood College is no exception. As described in chapter 1, the college is still dependent on funding from the Natal Education Department which subsidises and provides study and residence loans to almost all the white students. The college is, therefore, compelled to "dance to the piper's tune", which is to ensure that the schools are staffed with new teachers who uphold our society's values (which are conservative). A significant difference between University degreed teachers and those with a diploma from a college of education, is that graduate teachers do not initially perceive their profession as that of teaching, but set out to study subjects such as History, languages, Psychology or Science, for example. During their course of study it is likely that they will come into contact with much more radical and challenging ideas than

their colleagues in the more traditional teacher training colleges.

The student body is also a more conservative group than the heterogenous university students. College students have chosen to teach: one assumes that they believe in the school system as upholders of society's norms, and either support it or believe their contribution to it can lead to improvements.

One of the reasons for their conservative approach may well be their inexperience with the outside world. Byrne<sup>1</sup> believes that, in general, the school-college-school practice, which leaves so many teachers ignorant of (and uninterested in) the outside world of work, has been an unhelpful counter to developing new attitudes in school teachers.

She feels therefore, that the training colleges have a particular responsibility:

The training institutions which produce the teachers in the first place are of central importance not only in producing the basic teaching force, but as potential agents of change, and as influences in in-service re-education of teachers.<sup>2</sup>

Edgewood College is facing the challenge of being really

"open" in 1992: the student body has been prepared for this event for several years with lectures and a full conference on multicultural education. However, judging from events at the University of Natal these past two years, where Black student riots have occurred, this preparation has probably not been adequate. The admission of large numbers of Black students to lectures at Edgewood College, has necessitated new lecturing methodology to cater for English second language speakers from educationally deprived backgrounds. New methods of assessment have been implemented to cater for differing needs.

The residences have inevitably been the arena where the most visible differences in norms and values have been reflected. A completely new appraisal has been made of certain student traditions, such as Freshers' Week and Inter-College Sport, but far more will have to be done to really integrate Black students fully into what is still perceived as a "White" college. To date little has been done to address gender inequality.

Many more women apply to enter Edgewood College than men do. The following table shows that the women entrants are generally more academically able than the male entrants, although it will be conceded that the matriculation aggregate symbol is but a rough measure of ability.



Table 5 : 1992 First Year Admissions to Edgewood College

<u>Aggregate Symbols</u>					
No. of men	= 30	A = 0;	B = 1;	C = 3;	Mean D = 16; E = 10
No. of women	= 77	A = 1;	B = 14;	C = 30;	Mean D = 28; E = 4

It seems reasonable to hypothesise, therefore, that proportionately more women students who qualify at the college, are in the top ability range, especially among the Primary School candidates. The 1991 Diploma awards bears this statement out.

Table 6 : Certificates of Merit : Primary Course (Diploma)

2nd Year	5 Women students were awarded 6 certificates of merit 0 Men
3rd Year	7 Women students were awarded 10 certificates of merit 0 Men
4th Year	5 Women students were awarded 6 certificates of merit 0 Men

Primary Course (Degree)

1st Year	2 Women students were awarded 3 certificates of merit 0 Men
2nd Year	4 Women students were awarded 5 certificates of merit 0 Men

A natural assumption is that women primary school teachers are

more academically capable than their male counterparts, and should thus stand a good chance of being promoted, if academic ability is a criterion for such promotion. As shown in Table 2 (Chapter 1) this does not occur: far more men are made principals of primary schools. Do the women students question this anomaly? Why should they?

Student teachers see that men are in authority in their college. This reflects the pattern of the co-educational primary and high schools they may have attended. Studies<sup>3</sup> undertaken in Britain, Italy and America have clearly shown that primary school teachers are crucial in replicating the sex-role stereotypes that pervade our education system. Similarly, the very content of teacher training would seem to prepare teachers as conveyors of patriarchal ideology.<sup>4</sup>

Skelton and Hanson<sup>5</sup> regard the attitudes and content of lectures at colleges as being crucial in reproducing sex-role stereotypes, but also argue that whether or not gender is given an official platform, it will nevertheless occupy a crucial position in the underlying values of the course, because:

... teacher education, like any education is an ideological education. It promotes particular images of power, knowledge, and values by rewarding particular

forms of individual and institutional behaviour.<sup>6</sup>

According to Squirrell<sup>7</sup> teacher-training institutions are failing to offer anti-sexist (and anti-heterosexist) teaching. Discussion and lectures on inequalities focus on pupils with special needs (learning problems, physical defects, disadvantaged backgrounds leading to linguistic deprivation) but hardly on sexism. At Edgewood College gender inequalities have been introduced in an introductory lecture in the 1st year Philosophy course; and touched on in each of the subsequent years in their Education courses.

These lectures at College address inequality in the education of girls from a philosophical, sociological and psychological view point, and often stimulate lively discussion. What is not addressed, however, is their own career-choice and their awareness of its limitations, if they are ambitious. Nevertheless, the results of the open-ended questions in the questionnaire<sup>8</sup> show clearly that the respondents perceive that to do well in teaching, with its attendant promotion to administrative positions, means a movement

3.2.1 away from classroom teaching, and this they reject. A sample of their responses is given:

Women enjoy applying teaching knowledge, after all that is why they become teachers.

I personally am at this college to teach in a classroom. I am not interested in leading as a principal and be separated from the teaching of my pupils.

These young women respondents who have not yet begun to teach may be regarded as unlikely to be thinking about becoming principals. If ambition grows and is affected by experience, surely these respondents cannot be expected to project such a long-term ambition at this stage? One concedes this, but what is significant, however, is that there was a change in perception from 1st to 4th year where 67% of 1st years were either uncertain or disagreed with the statement, "I want to be a principal with my own school one day" (Section C Question 16), whereas only 45% of 4th years did so. In other words experience at College and increased maturity seem to have made them more aware about what "promotion" in schools entails: its pinnacle, under the present system, is to be a principal and the women respondents were ambivalent about this "ambition". The male respondents were far more definite in their future plans with 75% of 4th year men agreeing with the statement i.e. they saw a clear career path leading to a principalship.

3.2.2 In Section B, question 12 the question was asked whether

the students agreed (Refer to Appendix) that women are better at serving and following than commanding or leading, as a possible explanation for their larger numbers in the teaching corps, but only 10% of the Senior Primary and 3% of the Secondary 1st year students agreed with this statement. Attitudes seemed to be more decisive by the 4th year with no students agreeing with this statement.

- 3.2.3 In Section C questions 16 and 17 tested whether the respondents wanted to be principals of schools in the future and whether they are ambitious and want to succeed in teaching. These questions were deliberately juxtaposed to see whether the respondents distinguished between the two aspects of ambition in teaching. Among the 1st year students 35% agreed that they wanted to be principals of schools, while 90% agreed that they wished to succeed in teaching, while the 4th year students again showed slightly more definite feelings: only 29% saw themselves as principals, with 94% being determined to "succeed" in teaching (as shown in 3.2.1).

Chapter 2 of this study mentioned that the educational authorities have not yet recognised this truism: women wish to succeed in teaching, but not if it means leaving the classroom, and the results of the questionnaire

strongly support this view. A statistical comparison between the replies to question 16 ("I want to be a principal with my own school one day") received from the men and women students shows that there is a gender difference in replies:

Strongly Agree:	1st Year women	=	24%
	4th Year women	=	16%
	1st Year men	=	58%
	4th Year men	=	57%

The women respondents also reject the societal view that women choose to follow rather than to lead and do not see this trait as contributing in any way to their lack of promotion in teaching.

3.2.4 Illich's view that women reject hierarchies because the very existence of hierarchies favours men, was also tested in the questionnaire, and some answers to the open-ended section D support this view:

Women usually go into education to teach, not to climb the status ladder.

Women see teaching as a vocation while to men it is a career: a means of feeding the family.

The necessity of the male as breadwinner to climb the status ladder was frequently given:

Men are the breadwinners therefore study further for higher salary and improved status.

Some respondents, however, berate women for not 'playing the promotion game':

Many women are not ambitious because they are socially processed into thinking that not much is expected of women.

Most women feel it is not their place/their job to be in authority. Man is also (usually) more determined.

Most women may not have the drive to get to the top - and enjoy just being teachers.

- 3.2.5 The questions 13 and 14 of Section B were deliberately provocative to test the often-expressed view that men who lack ambition choose teaching, and that intelligent men choose more demanding careers. Only 3% of 1st year and 4th year women students agreed with question 13 (Men who

choose teaching as a career are lacking in ambition) and 16% of 1st year and 19% of 4th year women students agreed with question 14 (Intelligent men choose more demanding careers than teaching). The respondents showed that they do not disrespect men who opt for teaching and some understood that they "deserved" the promotion as it meant more money which was essential for the breadwinner to earn:

Promotion has been reserved for men because there is more money offered if you get promoted. Men are the breadwinners.

This theme of the male leader, breadwinner and "natural principal" recurs.

3.2.6 Another of society's ideological influences on women teachers' promotion, is the belief that although women's choice to have children is free, yet it does inevitably mean a career-break of varying lengths of time. Under the present promotion system unbroken service is what counts:

Women normally leave to have families thus having a break in their careers.



Women mostly count on getting married, leaving teaching for a short while.

Many women do not remain in teaching long enough to obtain promotion as they interrupt their careers to have a family.

That 65,5% of women teachers need enough time to be with their families in the afternoon and during holidays.

Some respondents felt men teachers were disadvantaged by their lack of paternity leave:

A male cannot take a "break" from teaching (maternity leave) therefore he is more ambitious.

Here again this theme is repeated: unbroken service implies more commitment to teaching and therefore more ambition.

The interesting use of words such as "normally count on getting married" shows a particular attitude to women and marriage which is widely held among the respondents, namely that women's natural place is in the home as a wife and mother and that teaching suits this natural

order. When these views are quantified in Sections B and C of the questionnaire, the results are even more striking.

Section B question 3 asks for a response to the statement that women teachers can successfully combine teaching with being a wife and mother. 75% of 1st year and 84% of 4th year students agreed with this view. The word "successfully" was deliberately included because practising teachers in heads of department posts complained that it was the combining of roles of wife, mother and teacher in promotion posts, that was the cause of greatest stress in their teaching.<sup>9</sup> Aspirant teachers cannot be expected to be aware of the difficulties these women face.

Section C question 13 says "I want to be married one day and teaching is a useful career to fall back on" with which 45% of 1st year (62% J.P. and only 32% Secondary) and only 26% of 4th year (9% J.P. and 25% Secondary) agreed. The respondents in the Junior Primary phase showed a marked difference, between 1st and 4th year in their response. One can only speculate that the 1st year students are perhaps more naive and starry-eyed, or that the 4th year students read the question more carefully, rejecting the stereotyped view that one can "fall back

on" teaching, like some convenient mattress. Perhaps the explanation could be simpler: teaching hours do suit a mother who can be home with her children in the afternoons and school holidays, and the respondents could perhaps associate marriage and motherhood directly. An interrupted teaching career while child-rearing takes place is the example most students have experienced from their women teachers and lecturers. This point is emphasised in Question 14 of Section C which reads: "I want to have children one day and teaching combines well with motherhood". 70% of 1st year and 66% of 4th year students agreed with this statement.

To summarise then, aspirant women teachers would prefer to stay in the classroom, but want to be good at teaching: they reject the hierarchical structure to some extent but do not show disrespect for men who opt for teaching and they feel positive that a woman can combine teaching with being a wife and mother quite successfully. The example in many of their homes and among their women teachers/lecturers where a black domestic has acted as housekeeper and often surrogate mother, may have influenced this belief of theirs. White women teachers, especially if their husbands earn as well, can afford to hire this labour or to pay for creche/pre-primary schools so that what is perceived by women teachers in Britain

and Europe as a real stumbling block, i.e. combining all these roles, is realistically perceived as less of a problem in South Africa.

3.2.7 Areas of indirect discrimination are subtle in education, but readily recognised by the respondents: women generally reject success if it means winning at the expense of colleagues i.e. aggressive competition holds little attraction for most women respondents:

Men are more ruthless and push harder for promotion.

Men seem more aggressive and fight for the position  
- more convincing.

These responses lead directly to the observation that unlike these "ruthless" and "aggressive" men, women often lack the confidence to succeed:

Some women are very shy and not sure of themselves.

I do think that women are often too scared to run against males.

Many women feel threatened to challenge men.

People are influenced by male confidence.

The socialisation that girls receive at home and at school has clearly disadvantaged them in the competitive market place. The media emphasises that desirable female qualities are associated with beauty, kindness, love, faithfulness and hard work. Women to be despised are hard, ambitious, schemingly ruthless types yet so often these exact qualities are admired in the business tycoon. Essentially "female" qualities such as passivity, emotion, helplessness and dependence on the other hand, are rated negatively, leaving young girls with many mixed messages.

### 3.3 Women Teachers as Principals

Considering that 65,5% of all teachers are women and only 0,4% of them are principals of schools (chapter 1), this researcher wished to ascertain if women student teachers are aware that their promotion prospects to principal, especially of co-educational primary schools, and in all high schools (other than all-girls schools), are very limited. Did they opt for teaching despite these limits or were they absolutely unaware of them?

All students with a secondary teaching diploma are not

eligible for promotion in secondary schools past level 2 (Head of Department). Women students with a primary degree (B. Prim. Ed.) or a diploma are technically eligible for promotion to principal of a senior primary school, but in reality this seldom happens. Perhaps these realities also influenced their decision when only 35% of 1st year and 29% of 4th year respondents expressed any interest in being a principal.

Mention has been made in Chapter 1 of the conditions of service discrimination which women teachers still suffer, yet even these have not deterred the aspirant teachers, who are aware of them. The respondents want to teach and seem to accept that the existing promotion system reflects the "natural" order. As Rosemary Deem puts it:

... teaching has promised more to the women entering it than it has actually given them, in terms of status, financial rewards, and career prospects .... Women who enter teaching have been no less strongly socialised into accepting the existing sexual division of labour than have other women.<sup>10</sup>

Katherine Clamicoates' research<sup>11</sup> into primary school teachers leads her to comment:

Teaching ... was seen not as contradiction but as

something complementary to their 'usual' and 'natural' role of wife and mother.<sup>12</sup>

This view is so widely held that it suggests that the women student respondents are simply echoing a widely held belief; namely, that women have a so-called natural feeling for the care and teaching of small children, with little or no attraction to promotion to managerial or administrative posts in education. Because this view is so widespread, it may, in fact, become self-fulfilling: it prevents many women even contemplating certain posts, and when they do apply they frequently hit definite discrimination.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the respondents to Section D Question 1 where they were asked who makes the best principals of each phase of schooling, agree with the status quo where only women teach the pre- and junior primary phases and are thus the "natural" principals of these phases. Reasons given state that little children need a "motherly" figure in authority and that women are more patient and suited to these phases.

Similarly, they felt that bigger children, especially boys need to be "controlled", "disciplined" by a man:

A male simply seems to be more natural in that position.

Male principals are far better suited in co-ed schools as to enforce discipline and order.

There is a common belief that men are better at leadership, control and discipline.

Men seem to dominate higher positions because they are able to be more dominant.

Men seem to have more authority than women and they may even seem superior - even tho' the training is exactly the same.

Women may be happy to let men take these positions as they are generally heard or listened to over women because man may symbolise strength and intelligence.

A minority of respondents conceded that a "fatherly" figure for little children, especially in a school where single mothers predominate, might be appropriate; or that competent women can succeed in imposing their authority in boys' or co-educational high schools:

Either sex can teach any level - understanding, patience and ability to discipline are what count ... who's to say men are more able at this?



Men in our society seem to be given these positions regardless of their abilities.

A woman's ability to cope in a position of authority is greatly underestimated.

These three above respondents expressed views so markedly different from the norm, that they are noted for precisely this reason. A degree of maturity is evident in especially the first respondent, who is a 4th year student.

In most South African schools "discipline" is unfortunately equated with "punishment" and corporal punishment is still widely used to discipline boys in South African schools, both white and black.<sup>14</sup> That women principals would have difficulty administering canings is frequently given as evidence for their unsuitability for that post in co-educational and boys' high schools. A selection of comments from the open-ended section of the questionnaire illustrates this:

Male is a stronger disciplinarian (hidings) in co-ed schools.

Adolescent boys would, I feel, respond better to male authority ... women are largely passive. How would they punish the boys?

This aspect of disciplining boys was the most oft-quoted reason given for men's suitability as principals of boys-only or co-educational schools. These views are NOT those taught in lectures and would seem to echo parental beliefs or own experience at schools:

Boys need a firm disciplinarian.

Boys need an authority figure.

The male is generally stronger.

Discipline - men (in many cases) command more respect from boys.

Men are seen as disciplinarians; men seem to have more control. Men have authority which women may lack.

Not one respondent mentioned academic authority or ability to motivate staff and pupils as necessary qualities of a principal: ability to discipline/control is all-important. Perhaps because teaching is seen as an extension of the traditional women's roles i.e. caring and nurturing the young, it attracts women who seem less likely to oppose traditional sex-stereotypes.<sup>15</sup> Challenging patriarchal values is likely to be perceived by at least some of them as threatening and

undesirable.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Edgewood College, like other state agencies, perpetuates the sex stereotypes which the respondents have become intimate with in their schools, their homes and through the media. They express the view of women as the natural care-givers and nurturers of small children and men as the natural leaders. Child care is still seen as the chief responsibility of women and paid employment the main adult activity of men. That schools echo this pattern is regarded as natural and suitable by most respondents, and any knowledge of direct and indirect discrimination or societal barriers to their promotion has not negatively influenced their choice to teach. Reasons for their choice are examined in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3 : END NOTES

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6. Ibid., p.111.
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9. Conclusions reached in B. Blampied's study. 1989. "An Investigation of Aspirations and Attitudes of Selected Women teachers in White Government Secondary Schools in Natal with reference to Promotional Hierarchies and Opportunities", M.Ed. Thesis. University of Natal, Durban.
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## CHAPTER 4 : WHY THESE WOMEN STUDENTS CHOSE TO TEACH

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the reasons given by the respondents as to why they have chosen to teach. In chapter 3 it was postulated that they are aware of some of the societal barriers to their advancement in teaching, yet they have chosen to teach, nonetheless. Their reasons given for teaching have been grouped for convenience into personal, financial, sport or subject interest and the nature of teaching itself.

When examining these reasons for their choice, the main question to be asked is whether this choice to teach has been informed by a feminist perspective i.e. has the mass media's focus, and an increased public awareness of women's issues, affected their choice of career, and their ambition in it?

Three basic feminist approaches to teaching, namely liberal, radical and socialist feminism, are reviewed in this chapter. The respondents knowledge of these three branches may be sketchy, but the question is asked: do they nevertheless show the following common tenents: namely, a belief in the fundamental equality of all people, the belief that women have been treated unequally to men especially in teaching, and some

commitment to counter this discrimination when they enter the profession?

In the absence of any sustained, formal gender studies lectures at Edgewood College, it was deemed necessary to examine the respondents' views, because when recommendations are offered in chapter 5, specific reference is made to feminist theories as guidelines to change in the present college curriculum.

#### 4.2 Why Teaching?

When reasons given for choosing teaching are examined, several traits can be grouped together as:

- 4.2.1 Personality traits regarded as suitable to teaching. These refer to traits in the respondents' personalities which they felt suited them to teaching. Section C No. 9 states, "Teaching suits my patient character" and the respondents showed a large measure of agreement with it: 71% of 1st years and 60% of 4th years agreeing. The interesting rate of disagreement here is that 42% of 1st year Secondary students and 56% of 4th year Senior Primary students were either uncertain about this aspect or actively disagreed with it. The Junior Primary students of both years showed less such ambivalence and

this is interesting as the majority of all phases had postulated that women are more suited as principals of pre- and junior primary schools as they have more patience and understanding of these young pupils. Do older children need less patience, one wonders? This response would seem to be a gendered one: i.e. once again women as docile, patient care-givers are seen as suited to teaching, especially of little children. Experience of 4 periods of practice teaching lasting 5 weeks each period (i.e. 20 weeks in the classroom) has obviously made the 4th year Senior Primary students a little more sceptical about this reserve of patience they are supposed to have!

A much higher level of agreement is reached in statements 2 and 8 which questions whether they love children and enjoy working with them. 97% of 1st years and 88% of 4th years agreed that they love children; while 99% of 1st years and 100% of 4th years enjoyed working with children. These two statements enjoyed the highest rate of agreement among the respondents and one can postulate that their enjoyment of children forms the very basis of their reasons to teach. This is gratifying, especially among the 4th years who have had four, yearly sessions of 5 weeks each of teaching practice in the schools, as well as community service of at least 30 hours, in which to



really relate to children. That they enjoy working with children is surely the very basis of teaching, yet no research has shown that women are either more patient or love children any more than men, yet overwhelmingly these are given as reasons why girls are particularly suited to teaching. This researcher is not questioning the truth of these reasons given; instead this is a denial that these reasons are gender specific. In fact 90% of 1st year and 88% of Senior Primary 4th year men strongly agreed with statement 2, while 90% of 1st year and 100% of 4th year men strongly agreed with statement 8, i.e. that they love children and enjoy working with them. People who enjoy children are attracted to teaching: this is not something unique to women.

The sort of reasoning which links women and teaching automatically because of their so-called greater patience with and love of children, has been labelled "stereotyped societal views" by this researcher.

Negative reasons for choosing teaching are evident in nos. 15 and 18. The former states that the respondent was not clever enough for any other profession and thus opted to teach, and the latter states that the respondent was not sure what career to choose, so opted for teaching as it combines well with marriage, which is what the

respondent really wanted to do. Only 2% of 1st years and 1,5% of 4th years agreed with no. 15 and no. 18 thus these beliefs, which are often bandied about concerning women teachers, have no credence with the college respondents. The anonymous nature of the responses ensured, one hopes, honest answers and the fact that so few respondents agreed with these very negative reasons for opting for teaching, would seem to indicate a real and positive commitment to teaching, rather than a career which they have opted for simply because there were no other options open to them. Although this research was not aimed at comparing the views of the men and women students, it is, nevertheless interesting to note that an equally low percentage of male respondents agreed with this view. All the respondents appear to appreciate that teaching is a full-time career for the committed and not suited to the unintelligent.

4.2.2 Did financial constraints play a role in the respondents' decision to choose teaching? No. 4 gives the study loan as the reason why teaching was chosen and 30% of 1st years and 42% of 4th years agreed with this reason. The 1st years were not guaranteed loans to study, as had been the case in previous years, thus to many of them this was not a consideration when choosing to teach. Statement no. 5 reads: "My parents couldn't afford to send me to

university or the technikon" with which 15% of 1st years and 16% of 4th years agreed. Financial constraints do not seem to have played a significant role in their choice to teach. The availability of a study loan puts a tertiary education within the reach of many students who would otherwise not have had the means to study further, yet it was not given as a reason for choosing to study teaching. Their commitment to working with children still appears to override any other consideration.

4.2.3 A popular view of especially secondary teachers is that they are either sport fanatics furthering their sporting careers, or specialists in a certain subject, the secrets of which they wish to impart to the new generation. Statement 3 tests this love of a subject, with which 77% 1st year students and 87% 4th years agreeing. However, very few respondents entered teaching to further their own sporting careers (no. 6) - 10% 1st years and 15% 4th years. Statement no. 7 also relates to sport, but emphasises the respondent's wish to impart her love of sport to the next generation: 30% 1st years and 46% 4th years agreed with this reason for wishing to teach.

4.2.4 Under the loose heading "The nature of teaching" are statement 12 i.e. that teaching is easier than other

professions, and no. 19 that it seems a safe/secure profession. Again these popular misconceptions were not supported by the respondents. 0% 1st years and 3% 4th years agreed with no. 12; and only 21% 1st years and 3% 4th years agreed with no. 19. The 4th year students, on the threshold of their teaching careers are obviously more aware of the insecurities they will face in teaching, until the whole system is completely restructured.

Parents and teachers have not played any significant role in the respondents' decision to teach (no. 10 and 11), but their own desire to do so appears strongest (no. 1): 80% 1st years and 81% 4th years responded positively.

As discussed in Chapter 3, only 45% 1st years and 26% 4th years agreed that they had chosen teaching as a useful career to fall back on when married (no. 13) but that 70% 1st years and 66% 4th years agreed that they want children one day and that teaching combines well with motherhood (no. 14).

Clearly then, the women student teachers chose teaching because of their love of children and commitment to teach them both in the classroom and on the sportsfield. Popular societal misconceptions of teachers as

unintelligent, uncommitted "part time" workers who loaf on the sportsfield, are not held by these respondents. They do wish to have their own families one day, but do not regard this as contradictory to their wish to teach, just problematic for promotion. Obviously they feel they can combine these ambitions.

Are women "superwomen" who can hold down two full-time jobs, namely teaching and being a wife and mother? Most of the respondents see no contradiction in these ambitions and appear confident of being able to juggle both successfully. Are their views informed by a feminist perspective?

#### 4.3 Respondents' awareness of discrimination against women teachers questioned

The respondents to the questionnaire have experienced at least twelve years of schooling and between nine months (1st year students) and three years and nine months (4th year students) of college education. Have the experiences at these institutions awakened in them any strong beliefs concerning the role of women in the workplace, and more especially in teaching. If, as shown in previous chapters, discrimination against women in teaching does exist, and if the educational hierarchy is male dominated, has this knowledge influenced the

student teachers in their choice of job/career? These are some of the questions to be addressed in this section.

The educational system in South Africa is patriarchal by nature i.e. male dominated in power positions. This term patriarchy has, however, been the focus of considerable debate among feminist theorists. It has been criticised as imprecise and too broad for analytic usefulness and some feminist theorists have argued for a more limited use of the term to refer specifically to historical formations in which father-right exists as the dominant power in family relationships. Kathleen Weiler<sup>1</sup>, however, prefers the broader definition, despite the difficulties, of the more universal: power and privilege of men in society. In this she follows Adrienne Rich's use:

By (patriarchy) I mean to imply not simply the tracing of descent through the father, which anthropologists seem to agree is a relatively late phenomenon, but any kind of group organisation in which males hold dominant power and determine what part females shall or shall not play, and in which capabilities assigned to women are relegated generally to the mystical and aesthetic and excluded from the practical and political realms.<sup>2</sup>

Women have largely been excluded from the realms of decision

making in the educational hierarchy.<sup>3</sup> The student teachers' responses to Section D, Question 3 illustrated their knowledge of this fact. Most were unable to give any figure for known women principals in co-educational schools or colleges of education. Their comments illustrated their indignation at this situation. Some examples of these:

This is very disturbing.

Ridiculous and totally unnecessary.

Men are given preference.

This is wrong and should be changed.

The source of this indignation is unclear: are the respondents objecting to male-dominance as unfair because of their smaller numbers, or is their indignation fired by feminist awareness which may have been awakened by their education and the mass media?

Whatever the reasons, all students and lecturers at Edgewood College would benefit from a rigorous course in gender studies in an attempt to sensitise them to vital issues such as equality of rights and opportunities for women, especially in teaching.

A knowledge of the following three theories of feminism may start the debate:

#### 4.3.1 Three theories of feminism

In the main there have been three main discourses in feminist approaches to teaching: liberal feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism.<sup>4</sup> Are student teachers aware of any of these theories, and if not, is it the role of the Colleges of Education to include these issues in their formal curriculum?

Liberal feminist educational strategies aim to bring about equal representation of the sexes throughout current educational hierarchies. They support strategies of affirmative action to encourage more women to apply for senior positions in teaching and educational administration.<sup>5</sup> They also aim to remove "sex-role stereotyping" from school textbooks and from pupils' subject choices. Boys and girls should be exposed to all subjects and girls compensated, with for instance, more spatial games to encourage mathematical and engineering skills, for any deficiencies in their socialisation which may influence their not attempting traditionally "male subjects" (like mathematics, science and technika) or jobs. Liberal feminists have observed that girls'



subjects such as domestic science ("home economics" now) and typing, often have the lowest status in the hierarchy of school knowledge, and argue that encouraging boys to take such subjects is a means of raising the status of "women's work".<sup>6</sup> Drawing explanations from psychological models of learning, liberal feminists view social equity as achievable through changes in individuals' attitudes. Another strategy is to "add women in"<sup>7</sup> to existing curriculum subjects, for example including women in history courses and making women artists' work visible in art lessons.

Weiler<sup>8</sup> argues that despite the liberal feminists' laudable attempts at reforming the educational system from within, there are notable shortcomings in its narrow focus on texts and institutional structures. This approach has tended to ignore the depth of sexism in power relations and the relationship of gender and class. Because the liberal feminist approach fails to place schools and schooling in the context of a wider social and economic analysis, it does not analyse the constraints under which the process of schooling actually takes place. Moreover, the liberal approach omits any class analysis and thus ignores not only differences between middle-class and working-class girls and women, but ignores the oppression and exploitation of working-

class boys as well. Working class children of both sexes often suffer from language deprivation, and so experience school as a very hostile, different place from their more articulate and often linguistically-enriched middle-class classmates.

In the liberal feminist studies of sex role stereotyping, there has been an implicit assumption that changes in texts and practices will lead to changes in social relations and that boys and girls will then be equal within capitalist society. Implicit in this view is the concept that sexism exists within the realm of ideas, and that if these ideas were changed, then social relations will also change. Such a view ignores the constraints of the material world and the various forms of power and privilege that work together in a complex and mutually reinforced process to make up the social world as we know it. However, the liberal approach provides a most useful starting point for schools and colleges if they are serious about encouraging non-sexist teaching and thinking.

Another feminist approach to teaching is the radical feminist strategy. Rejecting the liberal ideal of the possibility of sexual equality within the inequitable hierarchies of contemporary capitalist societies, radical

feminists focus on male dominance (patriarchy) as the cause of female subordination. While liberal feminists regard women as individual victims of discrimination and as an oppressed group, radical feminists view women as an oppressed class.<sup>9</sup> Women, as a class are always subordinate to men, irrespective of such "levelling" factors as education.

Because the radical feminists believe that schooling reproduces patriarchal social relations, single-sex schools are favoured by them because they free girls from day-to-day experiences of male dominance within the peer group and from teachers. They believe girls will be "empowered" by witnessing women teachers teaching such male-dominated subjects as physical science and mathematics, and having women in every position of authority in the school hierarchy.

According to Dale Spender,<sup>10</sup> within the "patriarchal paradigm" in education, women's experiences are denied visibility in both course content and teaching methods, or as interpreted through male eyes. Educational institutions, especially those at secondary or tertiary levels, are structured on the basis of academic "disciplines" with hierarchical patterns of organisation (for example departments). Radical feminists believe

this pattern of organising knowledge, fragments and compartmentalises it so that students find it difficult to gain a sense of integration in their studies. Inter-disciplinary studies or an integrated curriculum are therefore regarded as essential by radical feminists. Radical feminists favour "separatism" or women-only, independent groups. The advantages of girls'-only schools have previously been discussed, but one should heed Sue Sharpe's warning<sup>11</sup> that girls' schools are often very insular and protected places in which girls learn to perform well in their school work, but are left inadequately equipped to deal with the mixed social world outside.

The Socialist feminist perspective on education agrees with radical feminists that the liberal goals of equal distribution of the sexes within the hierarchies of capitalism, will not liberate women: for this to occur a social revolution is necessary. Drawing on Marxist analyses of class, socialist feminists argue that:

The same sort of power dynamic which Spender and others indicate disadvantages girls in the classroom also happens AMONG groups of girls, and with the same effect: knowledge is 'differentially distributed' ON THE BASIS OF RACE AND CLASS

to different groups of girls in the classroom. Girls as members of race and class groups receive quite different knowledge about learning and teaching and about their own ability.<sup>12</sup>

For socialist feminists, "girls" cannot be analysed as a unitary group: each "girl" has a unique racial and class inheritance which may make her subject to oppression by men in varying degrees. Also, for socialist feminists, radical feminists cannot explain the oppression of racial minorities or of working-class men.

Both radical and socialist feminist educators have criticised the existing, dominant models of education for impersonal, bureaucratic, authoritarian patterns of social relations, which deny the validity and relevance of each student's unique personal experiences in the classroom context. For them, learning starts with the sharing and analysis of personal experiences: they advocate "consciousness-raising" as a teaching style which allows students to explore themes which they perceive as directly relevant to their own lives.

The socialist feminist view appears to address what the radical view leaves out viz. the importance of recognising class and race differences and how these

intersect with gender issues in particular historical contexts. It avoids the danger of elitism and isolation by not advocating separatism and as such may be more relevant to a co-educational multiracial college like Edgewood. It appears to offer the most complete analysis, and its value (and indeed that of all three theories discussed) is to promote an awareness of sexism and therefore to make the students better teachers. By raising their awareness they will be more self-conscious about the teaching process. A further advantage of such knowledge of the socialist approach is that its ideas could be formally introduced at schools: in chapter 5 strategies and changes are proposed which would counter discrimination on the basis of gender and class.

These three theories, although discussed separately, are not in fact as discrete as they appear to be. In the United Kingdom, for instance, feminists of different persuasions have buried their differences in attempting to advance Anti-Sexist Education.<sup>13</sup>

At present student teachers and lecturers at Edgewood College are not exposed to these feminist ideas. Trends to implement anti-sexist education in other countries are not known or debated. Cultural differences with regards to women's place in society, and specifically in teaching, are only

superficially aired. Student teachers can therefore hardly be expected to implement anti-sexist teaching in their classrooms one day, in any meaningful or sustained manner. The debate is overdue.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

When the respondents' reasons for their choice to teach are examined, the only really strong common denominators to emerge, were the students' long-held wish to teach and their enjoyment of working with children because of strong positive feelings for these children. They strongly disagreed with the popular myth that only "those who cannot do, teach": to be a successful teacher requires intelligence and commitment according to these students. Financial constraints played little role in their choice, as did the wish to further their own sporting careers. However, a love of school academic subjects and a desire to transmit this love to the next generation, was a definite factor in their choice. The view that teaching is an easier career than any other profession and is a safe and secure one, was strongly denied by the respondents.

From interviews it became evident that the respondents have little knowledge of feminism or the three feminist approaches to teaching, nor of recent developments in the United Kingdom

to implement Anti-Sexist teaching, they nonetheless share a belief in the fundamental humanist view of the equality of all people, with an uneasiness at the unfair treatment of women teachers who wish to seek promotion in schools. Their comments showed too, that things must change:

It's a self-perpetuating system: we need more women in top positions to get others there.

Many women do not wish to advance further, but for those who do and have the ability this fact is disheartening.

Chapter 5 offers some recommendations for conscientising the students at Edgewood College and for ensuring more equality of opportunity in education.



## CHAPTER 4 : END NOTES

1. Weiler, K. 1988. Women Teaching for Change : Gender, Class and Power. Bergin & Garvey : Massachusetts, p.25.
2. Rich, A. 1979. On Lies, Secrets and Silence. Norton : New York, p.78.
3. Table 3, Chapter 2.
4. Weiler, ibid., p.27.  
Acker, S. 1987. "Feminist Theory and the study of Gender and Education" in International Review of Education 33(4), pp.419-435.  
  
Acker, S. (ed). 1989. Teachers, Gender and Careers. The Falmer Press : Sussex.  
  
Middleton, S. 1989. "Educating Feminists : A Life History Study" in Acker, S. op.cit., p.53.
5. Middleton, op.cit., p.54.
6. Ibid., p.54.  
Several co-educational high schools, for example Hillcrest

High and Brettonwood High offer home economics and typing to the boys in a conscious effort to "raise" the status of these subjects. As yet very few boys opt for these subject choices.

7. Ibid., p.54.

8. Weiler, 1988. op.cit., p.28.

9. Middleton, op.cit., p.54.

"Class" describes the whole group of womanhood, oppressed as a whole by dint of gender.

10. Spender, D. & Sarah E. (eds). 1988 (rev. ed.). Learning to Lose : Sexism in Education. The Women's Press : London, p.80.

11. Sharpe, S. 1976. 'Just Like a Girl'. How Girls Learn to be Women. Penguin Books : Great Britain, Chapter 4.

12. Quoted by Middleton, op.cit., p.55.

13. Burchell, H. & Millman, V. 1989. Changing Perspectives on Gender : New Initiatives in Secondary Education. Open University Press.

## CHAPTER 5 : RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

### 5.1 Introduction

In line with the stated aim of feminist methodology, analysed in chapter 1, this study is aimed at initiating some form of change in our patriarchal system of education. In line with the radical feminist view, this researcher regards women as an oppressed class, subordinate to men, whose dominance (patriarchy) is the cause of this subordination. However, socialist feminists offer a more complete picture of this dominance because they recognise that race and class differences intersect with gender issues in particular contexts, and that a social revolution is necessary to combat this pervading dominance. For the recommendations of this chapter, existing models of education at Edgewood College are criticised for their bureaucratic and authoritarian patterns of social relations. These suggestions are offered in the spirit of a sincere attempt to ensure a more equitable job or career experience for women teachers.

In order to address the lack of awareness of many of these issues in aspirant teachers and staff members, most of the recommendations are aimed specifically at the teacher training institutions, and at Edgewood College in particular.

However, any social revolution in teaching cannot occur without changes in the education system: the ministeries of education and the regional departments of education will need a change of policy if sexism in teaching is to be eradicated. The final recommendations are therefore aimed at the powers-that-be in education: who these powers will be in the future, is difficult to identify, but the need for a non-racist, non-sexist and class-free education system is just as relevant and not dependent on political ideology.

## 5.2 Changes needed at Edgewood College of Education

5.2.1 The Edgewood College management team needs to make a public commitment to combat sexism, as it has done on racism. The management team needs to look at the composition of all its decision-making bodies to ensure a more equitable distribution of men and women. Such bodies as the College Council, the promotions board and the disciplinary board, need to address the imbalance of the sexes on them as a matter of urgency.

White male domination of every sphere of college management must be challenged by staff and students: this research will be available to all in management in the hope that out-dated patriarchal values will be questioned and abandoned. A summary of recommendations

will be offered and this researcher will volunteer to lead staff seminars on the debate. A two-day College Conference on the issues will be an immediate aim. By their example, members of the management team can convey a new respect for women on campus; whether these women are the cleaners, secretaries, students or lecturers. The pay-off for the males on campus will be a happier working atmosphere, with less burden being placed on the few male decision-makers: power-sharing will relieve their stress and may even lead to increased efficiency.

5.2.2 Student admissions to Edgewood College need to be restructured. As a matter of urgency all courses and phases should be opened to all students and admissions to these be on merit and not on the basis of race or gender. In this respect this researcher rejects the radical feminist view of single-sex institutions to empower women. Edgewood College is a co-educational, multiracial college, and its women strive to gain recognition in that setting. The women entrants are of such a high calibre that they need no affirmative action to provide protected positions in certain courses.

This may mean that women will "sacrifice" their one "power-base" in education, namely their dominance in the pre- and junior primary phases, but if this opening-up of

all phases and subjects helps to break down the stereotyped view that women and little children belong together and that men are unsuitable in this phase, then any "sacrifice" will be worthwhile. This may also prevent the belief<sup>1</sup> that the female-dominated pre- and junior primary schools play a decisive role in social and cultural reproduction: some argue that the development of the "male sex role" may depend on experiencing resistance against a "feminine" environment in early school as well as at home.

- 5.2.3 A "feminist agenda" must be inserted into the formal curricula of all subjects at Edgewood College. Subjects like History, literature, art, music, Science, Education, Mathematics must all look, firstly at the role women have and do play in the subject, as well as looking at how boys and girls can be taught mutual respect through the subjects. Sexist language in and out of the lecture rooms, sexist language and images in text books and sexist practices in lectures must be questioned by lecturers and students, and vigorously opposed if necessary, at every opportunity.

Formal lectures, less formal tutorials, debates and conferences should expose the aspirant teachers to feminist theories and trends, as the basis of their

attempts to teach in a non-sexist way one day. Their pupils will hopefully thus be encouraged to pick up on strategies and changes which would counter discrimination on the basis of gender, race and class.

- 5.2.4 As well as a formal "feminist agenda" in the curriculum, students should be further conscientised i.e. made sensitive at every opportunity; otherwise sexism in sport, music, student affairs and especially in residence behaviour will be perpetuated. Campus residences country-wide are facing instances of sexual harassment and men need to learn to regard women with respect and not as sex-objects, and women need to feel empowered enough to resist such advances.

Browning<sup>2</sup> emphasises in her paper that men and women should be educated in a non-sexist way to balance their socialisation, so that they are able to question sexist-stereotypes without feeling threatened by such a challenge. The achievement of an education for both men and women which does not falsely or artificially limit thought, skills and abilities on the basis of gender, is the aim of this and all feminist research.

- 5.2.5 Thus through the formal curriculum and by conscientising college students, all will be encouraged to challenge

stereotyped thinking. As shown in this research it is this type of thinking which has often governed aspirant women teachers in their choice of career.

Such assumptions that need to be challenged are that certain characteristics are "natural" to women: qualities such as passivity, docility and patience are seen as largely feminine and lead women into jobs like teaching. If students hold these views unquestioningly, they will convey them to their pupils one day. School pupils become what the messages of the schools would have them become. Simply challenging these stereotypes is unlikely to change either power structures or even attitudes, therefore women students and lecturers will have to mobilise and take a more active role in all college affairs, and especially in leadership positions. By their example they will disprove the notion that they are passive and docile.

Student teachers must be encouraged by the debates to challenge the dubious argument that women's personality characteristics "require" bureaucratic organisational control. Many so-called sex difference findings about behaviour in organisations can more satisfactorily be explained by difference in opportunities, numerical representation and access to power that often coincides



with sex. They should learn to question gender relationships and power relationships in schools. When women are in most of the subordinate positions they must see this as problematic, rather than as part of the "natural order".

Another assumption which needs to be challenged is that marriage and family responsibilities necessarily conflict with women teachers' dedication to their career. Family commitments do not necessarily mean low promotion orientation and willingness to submit to bureaucratic control.

The differential power relations among men and women teachers contributes to the reproduction of the patriarchal social order, especially by providing models to pupils of male-female power relations and sex differentiated subject specialities and responsibilities, that reinforce the connection of "femininity" with caring, serving, conforming and mothering. In fact, men who wish to teach very young children run the risk of being branded as sexually deviant!

5.2.6 Edgewood College should offer in-service courses to practising teachers, who can benefit from a "feminist agenda" which is new since their original training.

Small discussion groups, workshops, larger conferences and even a further diploma could be offered in courses like: "Ensuring sexist-free teaching". Marland<sup>3</sup> stresses that such in-service courses are vital to ensure non-sexist teaching. He also proposes that college lecturers offer such courses in the schools, for in this way a whole staff can consider its teaching, rituals and classroom dynamics.

5.2.7 College lecturers must keep abreast of feminist issues and challenge journal articles such as that by Van der Westhuizen and Hillebrand,<sup>4</sup> in print. These writers offer eleven possible reasons for the low percentage of women teachers in promotion posts. Their reasons range from the woman who fears societal rejection ("verwerping") if she deviates from her "correct" gender role, to the "old boys' club" of men who promote fellow males' interests. One of the most provocative reasons given is that women in teaching do not expect to give commands, but to receive them! Another is that women will co-operate with others, but not initiate anything, and that they lack career planning. The eleven reasons lead the researchers to state:

Die feit dat min vrouens bevorderingsposte bekleed,  
is dan in 'n groot mate toe te skryf aan hul eie

toedoen - direk of indirek - en nie noodwendig as gevolg van departementele vooroordeel nie.<sup>5</sup>

(Translation provided)

It is insulting that such recent research (1990) is still steeped in such sexist thinking, and that these researchers have not been challenged and an academic debate encouraged.

College lecturers must keep abreast of feminist issues and all thinking that is woolly needs to be challenged: for instance among liberal feminist reformers there seems to be an assumption that if the pattern of boys' and girls' examination passes, subject choices and entry rates into further training and higher education are matched, then equality of the sexes would have been achieved. This view should be questioned because it ignores class and race inequalities of education and tends to assume that class and race oppression is shared equally. Lecturers must be aware of the paradox contained in the belief that feminists expect schools to challenge the reproduction of gender relations, even though schools themselves were set up precisely to reinforce these.<sup>6</sup>

Nasson<sup>7</sup> reminds one that the lessons of Plowden in the

United Kingdom and of Project Headstart in the United States of America, are that any notion that schooling has some innate capacity to set right disparities of wealth, welfare and opportunity between children, is highly questionable. Schooling reproduces patterns of class and racial (and gender) identity as well as working skills and life opportunities. Lecturers must make students aware of this and thus of the fact that schooling is both controlling and liberating and that is the source of its tension and contradiction.

These recommendations, while mentioned specifically as applicable to Edgewood College, are probably equally valid for all teacher training institutions. However, few changes of any lasting value which will ensure a non-sexist teaching profession can be ensured without a restructuring of the whole education system.

### 5.3 Changes needed in Central Government Thinking

- 5.3.1 The necessity for a single ministry of education for all population groups in South Africa is self-evident, having been acknowledged by state educationists as early as 1981 in the De Lange Commission. In order to ensure an equitable distribution of money, resources and teachers, there has to be one controlling body or ministry.

However, in order to avoid a bureaucratic monster being created, far more autonomy of decision-making must be allowed at the regional levels. In this way, the wicked waste of 688 fully qualified and experienced white teachers in Natal being retrenched, while between 440 000 and 800 000 black pupils<sup>8</sup> from the KwaZulu region are not receiving any education because of a lack of teachers will be eliminated. A more even distribution of resources must be left in the hands of the regions concerned. As shown in the research it is largely white women teachers who are retrenched because of a so-called oversupply in white education: this kind of absurdity is perpetuated in separate education ministries. No teachers should be retrenched, in the face of national shortages; and women teachers should not be used as a convenient reserve army of labour to be hired and fired at the behest of politicians.

5.3.2 The rationale behind the designation of permanent and temporary teachers must be re-evaluated. Most women teachers are designated "temporary", with its attendant lack of job security (note the debate on retrenchments). To artificially set a percentage and force schools to employ teachers accordingly, is absurd. Only those teachers who are not eligible, for example through lack of suitable training, or who wish to be so employed,

should be designated "temporary". No reservation of permanent posts for men (to ensure their remaining in the profession) should be allowed: all suitable teachers should enjoy permanent status.

5.3.3 Posts in all schools and colleges, and at all phases, should be open to the best candidate who applies, and not advertised as male or female only. This includes principalships of schools where such spurious and out-dated thinking as, "but who will cane the boys" must be abolished (along with corporal punishment!). Statistics from chapter 1 (Table 2) show that the number of women principals has actually dropped steadily since 1973, despite the numbers of women in teaching increasing. Principalships should not be gender-determined.

5.3.4 Parity of salary for men and women teachers is only a first step in ensuring a better salary package for educators. The valuable role they play in society should be recognised with a commensurately generous salary, to ensure that all teachers can afford to live and teach. The perception that only the breadwinner is eligible for a housing subsidy and good medical aid and pension benefits is wrong: this offer must be made to teachers (male or female, breadwinner or not) provided of course only one of a couple owning a property, receives the

subsidy. Conditions of service should not be gender based; women teachers should share benefits equally, on the understanding that equal work hours and duties will be performed by all.

5.3.5 Women teachers are frequently blamed for the low status of the profession and for their own low status within it. They are accused of being uncommitted on the basis of their broken service due to childbearing and rearing and their, perceived, divided loyalties between home and school. This tendency to "blame the victim" takes the male experience as the norm to which women are then (unfavourably) compared.

As Acker<sup>9</sup> found in her review of the literature on the topic, if some writers assume that the predominance of women in teaching is the cause of the low status of the occupation, then it is as a result of the status accorded to women in a given society, and not simply due to the presence of women in it.

Women teachers' valuable role of mother needs to be acknowledged and the educational system needs to make provision for this broken service (i.e. if their posts are held for 2 years while men do military service, can the same privilege not be extended to the new mother?).

There needs to be a recognition that childbearing and rearing are essential parts of many women's lives, but it need not mean less of a commitment to teaching. Conditions conducive to their dual role, need to be created: for instance by the provision of child-care facilities at schools; flexi working hours (job sharing); maternity and paternity leave; provision of teacher-assistants who could supervise the school children on the playgrounds, take sport and perform many of the routine administrative tasks and so free the teacher to teach. The image of teaching needs to change: it is not an easy option for uncommitted people.

- 5.3.6 Teaching should offer some avenue of promotion which does NOT necessarily involve being removed from the classroom. The committed classroom practitioner must enjoy a system of promotion, with the attendant salary improvement. In the sample survey of practicing teachers, this researcher found that many women teachers avoided seeking promotion because it would mean leaving the classroom. These senior women begin to feel frustrated, however, at the lack of recognition they receive for a job well done (in the classroom).

Morrell<sup>10</sup> reminds us that in Britain it has been recognised that an underclass of demoralised women



teachers has developed. These are women teachers who work hard, but are given few incentives to improve themselves, and are thus generally passed over for promotion. They are tending to

"retreat into the classroom, nursing grievances ... at a system which did not, as they saw it, recognise their virtues, reward their efforts."<sup>11</sup>

South African women teachers face a similar and very real crisis: morale is at an all-time low, due to the spectre of retrenchments, lack of permanent positions and lack of promotion opportunities.

5.3.7 A realisation must be awakened that women are more apt to be proletarianised than men in every occupational category.<sup>12</sup> This could be because of sexist practices of recruitment and promotion where men are given preference as breadwinners; the general tendency to care less about the conditions under which women labour; the way capital has historically colonised patriarchal relations and so on.

The economic advantages to the state of cheap mass female employees in teaching, which can be increased or decreased according to demographic change or political

whim, may have increased the preference for women teachers at level 1, who would be dispensable or "disposable" (as one respondent so clearly stated). These patterns have strong historical roots, which cannot be separated from other larger structures of class and patriarchy outside the school. Until this fact is acknowledged publically, no commitment to changing the status quo is possible. A more militant corps of women teachers is needed, and here the black women teachers of SADTU (The South African Democratic Teachers' Union) seem to be leading the way. Both the House of Delegates and House of Representatives teachers have actively resisted mass retrenchment, and to date they appear to have won the battle. White women teachers have been largely passive in the struggle; seeming to wait for a strong male to lead them! All women teachers must become active within teacher organisations, or form their own bodies which will strive for gender equality in teaching.

- 5.3.8 The education department needs to make a policy statement of its commitment to combat sexism. Morrell<sup>13</sup> reminds us how much there is still to do in attempting to move towards a sexist-free education system here, but that the British educational policy should give our departments a lead. The number of women in British schools, colleges and universities succeeding in science and technological

subjects (traditionally "male" subjects) has increased markedly; sexist images and stereotypes in the content of many subjects has been avoided; teachers are more aware of the sexually-determined nature of classroom dynamics and are taking steps to counter this; and women teachers are more secure in their jobs.

Any attempt to introduce non-sexist teaching and practices at Edgewood College, must be accompanied by a concomitant commitment by the education system as a whole. In fact there exists a very real danger that in the "New South Africa" with all its political rhetoric, women's role in teaching will receive scant attention, and this research is a modest attempt to avoid this.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

This research attempts an understanding of teaching as a job/career for women and women student teachers' at Edgewood College reasons for choosing to teach.

The results of the questionnaire and interviews have shown how effective the process of socialisation in our society has been and sex role stereotypes are perpetuated at school and at college. The study has shown that the system of promotion in the teaching world is a place where gender stereotypes are

reinforced. The aspirant women teachers perceive teaching as a job (some see it as a career) well-suited to women's dual role of working wife and mother. They all profess a love of children and a wish to impart knowledge to them.

However, very few respondents were aware (perhaps through ignorance) of how limited their promotion opportunities are in reality and few had even thought about a "career path" this early in their careers. Those who are aware of the anomalies, especially between the large number of women teachers in primary schools and the small number of women principals there, felt this was most unfair and due largely to our patriarchal society. Throughout their schooling and their college careers they have seen this process of discrimination repeated, and they realise that the educational system is a conservative one in which women do not play a significant role in decision-making.

Teaching where women play a secondary role, highlights the way in which women are marginalised in the economy: hidden from view are the real areas of discrimination, such as attitudes. Attitudes to undercut these stereotypes are not being developed at College; therefore teaching is entrenched as suitable work for women: it is seen by many respondents as non-competitive, with good hours and holidays to suit a working mother.

A fair deal in education for girls and women has always been a goal for feminists, but despite near-parity of working conditions, these hopes have not been fulfilled. There is a hidden patriarchal agenda in education which discriminates against women. Student teachers are only vaguely aware of this hidden agenda, and must be assisted to ferret it out and challenge it openly.

A discriminatory system continues when it is underpinned by certain fundamental beliefs. Most prominent of these are the beliefs that tightly tie together women with marriage and children, and the complementary beliefs about men's role as breadwinners. That women are believed to "belong" with young children has given them a route to headships of pre- and junior primary schools, denied to men, but often continues to disqualify them from management positions where older children are concerned, or where older boys and girls in co-educational high schools are concerned.

This researcher is forced to concede that the liberal feminist goals of equal distribution of the sexes within the hierarchies of schools, will not liberate women teachers: for this to occur a social revolution is necessary. Every girl and woman teacher will have to shake off the shackles of race and class oppression, alongside gender discrimination. The dominant models of education are impersonal, bureaucratic and

authoritarian, and women must become active in the struggle to change these models. Elitism and isolation are unhealthy, if not dangerous and have no place in a co-educational, multiracial college like Edgewood.

CHAPTER 5 : END NOTES

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<u>POST LEVEL</u>	<u>RANK</u>
1	Teacher Lecturer: Technical College Teacher : 1st merit Teacher : 2nd merit Teacher : 3rd merit
2	Principal: School (PIV) Head of Department: School (Primary/Secondary) Lecturer: College of Education Asst. School Psychologist Intern Psychologist (Special Schools) Head: Environmental Education Centre Senior Media Specialist Senior Lecturer (Technical College)
3	Principal: School (PIII) Deputy Principal: School (Primary/Secondary) Senior Lecturer: College of Education Head: Environmental Education Centre Asst Head: Environmental Education Senior Media Specialist School Psychologist Psychologist (Special Schools) Head: Remedial Unit Asst Superintendent of Education (Cadet Liaison) Asst Superintendent of Education (Curriculum Affairs) Ast Superintendent of Education (Language and Publications Service) Head of Division: Technical College Principal Lecturer: Technical College Deputy Principal: Technical College (TK3) Principal: Technical College (TK3)

4

Principal: School (PII and HII)  
Senior Deputy Principal: School  
Head of Department: College of Education  
School Psychologist (Personal)  
Senior School Psychologist  
Senior Psychologist (Special Schools)  
Senior Asst Superintendent of Education (Boarding Establishment)  
Senior Asst Superintendent of Education (Academic)  
Asst Head: Media Service  
Senior Asst Superintendent of Education: Language and Publications Service  
Senior Head of Division: Technical College  
Deputy Principal: Technical College (TK4)  
Principal: Technical College (TK4)

5

Principal: School (PI and HI)  
Vice Rector: College of Education  
Senior Head of Department: College of Education  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Academic)  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Planning)  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Environmental Education)  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Psychological Service)  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Curriculum Affairs)  
Head: Media Service  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Appointments)  
Deputy Superintendent of Education (Labour Relations)  
Senior Deputy Principal: Technical College (TK5)  
Principal: Technical College (TK5)

6

Rector: College of Education  
Principal: School (Large Complicated)  
Superintendent of Education (Psychological Service)  
Superintendent of Education (District)  
Superintendent of Education (Planning)  
Superintendent of Education (Academic)  
Principal: Technical College (TK6)  
Head: Communication (PL 6)



QUESTIONNAIRETEACHING AS A CAREER FOR WOMEN

I wish to investigate the relationship between women student teachers' perceptions of teaching as a career for women and your own reasons for choosing to teach.

Please assist me by placing a cross (X) over the correct answer or over the one which most closely resembles your views (Section A, B and C). In Section D short phrases as answers will be helpful.

Thank you in anticipation of your help.

SECTION APERSONAL DETAILS (Mark with X)

1. Year of Study  1st  2nd  3rd  4th
2. Course of Study  JP  SP  SCA  SCS  SCT  BPE
3. Home Language  
 English  
 Afrikaans  
 Zulu  
 Other - Specify \_\_\_\_\_
4. Last School Attended  All Girls  Co-ed - Boys + Girls
5. Where this school is situated  City  Town  Country area
6. Age  16-17  17-18  19-20  21-22  23-24  Older

SECTION B (Mark with X)

here are far more women than men in teaching largely because:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Young children need a mother-figure to guide them.					
2. Women are more nurturing and caring than men.					
3. Women can successfully combine teaching with being a wife and mother.					
4. Teaching is seen as a feminine job.					
5. When married with children, the woman teacher can be with her children during the afternoons and school holidays.					
6. Teaching is a respectable career for women.					
7. Women are more patient than men.					
8. Teaching is not a very demanding job.					
9. The holidays make it an attractive job.					
10. Women are more conscientious than men and teaching is hard work.					
11. Teaching is poorly paid, but at least a married woman can rely on her husband's salary every month.					
12. Women are better at serving and following than commanding or leading.					
13. Men who choose teaching as a career are lacking in ambition.					
14. Intelligent men choose more demanding careers than teaching.					
15. Other reason(s) - Specify: ..... ..... .....					

SECTION C (Mark with X)

I chose teaching because:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I have always wanted to teach.					
2. I love children.					
3. I love my subject(s) and would like to impart this interest to my pupils.					
4. A study loan is available.					
5. My parents couldn't afford to send me to University or the Technikon.					
6. I am very involved in sport and would like to further my own sporting career.					
7. I am very interested in sport and would like to convey this to a new generation of sportsmen/women.					
8. I enjoy working with children.					
9. Teaching suits my patient character.					
10. My parents urged me to teach.					
11. I admired some of my teachers at school and would like to be like them.					
12. Teaching is an easier career than most other professions.					
13. I want to get married one day and teaching is a useful career to fall back on.					
14. I want to have children one day and teaching combines well with motherhood.					
15. I was not clever enough to study for any other profession.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5. I want to be a principal with my own school one day.					
7. I am ambitious and want to succeed in teaching.					
3. I wasn't sure what I wanted to do and teaching seemed a good idea before I get married (which is really what I want to do).					
9. It seems to be a secure/safe profession.					
0. Other reasons. Specify:					
.....					
.....					
.....					

SECTION D

Now I would like your ideas on women teachers in promotion posts and women students as leaders at Edgewood College.

1. In your opinion who makes the best principals of schools. Mark the block with a X. Please give reasons for your choice(s).

	MEN	WOMEN	EITHER	REASONS (Short Phrases)
Pre-Primary (Pre-school)				
Junior Prim.(Cl i,ii,Std 1)				
Senior Prim.(Std 2-5)				
Girls' High School				
Boys' High School				
Co-ed High School (Girls & Boys)				

2. Statistics show that 65,5% of all white educators in South Africa are women, yet only 13% of them occupy any position of authority in educational institutions. Why do you think this is so? Give as many reasons as possible.

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.....  
.....

3. How many women principals do you know of in:  
(a) Co-educational Senior Primary Schools No. =  
(b) Co-educational High Schools No. =  
(c) Co-educational Colleges No. =  
Any comment?

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.....  
.....

4. Looking at Edgewood College statistics, it is interesting that there have been so few women student leaders in its history. Why do you think this is so? Give as many reasons as possible.

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5. Any other comments you would like to make on this issue of teaching as a career and women student leaders at Edgewood College.

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.....

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. When the research is complete, I will most willingly share its findings with you.

PILOT STUDY : WOMEN IN TEACHING

Would you please complete this short survey to assist me with a M.A. thesis on "Women in Teaching". Your honest opinions will be appreciated and anonymity is guaranteed.

Section A: Personal Details

- 1. Position in Teaching .....  
(e.g. Teacher/Head of Department/Student)
- 2. Years in Teaching (completed years) .....
- 3. Phase of Teaching (1st/2nd/3rd/4th) .....
- 4. Marital Status (S, M, Div., Wid.) .....

Section B: Teaching as a Career

- 1. Why did you choose teaching as a career? (Give as many reasons as you would like.)  
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- 2. Why do you think there are more women than men in teaching? (Give as many reasons as you would like.)  
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.....
- 3. Considering the "overrepresentation" of women in teaching and their "underrepresentation" in promotion posts, give some reasons why you consider WOMEN to be more suited to teaching than men.  
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4. Give some reasons why you consider MEN to be more suited to teaching than women.

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.....

5. In your opinion who makes the best principals of schools? Mark block with a cross (X). Give reasons for your choice(s) please.

	MEN	WOMEN	EITHER	REASONS
Pre-Primary (Pre-school)				
Junior Primary (cl i,ii,Std1)				
Senior Primary (Std 2-5)				
Girls' High Schools				
Boys' High Schools				
Co-educational High Schools (Boys and Girls)				

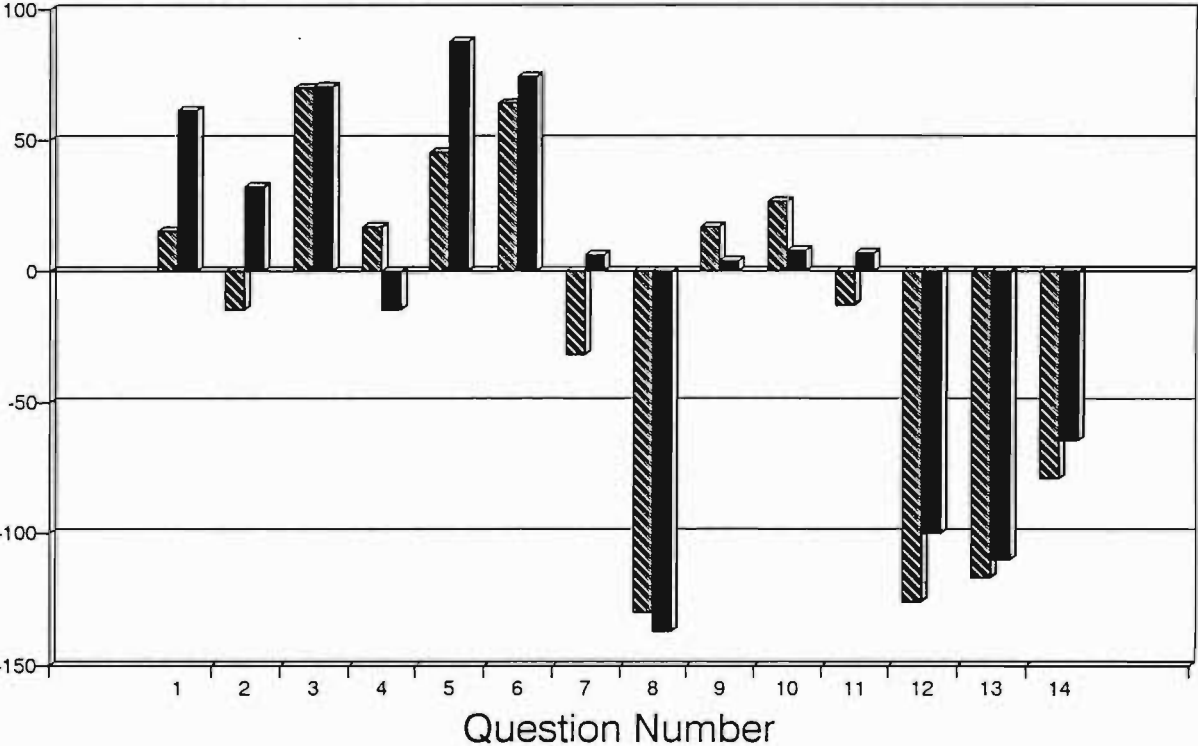
6. Any other comments you would like to make on this issue of women in teaching, and especially on their promotion opportunities.

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.....  
.....

Thank you for your time.

MARYNA SHEPHERD

# WOMENS SECTION B



4th Year 1st Year



## WOMEN - SECTION B - NUMBERS

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

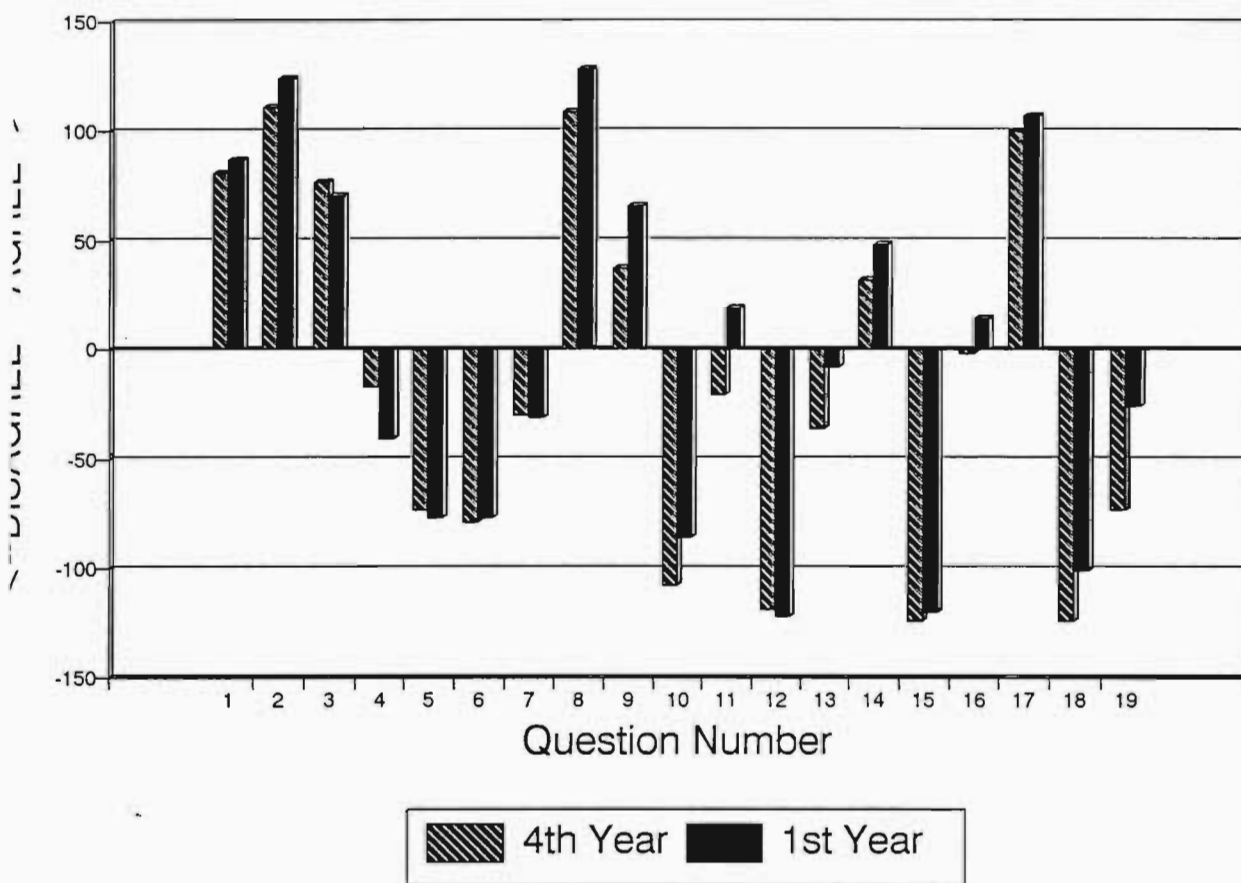
		JUNIOR PRIMARY					SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		1	2	12	3		3	4	16	7		9	2	14	6
	4th	1	5		5			9	4	12	2		1		2	1
Q2	1st		7	2	7	2		10	3	10	7		8	5	14	4
	4th		8	1	2			13	5	8	1		1	1	2	
Q3	1st		1	3	9	5	1	2	5	15	7	1	3	4	14	9
	4th		2	1	8			2	4	14	7				3	1
Q4	1st	3	6	2	7		2	10	6	2	1	5	7	4	13	2
	4th	1	1		9		3	6		18		2		1	1	
Q5	1st	1	2		11	4		2	1	15	12		2	2	16	11
	4th		4		7			4	1	20	2	1			3	
Q6	1st		1		14	3			4	19	7	2	3	4	15	7
	4th		2	1	8		1	3	2	15	6				2	2
Q7	1st	1	7	4	3	3		12	7	6	5	2	8	11	6	4
	4th	1	8	2				13	10	3	1		2		1	1
Q8	1st	15	3				19	10		1		26	5			
	4th	9	2				20	5		1	1	3	1			
Q9	1st	1	6	1	9	1	1	7	5	16	1	5	11	3	11	1
	4th		5	1	4	1		9	1	17			2		2	
Q10	1st	1	3	4	9	1	1	12	7	6	4	4	9	1	15	2
	4th		3	3	2	3	1	10	3	8	5		1		2	1
Q11	1st	2	4	2	10		4	6	3	15	2	5	7	6	9	4
	4th	1	3	2	3	2	4	11	4	6	2		1	2	1	
Q12	1st	10	6	2			12	10	5	3		17	10	3	1	
	4th	8	3				18	8	1				4			
Q13	1st	8	10				16	12	1	1		19	6	4	1	1
	4th	6	5				17	7	1	1	1	3	1			
Q14	1st	5	6	4	3		11	10	6	3		11	8	5	6	1
	4th	3	4	2	2		12	11		3	1	2	1		1	

## WOMEN - SECTION B - PERCENTAGES

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		JUNIOR PRIMARY					SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
<i>Q1</i>	1st		6	11	67	17		10	13	53	23		29	6	45	19
	4th	9	45		45			33	15	44	7		25		50	25
<i>Q2</i>	1st		39	11	39	11		33	10	33	23		26	16	45	13
	4th		73	9	18			48	19	30	4		25	25	50	
<i>Q3</i>	1st		6	17	50	28	3	7	17	50	23	3	10	13	45	29
	4th		18	9	73			7	15	52	26				75	25
<i>Q4</i>	1st	17	33	11	39		10	48	29	10	5	16	23	13	42	6
	4th	9	9		82		11	22		67		50		25	25	
<i>Q5</i>	1st	6	11		61	22		7	3	50	40		6	6	52	35
	4th		36		64			15	4	74	7	25			75	
<i>Q6</i>	1st		6		78	17			13	63	23	6	10	13	48	23
	4th		18	9	73		4	11	7	56	22				50	50
<i>Q7</i>	1st	6	39	22	17	17		40	23	20	17	6	26	35	19	13
	4th	9	73	18				48	37	11	4		50		25	25
<i>Q8</i>	1st	83	17				63	33		3		84	16			
	4th	82	18				74	19		4	4	75	25			
<i>Q9</i>	1st	6	33	6	50	6	3	23	17	53	3	16	35	10	35	3
	4th		45	9	36	9		33	4	63			50		50	
<i>Q10</i>	1st	6	17	22	50	6	3	40	23	20	13	13	29	3	48	6
	4th		27	27	18	27	4	37	11	30	19		25		50	25
<i>Q11</i>	1st	11	22	11	56		13	20	10	50	7	16	23	19	29	13
	4th	9	27	18	27	18	15	41	15	22	7		25	50	25	
<i>Q12</i>	1st	56	33	11			40	33	17	10		55	32	10	3	
	4th	73	27				67	30	4				100			
<i>Q13</i>	1st	44	56				53	40	3	3		61	19	13	3	3
	4th	55	45				63	26	4	4	4	75	25			
<i>Q14</i>	1st	28	33	22	17		37	33	20	10		35	26	16	19	3
	4th	27	36	18	18		44	41		11	4	50	25		25	

# WOMENS SECTION C



# WOMEN - SECTION C - NUMBERS

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

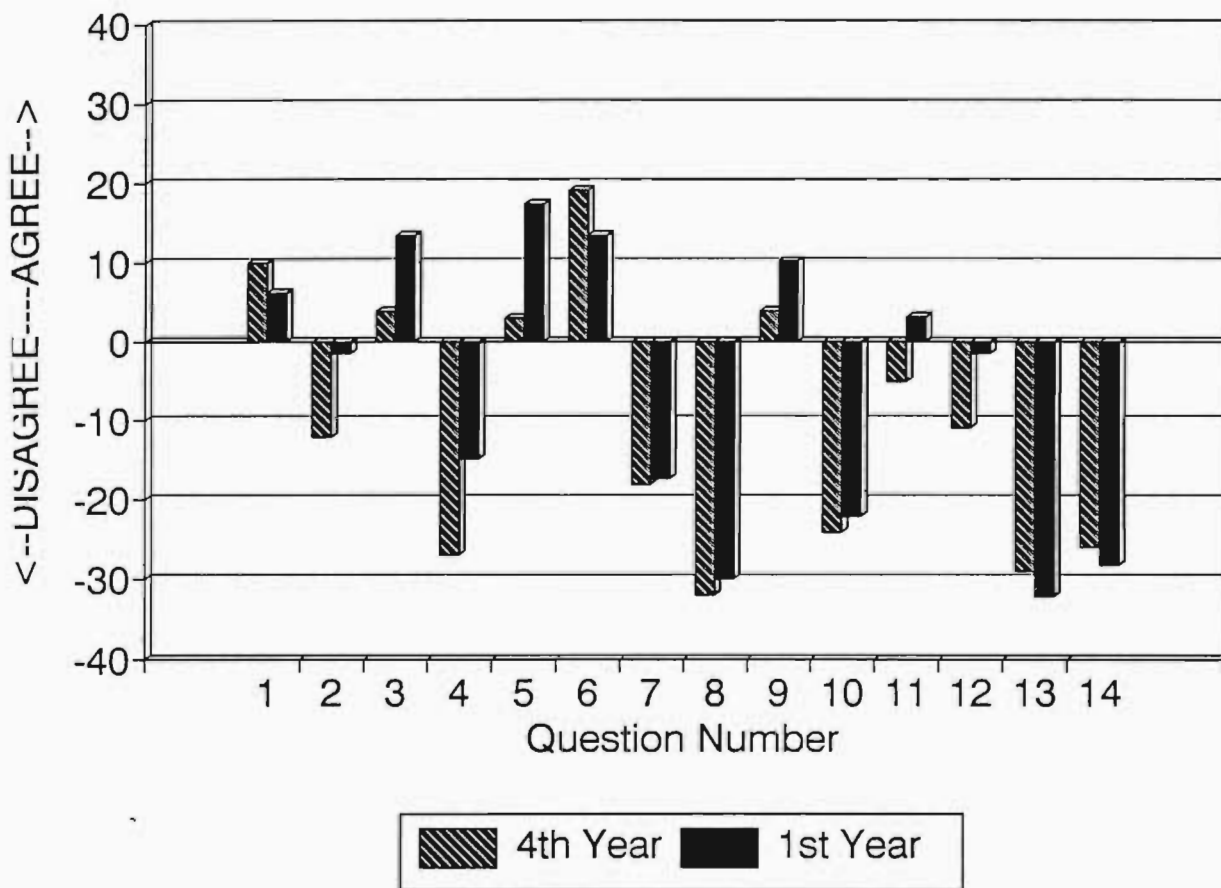
		JUNIOR PRIMARY					SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		2		8	8		6	5	8	11		1	3	14	14
	4th	1	3		2	5		4	1	10	12				2	2
Q2	1st			1	4	13				10	20			1	16	14
	4th				5	6			3	11	13			1	1	2
Q3	1st			3	14	1		2	8	15	5	1	1	4	15	10
	4th			1	7	3		3	5	13	6				2	2
Q4	1st	3	5	2	7	1	7	12	4	6	1	8	14	2	5	2
	4th	2	5	1	3		4	10		11	2		2		2	
Q5	1st	7	7	1	2	1	11	12	1	4	2	12	14	2	2	1
	4th	4	7				7	13	1	5	1	2	1		1	
Q6	1st	9	6	2	1		5	14	7	4		13	11	4	3	
	4th	3	6	1	1		9	14	1	3		1	1	1	1	
Q7	1st	4	7	2	5		3	10	8	8	1	8	11	2	8	2
	4th	3	4	1	3		6	9	2	9	1	1			3	
Q8	1st				4	14			1	9	20				15	16
	4th				7	4				17	10				2	2
Q9	1st		1	3	7	7	1	1	5	17	6		6	7	10	8
	4th		1	3	5	2		5	10	10	2			1	3	
Q10	1st	7	9	1	1		9	17	1	3		12	14	1	2	2
	4th	5	6				12	12	2	1		2	2			
Q11	1st	1	3	5	8	1	2	6	11	10	1	2	5	9	9	6
	4th	1	5	2	2	1	3	10	7	6	1		2		2	
Q12	1st	11	7				17	12	1			18	11	2		
	4th	7	3			1	17	8	2			2	2			
Q13	1st	1	5	1	10	1	6	5	7	8	4	5	13	3	9	1
	4th	1	8	1	1		8	5	2	11	1	1	1	1	1	
Q14	1st		1	2	14	1	2	2	6	12	8	2	8	3	13	5
	4th		1	2	7	1	3	4	6	12	2			1	3	
Q15	1st	13	5				18	12				15	13	1	2	
	4th	9	2				17	8	1		1	2	2			
Q16	1st		3	9	4	2	3	4	13	9	1		7	12	9	3
	4th		1	4	5	1	2	8	8	7	2	2	2			
Q17	1st			2	9	7		1	4	12	13		1		12	18
	4th			1	5	5		1	1	16	9				3	1
Q18	1st		8	9	1		19	8	3			20	8	3		
	4th	10	1				15	11			1	2	2			
Q19	1st	1	3	10	4		4	10	9	5	2	6	10	10	4	1
	4th	2	5	3	1		6	14	7			1	3			

# WOMEN - SECTION C - PERCENTAGES

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		JUNIOR PRIMARY					SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		11		44	44		20	17	27	37		3	9	44	44
	4th	9	27		18	45		15	4	37	44				50	50
Q2	1st			6	22	72				33	67			3	52	45
	4th				45	55			11	41	48			25	25	50
Q3	1st			17	78	6		7	27	50	17	3	3	13	48	32
	4th			9	64	27		11	19	48	22				50	50
Q4	1st	17	28	11	39	6	23	40	13	20	3	26	45	6	16	6
	4th	18	45	9	27		15	37		41	7		50		50	
Q5	1st	39	39	6	11	6	37	40	3	13	7	39	45	6	6	3
	4th	36	64				26	48	4	19	4	50	25		25	
Q6	1st	50	33	11	6		17	47	23	13		42	35	13	10	
	4th	27	55	9	9		33	52	4	11		25	25	25	25	
Q7	1st	22	39	11	28		10	33	27	27	3	26	35	6	26	6
	4th	27	36	9	27		22	33	7	33	4	25			75	
Q8	1st				22	78			3	30	67				48	52
	4th				64	36				63	37				50	50
Q9	1st		6	17	39	39	3	3	17	57	20		19	23	32	26
	4th		9	27	45	18		19	37	37	7			25	75	
Q10	1st	39	50	6	6		30	57	3	10		39	45	3	6	6
	4th	45	55				44	44	7	4		50	50			
Q11	1st	6	17	28	44	6	7	20	37	33	3	6	16	29	29	19
	4th	9	45	18	18	9	11	37	26	22	4		50		50	
Q12	1st	61	39				57	40	3			58	35	6		
	4th	64	27			9	63	30	7			50	50			
Q13	1st	6	28	6	56	6	20	17	23	27	13	16	42	10	29	3
	4th	9	73	9	9		30	19	7	41	4	25	25	25	25	
Q14	1st		6	11	78	6	7	7	20	40	27	6	26	10	42	16
	4th		9	18	64	9	11	15	22	44	7			25	75	
Q15	1st	72	28				60	40				48	42	3	6	
	4th	82	18				63	30	4		4	50	50			
Q16	1st		17	50	22	11	10	13	43	30	3		23	39	29	10
	4th		9	36	45	9	7	30	30	26	7	50	50			
Q17	1st			11	50	39		3	13	40	43		3		39	58
	4th			9	45	45		4	4	59	33				75	25
Q18	1st		44	50	6		63	27	10			65	26	10		
	4th	91	9				56	41			4	50	50			
Q19	1st	6	17	56	22		13	33	30	17	7	19	32	32	13	3
	4th	18	45	27	9		22	52	26			25	75			

# MENS SECTION B



# MEN - SECTION B - NUMBERS

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
<i>Q1</i>	1st		2		5	3	2	6	1	9	
	4th		3	1	1	3	3	1	2	3	5
<i>Q2</i>	1st	1	2	2	5			10	1	7	0
	4th		6		2		5	4	1	2	2
<i>Q3</i>	1st			4	3	3	1	1	6	9	1
	4th		1	4	3		2	2	3	6	1
<i>Q4</i>	1st	5	2	2		1	2	9	3	4	
	4th	3	3		2		6	8			
<i>Q5</i>	1st			2	6	2		3	2	11	2
	4th		2		5	1	3	3	2	5	1
<i>Q6</i>	1st	1	1	3	2	3		3	1	13	1
	4th			1	7			2	2	6	4
<i>Q7</i>	1st	4	3	1	2		3	10	2	3	
	4th	2	5		1		4	5	2	3	
<i>Q8</i>	1st	7	1		2		12	4		1	1
	4th	7				1	8	5		1	
<i>Q9</i>	1st		3	2	3	2	1	3	3	8	3
	4th	1	2	1	3	1	1	4	1	7	1
<i>Q10</i>	1st	4	3	3			6	7	3	2	
	4th	3	4		1		5	7	1		1
<i>Q11</i>	1st	2	1	3	2	2	2	4	3	7	2
	4th	3	1		4		2	4	4	2	2
<i>Q12</i>	1st	2	5		3			7	4	3	4
	4th	3	3		2		2	6	2	2	2
<i>Q13</i>	1st	9				1	11	5	1		1
	4th	5	2			1	9	3		2	
<i>Q14</i>	1st	7	1		1	1	9	8			1
	4th	5	2			1	7	4	1	2	

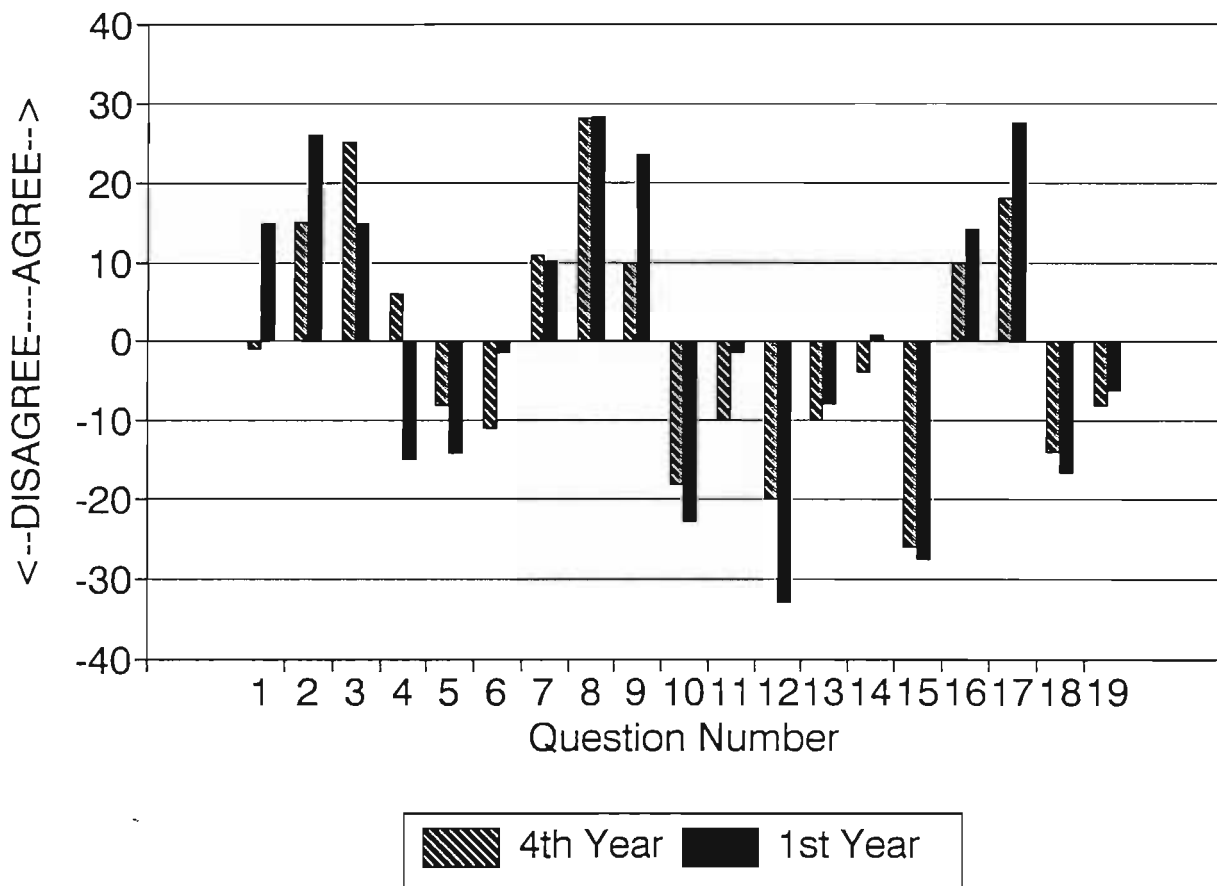
# MEN - SECTION B - PERCENTAGES

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		20		50	30	11	33	6	50	
	4th		38	13	13	38	21	7	14	21	36
Q2	1st	10	20	20	50			56	6	39	
	4th		75		25		36	29	7	14	14
Q3	1st			40	30	30	6	6	33	50	6
	4th		13	50	38		14	14	21	43	7
Q4	1st	50	20	20		10	11	50	17	22	
	4th	38	38		25		43	57			
Q5	1st			20	60	20		17	11	61	11
	4th		25		63	13	21	21	14	36	7
Q6	1st	10	10	30	20	30		17	6	72	6
	4th			13	88			14	14	43	29
Q7	1st	40	30	10	20		17	56	11	17	
	4th	25	63		13		29	36	14	21	
Q8	1st	70	10		20		67	22		6	6
	4th	88				13	57	36		7	
Q9	1st		30	20	30	20	6	17	17	44	17
	4th	13	25	13	38	13	7	29	7	50	7
Q10	1st	40	30	30			33	39	17	11	
	4th	38	50		13		36	50	7		7
Q11	1st	20	10	30	20	20	11	22	17	39	11
	4th	38	13		50		14	29	29	14	14
Q12	1st	20	50		30			39	22	17	22
	4th	38	38		25		14	43	14	14	14
Q13	1st	90				10	61	28	6		6
	4th	63	25			13	64	21		14	
Q14	1st	70	10		10	10	50	44			6
	4th	63	25			13	50	29	7	14	



# MENS SECTION C



# MEN - SECTION C - NUMBERS

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		3		3	4	1	2	3	9	3
	4th	1	2	2	2	1		8		5	1
Q2	1st		1		5	4	1		2	7	8
	4th		1		5	2	1	2	1	9	1
Q3	1st	1	1		6	2	1		5	10	2
	4th			1	4	3		1	2	6	5
Q4	1st	3	5	1	1		2	10	1	5	
	4th		2		4	2	4	2		6	2
Q5	1st	4	5			1	3	8	2	3	2
	4th	3	2		3		6	1		4	3
Q6	1st	1	6	3				6	3	6	3
	4th	1	4		1	2	4	5	2	3	
Q7	1st	1	5	2	1	1		3	1	8	6
	4th			1	3	4	1	6		6	1
Q8	1st		1		5	4		1		9	8
	4th				3	5			2	9	3
Q9	1st		1	1	3	5		1	3	9	5
	4th				5	3	2	4	3	3	2
Q10	1st	7	2			1	4	9	3	2	
	4th	3	4			1	6	3	1	3	1
Q11	1st	2		2	4	2	3	7	2	5	1
	4th		5	1	2		4	4	1	5	
Q12	1st	7	2	1			10	7		1	
	4th	2	3		3		5	6	3		
Q13	1st	4	1	5			2	3	8	4	1
	4th	1	1	3	3		3	5	5	1	
Q14	1st	2		4	2	2		3	13	2	
	4th		2	5	1		2		11	1	
Q15	1st	6	3			1	7	9	1	1	
	4th	6	1			1	8	3	1		2
Q16	1st	2		3	2	3	2	1	1	9	5
	4th			2	2	4	1	5	2	5	1
Q17	1st			2	2	6		1	1	10	6
	4th			1	3	4	1	2	2	7	2
Q18	1st	4	3	2		1	3	7	7	1	
	4th	3		3	2		5	3	3	3	
Q19	1st	2	2	5		1	4	3	5	5	1
	4th	1	1	4	2		4	5		4	1

# MEN - SECTION C - PERCENTAGE

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided, A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree

		SENIOR PRIMARY					SECONDARY				
		SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA
Q1	1st		30		30	40	6	11	17	50	17
	4th	13	25	25	25	13		57		36	7
Q2	1st		10		50	40	6		11	39	44
	4th		13		63	25	7	14	7	64	7
Q3	1st	10	10		60	20	6		28	56	11
	4th			13	50	38		7	14	43	36
Q4	1st	30	50	10	10		11	56	6	28	
	4th		25		50	25	29	14		43	14
Q5	1st	40	50			10	17	44	11	17	11
	4th	38	25		38		43	7		29	21
Q6	1st	10	60	30				33	17	33	17
	4th	13	50		13	25	29	36	14	21	
Q7	1st	10	50	20	10	10		17	6	44	33
	4th			13	38	50	7	43		43	7
Q8	1st		10		50	40		6		50	44
	4th				38	63			14	64	21
Q9	1st		10	10	30	50		6	17	50	28
	4th				63	38	14	29	21	21	14
Q10	1st	70	20			10	22	50	17	11	
	4th	38	50			13	43	21	7	21	7
Q11	1st	20		20	40	20	17	39	11	28	6
	4th		63	13	25		29	29	7	36	
Q12	1st	70	20	10			56	39		6	
	4th	25	38		38		36	43	21		
Q13	1st	40	10	50			11	17	44	22	6
	4th	13	13	38	38		21	36	36	7	
Q14	1st	20		40	20	20		17	72	11	
	4th		25	63	13		14		79	7	
Q15	1st	60	30			10	39	50	6	6	
	4th	75	13			13	57	21	7		14
Q16	1st	20		30	20	30	11	6	6	50	28
	4th			25	25	50	7	36	14	36	7
Q17	1st			20	20	60		6	6	56	33
	4th			13	38	50	7	14	14	50	14
Q18	1st	40	30	20		10	17	39	39	6	
	4th	38		38	25		36	21	21	21	
Q19	1st	20	20	50		10	22	17	28	28	6
	4th	13	13	50	25		29	36		29	7

EDGEWOOD COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

23 September 1991

The Rector  
Edgewood College of Education

Dear Professor le Roux

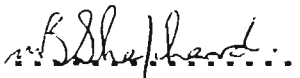
Permission to administer questionnaire

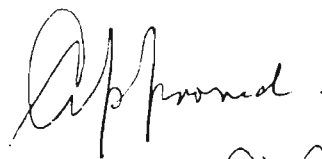
May I please administer the enclosed questionnaire to all First and Fourth Year women student teachers at Edgewood college?

The research is required for my Master's Degree in Women's Studies and I shall be looking at women student teachers' reasons for choosing teaching as a career and their perceptions of teaching as a career for women. I think the findings will be very relevant to Edgewood College as it might help us to understand what motivates women student teachers.

Thanking you for the interest and guidance you have shown already.

Yours sincerely

  
MARYNA SHEPHERD





26/9/91.