

***An investigation into the Promotion
Opportunities for Women Educators in
the KwaZulu Department of Education
and Culture with particular reference to
High schools in Umlazi***

by

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*Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of*

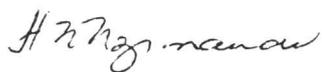
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



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ABSTRACT

In education women outnumber men as teachers, but the top positions are almost entirely dominated by men. Shakeshaft (1987:20), using data collected for education systems in the United States of America noted that in 1984-5, only 3,0 percent of the district superintendents were women, although 50,1 percent of all secondary school teachers and 83,5 percent of all elementary school teachers were women. According to Blampied (1989), the data obtained from the 1987 statistical returns from government schools under the Natal Education Department indicated that the number of women in education administration was disproportionately lower than the number of men in congruent positions. It was decided that the situation deserved to be tested in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. According to the survey of secondary schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, in respect of the 230 Junior Secondary schools in the sample, 86,5 percent of the school principals were male and the incidence of male principals was even greater in high schools (Thurlow 1993:32).

The study of selected literature led to the finding of possible barriers to the career advancement of women educators. The barriers were classified into two broad categories - internal barriers, relating to

psychological factors; and external barriers, which related to institutional, societal and organizational structures.

A questionnaire was designed to attempt to ascertain if any congruency could be identified between the barriers perceived by other researchers and those which according to the respondents existed in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

The most commonly cited obstacle to the upward mobility of women was discrimination against them. There were suggestions that women were generally valued less than men. Women were treated as inferior in law, politics, religion and education as well as in society generally. Other barriers to promotion which were frequently alluded to related to the perception that some women were not interested in vertical career mobility but preferred to remain in the classroom rather than seek a position which would distance them from teaching.

The evidence also suggested that although the larger proportion of the respondents were keen to receive a promotion, they thought they would not be promoted because they considered the allocation of promotions to be unfair. It was however noted that women educators who have made some progress on the promotional ladder perceived fewer obstacles to their advancement than unpromoted respondents.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Many historians reveal in their writing an underlying assumption that there was a time when women were dominant in society. Unfortunately, by the time we entered the period of recorded history men were everywhere the dominant members of society and the servile image of women has been projected with such consistency that it has almost been transformed into 'fact' by mere repetition. The heavy male bias has led to great under-estimation of women and their role in society.

The rise of the so-called Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s attracted considerable interest in the role of women in all aspects of life. Research on the role of women has indicated that they are fast becoming increasingly an important part of the workforce. However, in spite of the increase in the number of working women, very few are in top positions. The scarcity of women in managerial positions is common in all occupations, including that of education.

Very little has been written that helps us to understand women's contributions to the formal leadership of schools. Courses in the history of education seldom highlight women, whether as teachers or administrators. Although there are a number of recent works focusing on the topic of women in management in the business world, there are very few available on the topic of women in educational administration. Shakeshaft (1987) argues that some excellent publications have focused on the women administrator, but missing from this literature is a comprehensive synthesis of current research on women in positions of formal educational leadership. However Shakeshaft's work has gone some way towards redressing this situation.

There are strong indications, supported by data, that women outnumber men in the teaching profession, but that the top positions are entirely dominated by men. Schmuck (1986) asserts that, even in Western countries, women are overwhelmingly under-represented in the formal management of schools.

Although the pattern in which women are found to be progressively under-represented as one moves up the promotional hierarchy in education is evidenced in the literature as a universal trend, fully researched explanations for the phenomenon are few.

A survey of the literature led to the finding that while much had been written in the 1970s, both in South Africa and in Western countries, on the constraints on upward mobility of women in the business sector, studies within educational administration have only recently been conducted in countries such as Britain and the United States of America and research in this field in South Africa appears to be substantially limited. The only similar study, known to the writer, was undertaken by Blampied through the University of Natal (Durban) in 1989. In her study, Blampied investigated aspirations and attitudes of selected women teachers in White government secondary schools in Natal with reference to promotional hierarchies and opportunities. It was against this background that the promotion opportunities in the schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture were investigated. For this purpose, a sample of High Schools in Umlazi North and South Circuits was targeted for study.

1.2 ACTUALITY OF THE STUDY

A brief review of the historical position of women in South Africa was undertaken and the status of women in the field of education with particular reference to the role of women educators in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture was analyzed in some depth. It became obvious that while women constituted the greater proportion in

the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture teaching force, they were under-represented in administrative positions, especially in post-primary schools.

According to a study of Secondary School Principals of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture conducted in 1993, the gender distribution of educators holding management positions was as follows:

RANK	% MALES	% FEMALES
Heads of Department	66,0	34,0
Deputy Principals	70,1	29,9
Principals	91,7	8,3

Source: Thurlow, Studies for School Management Development, 1993; p.32.

To gain more insight into the status of women in various occupations, the writer reviewed research on women in managerial positions in both business and education and analyzed theories which had been put forward to explain women's experiences in organizations. After scrutinizing various theoretical perspectives the writer was able to develop an inventory of possible barriers to the advancement of women educational administrators.

The specific objectives of the study, which are set out below, derive from the general context outlined as well as the local context.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To review the historical position of women in South Africa and their role and status in the field of education with particular reference to the management of schools in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.
2. To obtain and analyze data relating to women educators in high schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, in order to delimit precisely the nature of the imbalance which appears to exist in respect of promotional hierarchies.
3. To investigate both the attitudes and aspirations of women educators, including those holding promotion posts, towards promotion possibilities and opportunities, in order to determine what barriers are perceived to compromise women's progress within the occupational hierarchy.
4. To draw tentative conclusions as to what barriers do exist and how they might be overcome.

5. Although it was not the primary purpose of the study to suggest policy options or to offer solutions prematurely, nevertheless, it is hoped that such findings as did emerge might help to raise problem-consciousness amongst teachers and employers. The promotion of such awareness might be instrumental in a process of change especially in the 'new' South Africa.

1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

At the time of the study, there were seventeen (17) post-primary schools in Umlazi South Circuit and twelve (12) in Umlazi North Circuit. These schools were classified into Junior Secondary and High Schools. The population of women educators was 381. A study of all these teachers would have made the research costly and cumbersome. The study was therefore restricted to women educators of only ten high schools. These ten high schools consisted of a population of 152 women educators. However, returns were received from 108 (71%) of the women educators. Although it is assumed that the group selected forms an important reference group, it is realised that any conclusions drawn can only be substantiated for this sample and cannot necessarily apply to all women educators in the employ of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

1.5 METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

A careful study of literature with a view to deriving a conceptual framework and a theoretical background within which the problem could be investigated was undertaken. This literature study provided an understanding of the kind of factors which present barriers to the advancement of women educators.

A questionnaire was then designed to attempt, on a small scale, to ascertain if any congruency could be identified between the barriers perceived by other researchers and those which women suggest exist in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. A detailed examination of the responses to the questionnaire and an analysis of the data obtained are found in Chapter 6. In short, it was found that women are progressively under-represented as one moves up the promotional hierarchy in education. Although there are various factors responsible for the under-representation of women in promotional positions, the influence of culture and socialization cannot be undermined.

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study the following definitions have been established.

- Africans** : Black people of Africa.
- Educational Administrator:** An employee of an education department whose job description includes tasks concerned with school organization.
- Education Planner** : An officer who is responsible for planning educational provisions of a macro-level and is not directly involved with classroom activities and teaching.
- Principal** : (Also known as the Headmaster/Headmistress). The most senior administrator within a primary or high school. Has a high degree of control over the staff but is seldom personally involved with teaching.
- Deputy Principal/Head** : (Also known as the Vice-Principal). As the name suggests, the Deputy Principal deputises for the Principal whenever necessary. He/She is second in seniority

to the Principal. Also has a high degree of control over the staff. He/She is usually involved with teaching but has a lesser teaching load because he/she has many administrative duties.

Head of Department (HOD): A teacher on the lower promotional rung. Has both a teaching and a managerial role. Facilitates and oversees the teaching of one or more subjects forming a particular department. Coordinates the department with others and acts as a link between subject teachers and pupils.

High School : A school providing education from not lower than Standard 6 up to but not exceeding Standard 10. Standard 9 and 10 are characteristic of a high school.

Junior Secondary School : A school providing education from not lower than Standard 6 up to but not

exceeding Standard 8.

Circuit Inspector : An officer who is in charge of the schools in a particular Circuit. Acts as a link between the schools and the Head Office. May visit schools to give professional guidance and advice and to inspect classroom activities and teaching.

Subject Adviser : A subject specialist whose responsibility lies in the development of the subject on a macro-level, through the organization of courses for the development of teachers and advising teachers on content and methodology relating to their field.

1.7 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

As socialization may be considered to be an important aspect in studying barriers to promotion of women, and the historical time influences

patterns of socialization, Chapter 2 deals with a brief review of the historical position of women in South Africa and the status of women in the field of education with particular reference to their ranking in the schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

Chapter 3 deals with perceived barriers to the promotion of women. These barriers are categorized into those which appear to occur due to internal constraints and those which owe their existence to external environmental factors.

Different questions relating to the attitudes of women educators towards aspirational barriers were derived from the literature study. These questions formed the direction for the research, and are articulated in Chapter 4. (3)

The choice of research instrument used to obtain answers to the research questions is discussed in Chapter 5. In addition the procedures employed to obtain the data, certain methodological concerns regarding research of this type and limitations of the study are discussed.

Chapter 6 deals with a detailed examination of the responses to the

questionnaire and an analysis of the data obtained. In addition, tentative answers to the research questions are provided.

The last chapter provides an overview of the study. Conclusions are drawn out, both from the analysis of the data provided by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, and from the questionnaire. Implications of both the limitations which were imposed on the research, and of the data which were obtained are assessed. The implications provide the foundation of both the recommendations for further research and for action.

Various appendices are attached, including specimen copies of the research questionnaire employed and related documents.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS IN KWAZULU DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

With the rise of the so-called Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s, the role of women in all aspects of life has attracted considerable interest in the media. In addition the research area of women in administration, management and leadership is receiving increasing attention.

According to Barnes *et al.* (1976), one quarter of all women in South Africa work outside their homes. Even Indian women who are traditionally the non-working group are fast becoming an increasingly important part of the work force. In spite of the increase in the number of working women, very few are in top positions. Looking at White women - in a better position than others to excel - one finds only a handful who have risen to the top.

Politics: In the 1970s there was one woman MP, Helen Suzman, and two women Senators. There were a few provincial and municipal councillors.

Law: In the 1970s there was one woman judge, Leonora van der Heever, and although there are women prosecutors and advocates, there are no big-name women lawyers.

Commerce and Industry: There are few moderately successful businesswomen, but certainly no female Harry Oppenheimer, Anton Rupert or Jan Marais.

Medicine: In nursing, predictably a profession where women outnumber men by twenty-five to one, women hold senior nursing posts, but there are few senior women doctors.

Education: Women outnumber men as teachers, but the top positions are almost entirely dominated by men. This focus on the role of women in organizations; particularly formal, hierarchical organizations, has raised questions about the woman's position in the field of education. Schmuck (1986:173) avers:

In all Western countries women are a distinct minority in management and administrative positions in schools.

Schmuck's statement holds true for many schools in South Africa including those administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture as will be indicated later in this chapter.

2.2 HISTORICAL POSITION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Is there a history of great women in African leadership? Have women done the same things that men have done and have women's achievements matched male standards? Literature answers these questions in the affirmative as will be evident in the following account. It seems that African women have a long-standing tradition of freedom, authority and prominence. This stands in sharp contrast to their status in society today. Many historians reveal in their writing an underlying assumption that there was a time when women were dominant. Over and over again when reading about the remote history of an African people, we learn that their legendary first ancestor was a woman. Authors often remark that this probably indicates that the society was matriarchal at one time. According to Sweetman (1984) this assumption found its fullest expression in the nineteenth century when a theory known as 'The Golden Age of Matriarchy' was formulated. According to this theory, the earliest human societies were ruled by women, but men gradually asserted themselves and 'conquered' their female counterparts.

The recorded involvement of African women in state administration and military defence planning dates back about four thousand years, to the Civilian rule in Egypt of Nebet during the Old Kingdom (3100 BC - 2345 BC). No restriction barred Egyptian women from participating in the public affairs of society. Besides the opportunity to reign as monarchs in their own right accorded to royal women, commoners were also able to excel based on merit. The first female non-royal ruler of any country was Nebet. She was Prime-minister during the Old Kingdom, second in command to King Pepi I, and died 4000 years ago (Qunta:1987).

According to Qunta (1987:23) African women on a continent-wide scale enjoyed great freedom and had both a legal and social equality which, among other things, enabled them to become effective heads of states and military strategists. Looking at more recent times, historians have pointed out that many societies have a senior female figure as a sort of second-in-command to the head male, usually a queen-mother or royal sister and they claim that this is evidence that women have been displaced and pushed down from the leading position. It is true that there is a remarkable similarity in the status of the queen-mother and King's sister in many different societies across the whole of Africa.

In this century anthropologists have insisted that the theory is false and that all the evidence available indicates that since the earliest time, man

has ruled. Moreover, they insist that no true matriarchal society has even been known to exist anywhere on earth. So by the time we enter the period of recorded history men are everywhere the dominant members of our species. The interesting thing, however, is that while there may be numerically more male historical figures, those women who are remembered are frequently extraordinary. The heavy male bias of many historians has led to an even greater under-estimation of women and their role in our past than was true. Any history of ancient Egypt would include the name of Queen Hatshepsut, since she is too important for even the most biased historian to ignore. Yet how many people know that she was only one of the several female rulers of ancient Egypt and that at one period the story of the country was dominated by a line of powerful royal women? The same is true of the history of Africa as a whole. No historian can ignore Queen Nzinga of Angola, Queen Mmanthatisi of the Sotho; Nehanda of Zimbabwe and Princess Mkabayi of the Zulu, but these are only a few among many. The major question is: *How has it happened that the African woman's position has been so drastically altered?*

Qunta (1987) emphasises that the status of women in pre-colonial African societies, particularly during antiquity, was markedly different from what it is now. She argues that the main enemies of Black women are (with

some variation of emphasis in different countries) colonialism and imperialism, racism, class and gender. Specific mention is also made of the sizeable contribution towards the erosion of the African woman's independence and freedom by the imposition of foreign religions such as Christianity and Islam. It is argued that the proponents of these religions attempted to destroy (and in some cases were successful) the culture and values of the people with whom they came into contact. When this occurred, "Women were seen henceforth as weak and in need of the protection of men, and in certain places to be kept away from them, covered from head to toe, a particular man's property not to be viewed by others" (Qunta 1987:36). Issues such as the position of women in pre-colonial days, according to Qunta (1987), need closer scrutiny, for colonial practices and laws are often thought to be part of African tradition simply because they have been with us for hundreds of years.

African women in Natal have suffered more through sex discrimination than any other women in South Africa. They have been bound by the Natal Code of Native Law, drawn up in 1891, which states that an African female 'is deemed to be a perpetual minor and has no independent powers save to her own person' Against this background, the strength and resourcefulness of women, and also the immense problems they face, are amplified.

Lawyers who have studied the Natal Code have concluded that its humiliating restrictions on women are a result of the misinterpretation of tribal laws by White officials in the nineteenth century. The rise of the Women's Liberation movement encouraged women to struggle to get this rigid code changed.

A South African sociologist describes the code as 'a violation of womanhood, the most flagrant, unabashed expression of male domination. It shows contempt for the humanity, intelligence and integrity of womanhood (Barnes *et al.* 1976:99).' She sees it as a matter of concern for all women, not only those whom it directly affects.

The following are some of the archaic restrictions imposed on Zulu women by the code-restrictions which cause/d untold frustration and hardship.

- No matter how mature or educated, they are placed under male guardianship. This guardian is usually the father or husband but can be an unknown relation or even the women's own son. "In one case, which points out the insult of such a law, a 12-year-old boy in a mental asylum became his mother's guardian when his father died" (Barnes *et al.* 1976:99).

- Women may not leave their homes or seek employment without the consent of their guardian.
- [No matter what they have contributed to the family income they have limited rights of ownership over property.] In theory all their earnings are regarded as their guardian's property and are at his disposal. (Possible changes to this restriction will be referred to later in this work).
- They cannot be the guardians of their own children. If the male guardian decides a child must leave school to go to work, for example, the mother has no say in this decision.
- A widow does not automatically inherit her husband's estate unless a will is made specifying this. A man's property is inherited by his eldest son. A widow with daughters can be left destitute as there is no guarantee that the heir will support her.

It is legislation like the Natal Code, a product of colonialism, which portrays an African woman a little more than a slave who has no past and no future. She never speaks for herself but is always spoken about. Although some aspects of the Natal Code have been modified or repeated, its traditional effect lingers on.

The servile image of women is projected with such consistency that it has almost been transformed into "fact" by mere repetition. In part this notion extends to Africans as a race, so that African women are perceived in this way and are discriminated against in various fields including education for the very reason that they are women. It is comforting to learn that efforts have been made to change or amend this oppressive legislation. One example of an amendment is that a married woman can acquire rights to property if she insists on having a 'civil' marriage. It is worth mentioning that Whites who do not enter into an antenuptial contract are automatically deemed to be married in community of property. However, this does not apply to African couples. To be married in community of property an African couple must, within one month of the marriage apply for their marriage to be in community of property, profit and loss.

To return to education which forms the crux of this work, one has to emphasise that the imbalance in respect of career potential for men and women educators seems to be universal because it is present even in countries such as Great Britain, Australia and the United States of America as will be indicated later. Whatever is said or done, women themselves are going to have to take major responsibility for the restoration of their human worth and authority.

It is against the above background that the under-representation of women at the higher levels of the promotion structure in KwaZulu schools is investigated.

This study views women's place in secondary schools as disadvantaged or subordinate. It is guided by such questions as: "How many women are in school administration?" and "What kinds of positions do they hold?"

2.3 THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

This chapter focuses on the gender distribution of teachers in a sample of junior secondary and high schools administered by KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture and the relative proportions of men and women employed on promotional posts like Head of Department, Deputy Principal and Principal. Before proceeding to this investigation, the career status of women teachers in certain other countries and education systems is briefly discussed. A comparison is thereby made possible, to ascertain whether the gender hierarchies which occur in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture are unique, or if a shared position, common to other countries and education system exists.

In a study of factors affecting the utilization of women in professional and managerial roles, Shafer (1974) noted that in East Germany 70 percent of the teachers were women while only 25 percent of the principals were women.

The increased ratio of men to women as one moves up the educational administrative hierarchy, especially in secondary schools in England and Wales, is clearly shown in Table 2:1.

Table 2.1 Details of full-time teachers in maintained schools in England and Wales

TEACHERS	SEX BALANCE	
	MEN %	PERCENTAGES WOMEN %
PRIMARY		
Head teacher	57	43
Deputy Head	39	61
All teachers	23	77
SECONDARY		
Head teacher		
Deputy Head	84	16
All teachers	82	18
	56	44

Source: Blampied, Dissertation, 1989; p.25.

It is interesting to note that in the above table 61 percent of women hold deputy head posts in primary schools. The high percentage is not so

exciting when one takes into account that primary schools are smaller than secondary schools and they do not involve the same degree of status achievement and salary increase as the latter. In a nutshell, the ratio of men to women increases steeply the more senior the posts especially in secondary schools.

Similar patterns are evident in other countries. In Australia, for example, 45,3 percent of all teachers in secondary schools in New South Wales in 1979 were women, yet only 11,8 percent of the principals' posts were held by women (Marland, 1983).

Shakeshaft (1987:20), using data collected for education systems in the United States of America, noted that in 1984-85 only 3,0 percent of the district superintendents were women, although 50,1 percent of all secondary school teachers and 83,5 percent of all elementary school teachers were women. The ratio of women to men school inspectors in New South Wales in 1977 was 1:42 (Marland:1983), while the position in New Zealand was, by comparison, far better, where in 1975 21 percent of the positions in the central Department of Education were held by women (Malcolm, 1979).

According to Blampied (1989) the system presently operating in the secondary schools administered by the Natal Education Department was

first introduced in 1978, when the posts of Vice-Principal and Senior Assistant teacher were abolished and two new positions were introduced - the Deputy Principal and the Head of Department. A further development in 1984 led to an increase in the number of Head of Department posts, and in 1988 the structure was again altered, resulting in the creation of the post of Senior Deputy Principal and still further Head of Department positions.

Data obtained from the 1987 statistical returns from government schools under the Natal Education Department reveal that the number of women in educational administration is disproportionately lower than the number of men in congruent positions (See Table 2.2 below). It must be noted that the post level determines the grade of the teacher. The higher the post level, the higher the grade e.g. Post level 1 represents the unpromoted teachers and Post level 2 is the lowest promotional post.

Table 2.2 Distribution of male and female teachers in government schools administered by the Natal Education Department.

POST LEVEL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
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
TOTAL	1 893	4 760	6 653

Source: Blampied, Dissertation, 1989; p.28.

The picture becomes more vivid if the data are presented as percentage of teachers at each post level (Figure 2.3)

Table 2.2b Percentage of teachers at each post level in government schools in Natal Education Department

POST LEVEL	MEN	WOMEN
1	22	78
2	48,5	51,5
3	50,7	49,3
4	70,7	29,3
5	87,7	12,3
6	83,7	16,3

Adapted from Blampied, 1987, p.28

Although according to this data, the bulk of teachers are women, they are primarily clustered in post level 1. The only administrative position in which women have been dominant is the elementary principalship. Women have never been the majority of secondary principals or inspectors of education.

2.4 THE STATUS OF WOMEN EDUCATORS IN THE KWAZULU DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A look at the number of women in school administration in the schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, like in other parts of the world, uncovers consistent male dominance in all positions except in lower primary schools (or in elementary schools as they are referred to in other countries). Data obtained from the 1993 statistical returns from a sample of Circuits in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture are as follows:

Table 2.3 Gender distribution of teachers in a sample of junior secondary and high schools administered by KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

TYPE OF SCHOOL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Junior Secondary	978	851	1 829
High School	3 455	2 564	6 019
TOTAL	4 433	3 415	7 848

Adapted from statistical returns by Circuits, 1993; KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

While Blampied (1989) refers to the increase in the number of Head of Department posts and the creation of the post of Senior Deputy Principal (all leadership posts) during the 1980s in Natal Education Department, it is remarkable and disturbing that a decade later, there are schools with neither deputy principal nor head of department in the schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. Data referred to in this Chapter are based on a sample of 543 schools that submitted their returns out of a possible population of 796 schools. It is noteworthy that out of the 543 schools (both junior secondary and high schools) only 147 have deputy principals. Of the 147 only 44 are women and the rest are men.

Table 2.4 Hierarchical distribution of teachers in the sample of JUNIOR SECONDARY Schools administered by KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
ALL TEACHERS	978	851	1 829
Principals	192	30	222
Deputy Principals	8	3	11
Heads of department	10	10	20

Table 2.4b Percentages of different levels by sex

JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	MEN	WOMEN
ALL TEACHERS	53,5	46,5
Principals	86,5	13,5
Deputy Principals	72,7	27,3
Heads of department	50,0	50,0

Adapted from statistical returns by Circuits, 1993; KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture

Table 2.5 Hierarchical distribution of teachers in a sample of HIGH schools administered by KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

HIGH SCHOOLS

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
ALL TEACHERS	3 455	2 564	6 019
Principals	307	14	321
Deputy Principals	95	41	136
Heads of department	118	57	175

Table 2.5b Percentages of different levels by sex

HIGH SCHOOLS

	MEN	WOMEN
ALL TEACHERS	57,4	42,6
Principals	95,6	4,4
Deputy Principals	69,8	30,2
Heads of department	67,4	32,6

Adapted from statistical returns by Circuits 1993; KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

If the proportion of women holding each promotional post is compared with the total number of women employed, and similar figures for male

employers are studied, it is evident that a man who enters the teaching profession has more opportunities for upward mobility than a woman entrant.

While, as is expected, a decrease in percentage as one moves up the level occurs for both sexes, due to the hierarchical nature of the promotion structure, it is of a far more acute nature in the percentage profile for women. While women form 46,5 percent of the teaching force of the sample of junior secondary schools under study, only 13,5 percent of them are principals. On the other hand men form 53,5 percent of the teaching force but strangely enough 86,5 percent of them are principals. As indicated in Figure 2.4, the proportion of deputy principals is 72,7 percent men to 27,3 percent women.

Whereas women form 42,6 percent of the teaching force in the sample of high schools under study, only 4,4 percent of them are principals. This finding parallels the situation mentioned previously in connection with Natal Education Department in which at the time of the survey, 88,2 percent of the teaching force were women but only 2,9 percent were deputy principals and only 0,8 or 0,3 or 0,1 were principals on post level 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

It is little consolation to note that at least 50 percent of the heads of

department in the junior secondary schools under study are women. However in high schools, women form only 32,6 percent of heads of department. It must be remembered that the head of department is the lowest rung of the promotional ladder. The problem of the under-representation of women in educational administration seems to be universal. It will be remembered that earlier in this work, it was mentioned that in East Germany in 1974, 70 percent of the teaching force were women but only 25 percent of the principals were women. A similar trend is evident when data from Great Britain and Australia are studied. Generally, the ratio of men to women increases steeply the more senior the posts especially in secondary schools.

Of about 104 inspectors of schools in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, only 12 are women (Departmental Statistics, April 1993). These figures however may not be quite conclusive because the replacement of retired inspectors has not been finalised. On the basis of these figures, only 11,5 percent of all inspectors of schools are women. The women inspectors are distributed as follows: 4 are 'general' Inspectors of schools based at Umlazi, Nkanyezi, Mpumalanga and Mahlabathini Circuits respectively. 3 are called Psychological Inspectors and they deal with Aptitude testing and Guidance in schools. 5 are called Subject Advisers and their name is self-explanatory. What is highly

remarkable is that in the history of KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, there has been only one female Circuit Inspector in the name of Mrs B. Putini who held the post in Ndwendwe Circuit during the period 1987-1990. When she retired she was replaced by a man. In an informal interview, the writer had with a few female Inspectors of schools, trying to ascertain why they did not succeed Mrs Putini, they mentioned geographical restriction as a major barrier. The high post would require them to leave their homes and they were not ready for that.

No woman holds a senior post in the head office. The only woman education planner the department ever had has left for another education department.

2.5 CONCLUSION

From the evidence presented it is clear that 'gender ideology' is universal. It exists even in advanced countries like United States of America, Great Britain and is also present in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

It is depressing to see that there is an overall predominance of women in junior posts and a sharp decline in the proportion of women in leadership.

Although some women are quietly making history by taking some places as top level leaders in the educational institutions of KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, there are still some glaring inequities which cry out for remedy when one considers that there are schools with neither deputy principal nor head of department irrespective of gender. The position of women is the least favourable in higher institutions and in educational planning. Only a handful of women hold top posts in all sectors of education.

As it would appear that the imbalance in respect of career potential for men and women educators is a widespread occurrence, a study of possible causes of this inequality, as perceived by writers from different countries, could be of value in deciding which factors have possibly influenced the upward mobility of women educators in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. The focus of the following chapter is therefore on the possible barriers to women's advancement in education.

POSSIBLE BARRIERS TO THE UPWARD MOVEMENT OF WOMEN EDUCATORS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Quite a number of studies have reported that women are overwhelmingly under-represented in the formal management of schools, especially in secondary schools. The scarcity of women in managerial positions in education is not a unique situation, as they are just as uncommon in many other occupations. In a survey of jobs ranked as managerial in the manufacturing industry in Great Britain in 1968, less than one percent were filled by women (Davies, 1975). Another study by Donnell and Hall (1971) noted that while women formed half of the work force in the United States of America, they only formed eighteen percent of the managerial complement.

Researchers have used various models to explain why so few women are found in school management. What may be considered to be a promotional barrier by one researcher may not be seen as such by another. The perspective is determined by the theoretical standpoint adopted by the researcher. Connell (1985) identifies a social theory of gender as a barrier to women's advancement. He argues that two main

types of theory have emerged from the social theory of gender: one emphasising attitudes and social expectations, centring on the idea of 'sex roles'; the other presupposing the categories of 'women' and 'men' and focusing on power relations between them. Connell observes that:

Women's disadvantages are attributed mainly to stereotyped customary expectations, held by both women and men, which keep women back from professional advancement and create prejudice and discrimination against them.

The feminist theory has a dual purpose, first to inform an understanding of gender inequality and, secondly, to guide possible action.

After delineating possible areas in which women appear to experience obstacles it is necessary to determine the exact nature of the obstacle in order to act in a purposeful way to remove it. In principle, then, sex inequalities can be eliminated by measures to break down the stereotypes and redefine the roles.

In her study of Women in Educational Administration, Shakeshaft (1987) uses some of the researchers' models to explain the root causes of barriers to women's advancement. These are: the Women's Place

Model, which assumes women's non-participation in administrative careers as based solely on social norms; the Discrimination Model, which draws on the assumption that institutional patterns are a result of the efforts of one group to exclude participation of another and the Meritocracy Model which assumes that the most competent people have been promoted and thus women are not competent.

Hansot and Tyack (1981) discuss three explanatory models from their literature study. The first focuses on the individual woman as possessing internal barriers that keep her from advancing; socialization and sex-stereotyping are seen as the guiding forces behind all her behaviour. The second approach describes an organizational structure that shapes the behaviour of its members. "Women behave in self-limiting ways not because they were socialized as females but because they are locked into low-power, low-visibility, dead-end jobs." The third model discussed by Hansot and Tyack portrays a world that is male defined and male run.

* According to this explanation, it is male dominance that has led to conditions that keep women from advancing into positions of power and prestige (Shakeshaft:1987). One ought to emphasise that the third model seems to provide the most satisfactory explanation of the limits imposed upon women in school administration. The cause of all barriers to women in school administration that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony.

A look at history, literature and everyday life clearly shows that women have been and are, treated as inferior in many ways. Some of the barriers most often listed as contributing to women's lack of achievement in administration are low self-image, lack of confidence and lack of motivation or aspiration. Shakeshaft (1987) argues that these barriers presented as an explanation for women's lack of achievement seem inadequate. She asserts that the social structure of society is to blame for these inequities. By accepting as a fact that inequities toward women occur because of some lack of ability or action by women is according to Shakeshaft (1987:84) merely a "camouflage for deeper societal roadblocks to women's advancement."

Obstacles to women's upward mobility appear to fall into two broad domains of internal and external barriers. Internal barriers relate to psychological factors and can be overcome by individual change. External barriers relate to organizational and societal structures and can be removed by changing institutional practices and socialization and the organizational structure.

The possible internal barriers to women's advancement which will be discussed in this chapter are those of personality characteristics and the conflicts which could arise out of the multiplicity of roles which women hold. External barriers to women's upward mobility which will be

ex: 1. Gender

discussed are those arising from societal, organizational, institutional and political environment which forms the milieu of the female educator.

3.2 INTERNAL BARRIERS

Internal barriers can be classified into personality barriers and multiple role barriers; the former dealing with deep-seated characteristics which are usually an outgrowth of a social context in which males hold power and privilege over the other group. The latter obstacles deal with the conflicts which occur within the multiple roles which women perform.

3.2.1 Personality

ex: 1. Personality

Blampied (1989) observes that there has been a tendency to ignore women administrators, either alleging that their experience would not differ significantly from that of men, or by considering that as they appear in small numbers their influence is unimportant. It is this attitude that has led to the development of the Male Managerial Model (Kruse & Wintermantel:1986; O'Leary:1974). According to this model characteristics such as sensitivity, emotionality, gentleness and intuitiveness are seen as typically female and non-managerial, whereas the perceived managerial characteristics of aggressiveness, competence, decisiveness, assertion, competitiveness and independence are considered

Handwritten notes on the left margin:
 - female & non-managerial
 - male & managerial
 - sensitivity, emotionality, gentleness, intuitiveness
 - aggressiveness, competence, decisiveness, assertion, competitiveness, independence

to be typical male traits. This viewpoint has led to the phrase: 'Think manager - think male' (Andruskiw & Howes:1980, O'Leary:1974).

In addition to women's alleged emotional frailty they have also been thought to have lower self-esteem than men. This has been suggested as one reason why fewer women attempt high level academic work or seek demanding and high status jobs. Whether women have a lower self-esteem than men is a moot point. Fransella and Frost (1977) argue that more educated women have a higher opinion of themselves.

Women and what they do are generally valued less than men. They are thought to be both physically and intellectually incapable of handling administrative functions. There is evidence that women have internalized cultural and societal stereotypes so that external barriers have become internal barriers. Shakeshaft (1987:39) observes that:

... century old patterns of male dominance have solidified a number of beliefs about women that both men and women accepted and limited women's access to school administration. Negative attitudes towards women continued to be a major barrier. Women were thought to be constitutionally incapable of discipline and order, primarily because of their size and supposed lack of strength.

The internal barriers most often listed as contributing to women's lack of achievement in administration are low self-image, lack of confidence and lack of motivation or aspiration. Schmuck (1976) notes that lack of confidence and low self-image have been reported by women as internal barriers that prevent them from considering school administration. Although it is true that women have been shown to have lower self-confidence than men in public sphere activities, studies of self-confidence are confined to just that - public sphere activities. It is not clear whether women have less self-confidence in areas in which they are traditionally thought not to excel because

... we have not studied self-confidence through the eyes of women but rather have forced women to be measured by male-defined standards of self-confidence. (Shakeshaft 1987:84).

There is no doubt that management is stressful. A manager has to assert himself in many instances. Assertiveness is not a behaviour into which women are traditionally socialized. That is why there is a general belief that women cannot cope with demands and stress associated with management. Women who seek administrative positions still have to confront the ever-present bias of selectors, most of whom are men.

One wonders whether women's lack of achievement is because they under-value themselves. It would hardly be surprising if they did because

... until very recently in Western countries, women were widely treated as inferior in law, politics, religion and education as well as in society generally. Many of these discriminations remain. (Fransella & Frost, 1977:93)

In 1968, Horner assessed women's and men's attitudes towards success and offered quite a different kind of explanation. Her view is that many women do want to achieve, but they are also afraid of success because it may result in loss of affiliation. She called this "*Motive to Avoid Success*" or "*Fear of Success*" (Fransella & Frost, 1977:101). Horner concludes that in general unusual excellence in women was clearly associated for them with the loss of femininity, social rejection, personal or societal destruction or some combination of the above. If this is accepted, then the sex-structured society is to blame for generating a belief in women that they lack ability - a belief reinforced by an organizational system that prevents women from developing confidence in public sphere activities through lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback. This is an external, not an internal, barrier to women and it can be traced to a male-dominated society.

It appears that personality in itself should not present a barrier to promotion. Women do not meet the challenge of management because structural and ideological factors exclude nearly all those who do not meet masculine behaviour. For certain women the obstacle can be removed by training in assertiveness which would increase their confidence; while for others support systems to help them apply for managerial posts will be necessary. Importantly though, society has to create a climate in which women's capability is valued. Whatever solution, no single strategy will solve the problem of the lack of women in managerial positions.

3.2.2 Multiple Roles

It is generally believed that marriage and family commitments do influence the career development of women. In their study of assumptions about women Fransella & Frost (1977) report that the overwhelming majority of girls and women expect and wish to get married and have children. They formulate this intention earlier and in greater numbers than boys and men, and usually well before they have views on possible work they may do. Marriage and childbearing are assumed to be an essential part of one's identity as a woman.

The assumption that a woman's primary identity is that of a 'home-maker' or 'housewife' assigns to her not one, but

three roles: wife, houseworker and child-rearer. A common belief is that these roles are naturally and inextricably linked, and that they are naturally performed by one person. (Fransella & Frost, 1979:19).

The image of a woman as wife and mother only and man as breadwinner is a myth. As an account of what is actually happening, it is, and always has been incomplete, inaccurate and often downright wrong. At the present time, large numbers of women, including mothers, are doing what they are not supposed to be doing - they are at work, either from necessity or choice. Many are sole supporters of their families.

Shakeshaft (1987) suggests that married women do not apply for promotion, not because they have less drive than men or single women but because they are being realistic, having found that juggling home responsibilities and administrative tasks decreases their feeling of the worth of each role. Moreover, even in families in which the mother is working, the major part of the housework is done by the wife. The very problems women face at work and in combining the two roles, help maintain a situation in which most women make marriage and family their main or exclusive role. In a study of the executive role of women in New Zealand education it was observed that

... for the majority of these women teachers marriage and home took precedence over any career aspirations. (Malcolm, 1979:104).

As a society, we construct the social world according to our interests and beliefs. In promotion interviews, for instance, women are frequently asked questions relating to their private lives and will only receive promotion if they are judged to be competent in their female roles as well as their occupational roles, whereas men tend to be evaluated only on their level of effectiveness at work.

Hall (1972) and O'Leary (1974) cited in Blampied (1989) developed a model of role conflict coping behaviours. These are as follows:

I - Structural role redefinition - The external, structurally-imposed expectations relative to the person's position are altered.

II - Personal role redefinition - Alteration of the person's own expectations and behaviours.

III - Reactive role behaviour - An attempt is made to meet all the role demands experienced.

Adkinson (1981) reported a study of 260 women school administrators conducted by Paddock in the United States of America. He noted that the respondents mentioned the divided role more frequently than any other barrier; 42,7 percent reported that they took full responsibility for housework and cooking at home, and were experiencing role overload. These respondents who were attempting to fulfil all their tasks relating to home-making while performing effectively as administrators were applying Strategy III of Hall's model.

In an investigation of 530 teachers from one local education authority, Evetts (1986) concluded that the teachers do not have the same career goals namely that they wish to move up through the scales to the highest point they can reach, that all teachers will be working towards the highest positions, the posts of heads or deputy head. He argues that not all teachers want promotion. Some teachers prefer classroom teaching and do not seek promotion into more responsible and more administrative roles. The term *career* does not have to be used prescriptively to show progress and promotion through an ordered sequence of occupations into more responsible, higher status and salaried roles. Evetts (1986) classified teachers' careers into three main types: unbroken careers, re-entrants (those with broken service) and late entrants (those who entered teaching after working elsewhere). It was discovered that about 80% of the men teachers had an unbroken career compared with only half of the

women teachers. The most obvious consequence of this was that the women re-entrants were concentrated on the lower teaching scales. Some of these women teachers had interrupted their career for child-rearing. The results of the study confirm that marriage and family commitments do influence the career development of women. Concerning the question of multiple roles, Byrne (1978) suggests that married women are less likely to be committed to their careers and on marriage will stop, or at least postpone their careers. Men often make crucial career moves in their late twenties and early thirties, which frequently coincides with the period of time when women have interrupted their careers to raise a family. This career break can create a barrier to promotion, in addition to the fact that some women experience a loss of confidence in their ability if they remain away from the workforce for any length of time (Blampied:1989).

Another influence of marriage is that it can limit the mobility of the individual and, in many instances, women are affected by the restriction of the geographical area which reduces promotion opportunities. In a study of mobile and non-mobile sectors of the population conducted in Britain and the United States of America, it was observed that the mobile group included a significantly larger proportion of individuals employed in administrative, managerial and professional occupations (Bradley & Silverleaf:1979).

To devise solutions and assess their possibility of success, one must not only know the particular barrier but must also be clear about what is the root cause of that barrier. If one believes that the barriers to women's advancement in educational administration are primarily the result of the devaluation of women, all of society, not just individual women, must be altered. Until society is made aware that child-rearing responsibilities are not the concern of the mother only and successful mothers stop succumbing to the charge that they are neglecting their children for their own selfish ends, this barrier to upward mobility will remain unbroken. For long-term change, the structure of society must be changed. If the attitudes toward women are to change substantially, people need to change. Many people believe that the best place to begin to change beliefs about women is in the school.

3.3 EXTERNAL BARRIERS

Despite more women than men in teaching, we are left wondering why, if gender is not the overriding explanation, are men managers and women teachers. In many studies, the reasons given for not promoting women have only to do with the fact that they are female. External barriers are imposed on the individual by various factors external to their own state,

and may be subdivided into different areas, for example, institutional, societal and organizational.

3.3.1 Institutional

Blampied (1989) argues that institutional barriers occur due to the educational, economic and legal constraints operating within the educational institution.

3.3.3.1 Educational

The variations in length and type of job training cause a differential in the promotion rates of men and women. Davies (1975) and Jones (1973) cited in Blampied (1989) suggest that women teachers frequently hold lower qualifications than men teachers and women who aspire to teaching as a profession more frequently enter Colleges of Education than universities, and so have fewer promotion opportunities.

Although the history of Black education dates as far back as the rule of the Dutch East India Company, it was not until the first quarter of the 19th century that a concerted effort was embarked upon resulting in the establishment of schools over a large part of Southern Africa. The South Africa Act of 1909 made provision for three categories in Black education. These were primary, secondary and teacher training. The primary school

course stretched over eight years and comprised two sub-standards and six standards. The secondary school course prepared pupils for the Junior Certificate examination. A small number of schools also prepared pupils for the matriculation examination. Several teacher training courses were provided: a Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate course of three years' duration after Standard 6; a Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate course extending over two years after Standard 8 and a Secondary Teachers' course of two years duration after Matriculation (Behr:1984). At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that by 1968 six training colleges were still offering the Lower Primary Teachers' course which was restricted to women. The course was regarded as inadequate and was subsequently abolished. It is obvious that large numbers of women who hold this qualification have minimal chances of being promoted and this is a barrier to their upward mobility.

As from 1982 a range of three-year post-Standard 10 teachers diploma courses were introduced at the teacher training colleges. The courses offered are for the Secondary Teachers' Diploma, the Primary Teachers' Diploma and the Pre-Primary Teachers' Diploma. It is important to note that the Primary Teachers' Diploma and the Pre-Primary Teachers' Diploma courses are predominantly female courses. Teachers who qualify in these courses, by virtue of their qualifications, have fewer chances of receiving a promotion. If they do get promoted, they will be heads of

smaller (primary) schools rather than heads of larger secondary and/or comprehensive schools. Promotion to a deputy headship or even to a head teacher post does not involve the same degree of status achievement and salary increase in a primary school as in a secondary school. Most head teachers of secondary schools would earn more than head teachers of primary schools. Inevitably this means that promotions in primary schools only involve small changes in responsibilities and in earnings, whereas promotions in secondary schools, particularly at the higher scales, can involve larger, more significant changes in responsibilities, earnings and in status. Behr (1984) *inter alia*, studied the Black teacher training population in South Africa during the 1980s. He observed that in 1982 alone, the teacher training provision in Black training colleges in South Africa revealed that the pre-primary and primary teachers' courses were predominantly for women whereas more males availed themselves of the opportunity to do the Secondary teachers' course.

In comparison to the number of colleges of education open to Blacks in homelands and provinces in South Africa, KwaZulu has more than any other, laying claim to 13 out of the total of 54 colleges. Of the ten KwaZulu Colleges of education that offer full-time courses, seven offer a three-year Primary Teachers' Diploma (PTD). The PTD colleges include one which educates pre-primary school teachers (Madadeni). All of the

PTD colleges offer training for both lower (SSA to Std 2) and higher (Std 3 to Std 5) primary school teachers, although one is restricted to women only (Appelbosch). On the score of the above account on teacher training for Blacks in South Africa, one may argue that many women teachers especially in Black education hold lower qualifications than men. This prevalence of lower educational qualifications could present a barrier should they aspire to senior positions. Many women are however showing an increasing interest in improving their educational qualifications.

Table 3.1 Teacher training provision in Black training Colleges in the RSA, 1982.

DEPT./ COURSE	PRE- PRI- MARY TEACH- ERS		PRI- MARY TEACH- ERS		SECOND- ARY TEACH- ERS		SPECIAL- IST TEACHERS		TECH- NICAL TEACH- ERS	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
National Education	-	18	356	717	820	646	22	84	33	-
Gazankulu	-	-	103	279	238	130	-	-	-	-
Kwa- Ngwane	-	-	98	432	81	29	-	-	-	-
Kwa- Ndebele	-	-	38	150	105	80	-	-	-	-
KwaZulu	-	-	487	1606	493	492	15	-	8	-
Lebowa	-	-	1027	2431	386	202	-	22	-	-
QwaQwa	-	-	267	752	179	82	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	18	2376	6367	2302	1661	37	106	41	-

Source: Behr, *New Perspectives in South African Education* 1984; p.213.

3.3.3.2 **Legal**

Dex and Shaw (1986) cited in Blampied (1989) point out that in 1975 Britain introduced the Sex Discrimination Act which prohibited discrimination in respect of opportunities for promotion and dismissal procedures on grounds of gender or marriage. The provisions of the Sex Discrimination Act led to the ruling that the holder of a third-tier post in co-educational schools had to be of the opposite sex to the Deputy Head. While on first inspection this appears to be a means of improving the position of women, it is a breach of the right to appoint the best candidate for the job and presumes that certain functions can only be adequately dealt with by members of a particular sex. Byrne (1978) in her twenty years of staffing British schools, had noticed that senior mistresses dealt with social functions, entertaining visitors, school attendance and difficult parents. In this way, while it is laudable that some attempt has been made to improve the position of women, in many instances it merely entrenches them in low-status, low-visibility and low-power jobs.

In the United States of America attempts were made in 1964 to prohibit discrimination in all aspects of employment by the enactment of the Civil Rights Act (Title VII), and in 1965 and 1967 provisions were made for affirmative action. Changes in law that might indicate that sex

discrimination no longer exists are no guarantee that it is no longer practised. Men's views on affirmative action in favour of women reflect dissatisfaction and negative attitudes. A man interviewed on affirmative action reported that he believed affirmative action would hurt him, "the idea has merit, but my attitude is negative" (Shakeshaft 1987:102). A number of male candidates returned from administrative interviews in anger because they had been told that although they were outstanding candidates, the district could not hire them because affirmative action regulations forced that district to hire a woman. Understandably, these men were angry; they felt unfairly treated because, based only on their sex, they were being told they could not be seriously considered for a position. Surprisingly, not a single woman filled any of these positions.

This incident illustrates how affirmative action requirements can be used by cowardly administrators to let male candidates down easily or, from a more sinister view, to sabotage the opportunities of women by making male candidates feel directly threatened by affirmative action (Shakeshaft:1987). Such attitudes and practices have an effect on the promotion possibilities of women.

South Africa, unlike the two countries mentioned previously, has not introduced any Act to remove sex discrimination. In all advertisements it is permissible to request that candidates of only one sex apply, and this system is widely used by government agencies as well as in the private sector.

Another significant aspect is that of dismissal of women on marriage. In all countries married women were at some time excluded from the profession and South Africa was no exception. By the early 1960s this discriminatory practice was gradually removed. Married women teachers could hold permanent positions in the profession. The situation now exists that certain posts in schools are designated 'permanent' while others are designated 'temporary'. In this way marital status no longer creates a legal barrier to promotion in schools.

3.3.2 Societal

Socialization and sex-role stereotyping have been cited by several researchers as explanations of why women themselves, as well as others within society, do not immediately connect women with administration.

Not only have women been socialized in ways that have not made them administratively inclined, those who appoint have been socialized to believe that the qualities frequently associated with women are antithetical to those qualities needed to manage and qualities needed to manage are ones not possessed by women.

Socialization is a two-fold process. For the individual it is the process of learning to participate in social life. The other aspect may be called the group process. This involves the position of the individual in terms of the

values, beliefs and norms of the group and how the group interacts to further its goals. It is this interaction which can produce obstacles to the promotion of women. Adkinson (1981:314) perceives discrimination appearing 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. (Blampied, 1987).

Various studies document the existence of overt sex discrimination practised by various groups like society, decision-makers and the applicants colleagues and subordinates. The survey undertaken by Coffin and Ekstrom in 1979 reported that women had been given the following reasons for not being hired for positions for which they believed themselves qualified: [Women were not hired because of custom; men do not want to take directions from a woman; the community was not ready for a woman administrator (Shakeshaft:1987). These reasons have nothing to do with ability or competence, they all use as their reason the woman's sex.]

Studies tell us that people tend to hire those like themselves. This is made easier in the light of recent work that documents the lack of rational

procedures in administrative selection procedures nationwide. [The selectors, who are predominantly male, are inclined to choose to work with men as it is believed that the maintenance of a homogeneous staff who share common qualities is conducive to a harmonious existence.]

[Women seeking administrative positions have to confront the ever-present bias of decision-makers who can be interviewers or Chief and Circuit inspectors most of whom are men. Selectors tend to select those most like themselves. Not surprisingly, they choose those with whom they feel most comfortable and most men do not feel at ease with women.] Besides having to continue to fight public prejudice against them, women continue to have to deal with exclusionary practices. Men have the advantage of being able to interact with other men who hold power and who are often in positions to employ. [Another bias that continues to work against women is the belief that males have a special gift for dealing with community issues and problems, thus employing a female administrator who would have daily interactions with local men and male officers is regarded as abnormal.]

[Another group to be considered in relation to discrimination against women is the applicant's colleagues and subordinates. In a study of attitudes of executives, men were found to be 'anti-female executive' in principle (Andruskiw & Howes:1980 in Blampied:1989).] Much of the

research in this field has led to conflicting results. Over half the adults surveyed in 1975 Seventh Annual Gallup poll into Public Education in the United States of America, were not concerned whether a school principal was male or female. Research arising from this finding educed that favourable attitudes towards women administrators are associated with increased education and urbanization (Adkinson:1981). An in-basket study of the attitudes of 135 graduate students attending Educational Administration classes at Georgia State University was conducted by Frasher and Frasher in 1980. [In this study the fictitious female superintendent operating identically to the fictitious male superintendent was rated by the students as being significantly more unfair, as equally weak and as more inflexible. Scores indicated that the rule-bound woman was more inflexible than the rule-bound male and that the flexible woman was less flexible than the flexible male.] It would appear then that the sex of the applicant does influence the perceptions of their subordinates about their managerial skills.

regard to Shakeshaft (1987) observes that if the major reason for not accepting women administrators is fear that one's own situation might be in jeopardy, it is easy to see why the following groups have more favourable attitudes toward female administrators:

- female teachers versus male teachers.
- older male administrators versus younger male administrators.

- married administrators versus unmarried administrators.
- educators from median to large districts versus educators from small districts.

In the cases listed above the tenure of the former is more secure than that of the latter, or the former group contains fewer members who would be actively striving for promotion, thereby reducing conflict. The research indicated earlier involved a study of attitudes and not actual behaviour, which may differ from the stated attitudes of the respondents. There is hope that as the numbers of women in administrative positions increase and they prove their competency, prejudice towards them will decrease.



3.3.3 Organizational structure

Another way to view women's lack of advancement in educational careers lies in the organizational structure framework. Shakeshaft (1987:26) observes that from the beginning, women teachers were treated less favourably than were men teachers - whether it was measured by pay or status. She further argues that bureaucratization of schools helped to keep women out of administrative roles because of the belief in male dominance that made it easier for both males and women to view women as natural followers and men as their leaders.

Hierarchical organization of schools and the male chauvinism of the larger society fit as hand to glove. The system required subordination; women were generally subordinate to men; the employment of women as teachers thus augmented the authority of the largely male administrative leadership. (Tyack 1974:60).

The profile of the typical woman administrator differs from the profile of the typical man administrator in a number of ways. Specifically, women in all levels of administration are older than men in similar positions; are less likely to be married and are more likely to have been a teacher for a longer period of time, and earn less for doing the same job as a man. Although women administrators are older than men primarily because of sex discrimination, a number of other factors have contributed to women remaining as teachers longer than men.

Kanter (1977) cited in Shakeshaft (1987) argued in his thesis that it was neither gender nor an individual's personal characteristics but organizational structure that limits the opportunities of women. She asserts that what has been called women's lack of aspiration may really be a very logical and effective mental health remedy. To desire something she believes she can never have may lead to bitterness and unhappiness. A more effective coping strategy - one more likely to ensure sanity - is to

not want what is out of one's reach. For some women it may be better to say, "I don't want to be a school administrator", than to long for a job that her experience and the experience of other women educators tell her she is unlikely to be given.

Another organizational influence is on the meaning placed on a 'career' path. Shakeshaft (1987) postulates that the traditional view of a career is a pattern of organized professional activity, with upward movement through stages. By this definition women teachers are only involved in a career as opposed to a job if there is evidence of upward movement through the hierarchy, and career commitment is demonstrated by a lack of interruptions in the career path. Biklen (1985) demonstrates that the way careers have been defined reflects an androcentric bias and limits our ability to illuminate the working lives of women in schools (Shakeshaft:1987). The very notion of talking about career paths for women administrators is coloured by this definition generated from male experience of career. The question of career is important as one looks at women's lives, particularly their lives in schools, as the literature of the field has tended to present the notion that career paths move along the bureaucratic structure. Jans (1985:383) describes a different concept developed by Schein. Schein postulated that career transitions could be described in terms of movement along one of three possible dimensions in the 'career cone':

... a vertical dimension, experienced by changes in rank, authority, and pay; a horizontal dimension, expressed by the functional or technical field the person could work in; and a radial dimension, experienced by movement toward and away from the inner core or 'axis of power/influence' of the cone.

As schools become more bureaucratized and hierarchical, vertical movement is perceived as the only valid career path and career aspiration then means wanting to become a principal and not wanting to remain a teacher. This leads one to question the purpose for which people enter teaching.

Early organization theory, as propounded by Frederick Taylor, emphasised routines, rationality and hierarchy as central principles. Weber stressed that the vertical line of authority found in bureaucratic organizations led to their efficiency. Modern bureaucratic organizations are founded on an 'achievement principle' which negatively affects women's opportunities in two ways. The first lies in the concept that a 'top-down' authority structure is the most successful style, the second lies in the meaning placed on the term 'career' (Shakeshaft:1987).

Within an organization, two diametrically opposed styles of leadership

have been educated. The style which is said to match the typical Male Management Model most closely is that of 'gamesman'. Maccoby invented this term in 1976 to describe the successful man in a corporate environment. He saw him as detached, emotionally inaccessible and having no close personal relationships (Sassen:1980). Investigation into this viewpoint led to the formulation of the following managerial role requirements:

- 1) Able to maintain good relationships with those above him.
- 2) Has a competitive element, will compete for available rewards.
- 3) Is assertive.
- 4) Exercises power over his subordinates so that they will meet the organization's objectives.
- 5) Has high visibility.
- 6) Must meet the routine administrative requirements.

Contrary to the management role requirements enumerated above, the socialization of women results in behaviours that are traditionally feminine

and that are not considered (but that in fact are) the behaviours of good administrators. Assertiveness, for instance, is a skill that women, by and large, have not been socialized to call their own. Relatedly, women's contributions are often ignored and women have reported feeling invisible in policy-making groups. Socialization is also partly responsible for the resentment, from both males and females, that women aspirants sometimes find directed at them.

Women have in general grown up with a set of relationship-oriented structures and so perform better when using a relational rather than competitive style of leadership. Some research reveals that female principals are more likely than male principals to involve themselves in instructional supervision, to exhibit a democratic leadership style, to be concerned with students and to seek community involvement (Blampied:1989). In another attitude survey it was noted that women principals in New Zealand ran schools in which there was higher student morale, frequent parental approval and more positive teacher attitudes towards education (Malcolm, 1979).

There is a conflict between the traditional view that the democratic leadership style as frequently displayed by women is aberrant and the

rapidly developing viewpoint that the style of leadership displayed by many women would lead to a more effective administration. In order to remove the conflict and break down this obstacle to promotion it should be realised that no one style of leadership is preferable, the decision lies in the type of situation in which the person has to work. The woman administrator therefore does not have to copy the 'effective' man, neither does she have to assume that what works for him will necessarily work for her.

Another organizational barrier to women's advancement is the lack of role models. The lack of opportunity to see other women in a variety of administrative positions, to hear how these women describe their lives, and to compare themselves with women just one step farther up the hierarchy have been cited as reasons women have not moved into administrative positions in larger numbers. The importance of role models in helping both the women themselves and others within the system to view women administrators as a normal occurrence, rather than an exceptional one, cannot be overstated. One woman articulates:

I had earned my administrator's credential when I went back to school. But I never thought about becoming an administrator. Administrators are all men. (Schmuck 1979:25)

The same-sex role model is crucial for women but not for men because the latter have a wider range of role models. Women often cannot envision patterning themselves after men, either because they identify men's behaviour as "male" and therefore incongruent with the "female" self-images or because male behaviour seems inappropriate for them.

The strategy recommended to provide aspiring women administrators with role models is to increase the number of women in administrative positions. Besides providing role models, the organizational context in which women work and in which hiring occurs must be changed. Ways of changing the hiring context may include providing support systems and networks for women, offering consciousness-raising groups that allow women to analyze the culture in which they work, teaching women the male world, altering the structure of traditional professional education organizations while developing ones specifically to meet the needs of women, and finally creating jobs for women that change the balance and nature of the internal administrative context (Shakeshaft:1987).

A cross-sectional survey of the components of career aspirations among graduates from British Universities was conducted by Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport in 1960. When comparing the 'vertical' aspirations of men and women at secondary school, university and eight years after graduation, the aspirations of men were shown to have increased over

time whereas the aspirations of women, at all times lower than those of men, decreased from the time they entered secondary school to the time they entered university. When, however, both 'vertical' and 'horizontal' elements of aspiration were included in the survey it was found that certain aspects were indicated as being desired 'very much' more frequently by certain groups of women. While all groups of women aspired less than men to being famous, rich or powerful, their desire to be creative was equal to that of single men and married men with children and higher than that of married men with no children. The researchers concluded that women tend to have wider interests than men, and to be less exclusively motivated to reach top levels of power and wealth. Their ambition tend to be 'horizontal' rather than 'vertical'. It was noted, however, that single women showed more vertical ambition than married women. This demonstrates that gender is only one facet in determining a preferred career path.

Shakeshaft (1987) argues that women educators appear to perceive many administrative positions as entailing too much paperwork and not enough educational content and so reject these jobs as uninteresting. Their reluctance to apply for senior positions lies not then in their lack of aspirations, but in their alternative view of what constitutes a career. In a study of female administrators in Georgia Public Schools, Hawthorne (1986) observed that most of them did not intend to actively seek other administrative appointments.

It is not clear whether women prefer horizontal and radial career paths or if they have been obliged to move into these paths through discriminatory practices but it is important to note that

... teaching, where most women remain, is low in opportunity and power in the educational hierarchy.
(Schmuck 1986 cited in Blampied, 1989)

Kanter (1977) is of the opinion that for barriers to women's advancement to be removed, the hierarchical structure of organizations has to be flattened. He observes that if the structure of the organization is not altered, opportunity and power for women will always be limited. On the score of the above argument, one may conclude that organizational structure does to some extent preclude women from moving up.

3.3.4 Political

When one talks of education, one is inevitably talking of community culture and cultural communities. As a cultural community develops, various societal relationships such as the state, the church and the school come into separate being. The state plays a major role. It is the state alone which acts on behalf of the whole community and whose decisions are binding for all members of the community in all fields of activity.

Schools are therefore 'state apparatuses' and so are under pressure to act in conformity with the prevalent ideology. Many education systems exercise a selective influence, reinforcing trends seen as worthwhile and discouraging those which seem undesirable. The State has an interest in promoting conformity. It does so by legitimizing particular models or ideologies which the communities hold in esteem. In this context the ideology in question is 'androcentrism' meaning male-centred. Shakeshaft (1987:94) defines androcentrism as

... the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective. It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal and the honouring of men and the male principal above women and the female.

This perception creates a belief in male superiority and a masculine value system in which female values, experiences and behaviours are viewed as inferior. Thus in an androcentric world, there is a woman's place and that place is less valued, less honoured and less reinforced than man's place. Only in an androcentric world can a man have a better chance than a woman of succeeding because of his sex.

Tetreault (1985) as cited by Blampied (1989) derived a model which identifies five stages of thinking about women. These are:

- 1) **Male scholarship** - assumes that the male experience is universal and representative of all humanity.
- 2) **Compensatory scholarship** - men are perceived as the norm to which some women fit while others are seen as deficient.
- 3) **Bifocal scholarship** - women and men are seen as different groups, complementary but equal.
- 4) **Feminist scholarship** - women are seen not as a single homogeneous group and sexism is related to their historical, ideological and cultural context.
- 5) **Relational scholarship** - awareness that one should study humanness. The question is asked if gender is a difference that makes any difference.

What are perceived as barriers to the opportunities of women are largely determined by the observer's political state, that is, at which of Tetreault's 'stages of thinking' one is on. It is sometimes thought that all barriers to the advancement of women are determined by the prevalent scholarship stage operating in their environment, and the personal perspective they hold.

A political approach demands that insiders work with outsiders to make changes in the structure of the work force. Women inside school systems can do much to make a difference in the promotion practices of their area. Moving from the women themselves to the larger world, many strategists believe that before women will be considered in greater numbers, the issue of the under-employment of women administrators must be taken seriously and that political pressure must be put on decision-makers. Many observers point out that no matter how qualified women are, if political conditions are not supportive of their selection, they will not become school administrators.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter has been to bring together the possible barriers to women's advancement in educational administration. The following issues have been identified as having an impact on the career development of women:

- 1) The personality of the educators which is influenced by cultural and societal stereotypes as well as structural and ideological factors.
- 2) The role overload experienced by married women who have to cope with home responsibilities and administrative tasks.

- 3) The level of professional qualifications held by the aspirants.
- 4) The absence of laws prohibiting discriminatory practices.
- 5) The socialization and attitudes of the 'significant others' involved in the selection and support of candidates for promotion e.g. decision-makers, colleagues and subordinates.
- 6) The scarcity of role models in educational organizations and lack of support systems for women educators.
- 7) The bureaucratic nature of educational organizations and the emphasis placed on vertical career growth.
- 8) The prevalence of a belief in male superiority and female inferiority.

On the basis of the account given on the possible reasons why women are under-represented in the government of education, one may assert that there is a dire need for an investigation into the views, experiences and difficulties of women holding managerial posts and the promotional opportunities and perceived obstacles to the advancement of aspiring female educators. These concerns are addressed in the following Chapter where a general orientation of the research investigation is given.

CHAPTER 4

DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It is clear that whilst women form a significant proportion of the teaching force, they are under-represented in the formal management of schools. It is of interest to study their attitudes, views and experiences and develop an awareness of any common or disparate features they have, so as to formulate means by which their skills and expertise can be fully utilised and to allow them to reach their maximum potential within their careers. It would be of value to investigate the promotional opportunities and perceived obstacles to the advancement of women educators. It would also be of interest to determine what difficulties women holding managerial posts experience and how they contend with them.

In Chapter 3 it was mentioned that career transitions could be described in terms of movement along one of three possible dimensions in the 'career cone' namely, a vertical dimension experienced by changes in rank and pay; a horizontal dimension expressed by the functional field the

person works in and a radical dimension, experienced by movement toward and away from the inner core of power of the cone. In a bureaucratic organization such as a school vertical movement is perceived as the only valid career path that leads to the greatest satisfaction for the teacher.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this study will focus on women educators with particular reference to those holding promotional posts like Head of Department, Deputy Principal and Principal. Although these are promotional posts of different levels all their incumbents fundamentally share leadership and management. Women who have been promoted to the positions of Head of Department and Deputy Principalship are found to be in the interesting position of having administrative duties and responsibilities of varying degrees while still remaining in many ways attached to the classroom. On the other hand some principals have severed direct ties with the classrooms and they are only 'leading professionals' and 'chief executives'. It was thought that this group of women would be able to supply a meaningful contribution to a study of the perceived and actual barriers to the upward movement of women educators.

4.2 IDENTIFICATION OF THE ISSUES TO BE RESEARCHED

An examination of the historical position of women in South Africa, with particular reference to the management of schools, revealed that although women outnumber men as teachers, the top positions are mainly dominated by men. A further examination of the position of Black women in South Africa, especially in Natal, brought into focus certain issues which portrayed them as permanent servile dependants incapable of authority and prominence. However history has it that African women have a longstanding tradition of leadership, freedom and social equality.

Having ascertained that women are a distinct minority in the management and administrative positions in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, it was decided that an investigation should be undertaken to determine the extent to which this phenomenon could be attributed to the barriers noted by researchers in other countries or possibly under different circumstances, a fairly detailed discussion of which was conducted in Chapter 3.

An investigation of barriers to the upward movement of women, combined with the researcher's own observations formed the foundation for the formulation of the following questions, which constituted the

focus for research and which guided the development of the formal research instrument, namely the mailed questionnaire:

1. What importance do women in education administration attach to personality traits when assessing promotional potential?

An attempt is made to determine whether women heads of department, deputy principals and principals perceived their female colleagues to be emotionally, physically or intellectually incapable of holding promotion posts.

2. (a) Are women educators including those in educational administration career-minded?

(b) Do social and financial commitments influence the career patterns of women who aspire for promotion? Do the same commitments influence the career patterns of women, heads of department, deputy principals and principals?

(c) If so, how much influence do these commitments have on career growth of aspiring female administrators and those already in educational administration?

According to Shakeshaft (1987:25) women entered teaching because they believed that it was a proper sphere for them and it prepared them for the work of marriage and motherhood. Many women have therefore entered teaching as a career hoping to cope naturally with their multiple roles of wife, teacher, houseworker and child-rearer. This has always been found to be a faulty perception. The role conflict seems to become more pronounced if the women move into promotion posts. In our current social history women are guided by two apparently conflicting aims. On the one hand they want, like everybody else, to develop their personalities to the full and to take an active part in economic life within the limits of their individual interests and abilities. On the other hand, most women want a home and a family of their own. The outstanding feature of these aims is the endeavour of a growing number of women to combine family and employment.

In order to crystallize the influence of role overload on career conception, pattern and development, a number of variables were investigated.

First, basic factual information was requested, to ascertain the presence of any multiple role situations. Secondly, respondents

were required to analyse their own attitudes to their careers and their views of promotional opportunities, and asked to categorize their past and present career patterns and future plans.

3. Do any women educators including those in educational administration consider that lack of higher educational qualifications hinder upward mobility?

First, an attempt was made to discover the qualification levels held by the sample of women under study including those in educational administration, as this would give a rough indication of the progress being made by women to remove this barrier. In addition the women educators' perception of the role of academic qualifications in the attainment of promotion were investigated.

4. Do any of the women educators including those holding promotional posts consider that the present staffing system discriminates against women and would prevent them reaching their full potential?

While one would expect the staff quota to be determined by the demographic features of a school, this is not always the case in Black schools including those administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture. The teacherpupil ratio has

always left much to be desired. The distribution of women holding administrative positions was investigated and respondents were given the opportunity to mention any difficulties they had experienced in relation to the present occupational structure. One remarkable feature, as mentioned in Chapter 2, was that some secondary or high schools had neither Deputy Principal nor Head of Department irrespective of gender.

5. (a) Did women educators receive any encouragement in their attempts to climb the promotional ladder?
- (b) Is it the opinion of women educators including those holding promotional posts that women experience social pressures which prevent them from applying for and gaining promotion?
- (c) If so, how do they deal with these pressures?

The roles of supporters, models, colleagues, mentors and decision-makers in the advancement of women were studied. First, an attempt was made to determine what support the women aspirants and those holding administrative posts had received when they applied for promotions. Secondly, the aspirants' and women managers' awareness of women educators in senior posts who could encourage them by example, was investigated. Finally, an

attempt was made to ascertain the perceptions of women educators including those in educational administration regarding the influence of colleagues, husbands, seniors, communities and tradition on women teachers' promotion potential.

6. Do women in administration consider that women choose to limit their career horizons as they enjoy personal contact more than the administrative tasks inherent in senior posts?

The perceptions of women administrators' possible preference of their colleagues for teaching rather than administration were investigated.

7. (a) Do women in educational administration experience any difficulties of discipline or defiance or insubordination or rejection from their colleagues and subordinates which they relate to their being female?

(b) If so, how do they contend with them?

An attempt is made to discover whether women do not apply for promotion posts in large numbers because of perceived prejudice against and lack of acceptance of them as leaders which is

experienced by those in educational administration and observed by aspiring colleagues.

4.3 CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that the feminist theory serves a dual purpose, first to raise the awareness of people to any gender inequality which exists and then to guide possible action to remedy the situation. In the following two chapters details of the empirical investigation which was undertaken to answer the questions posed in this chapter, and so contribute towards the fulfilment of the first purpose of feminist theory, as stated above, are related.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the research instrument which was used to elicit answers to the questions posed in the previous chapter is outlined. The choice of sample, the administration of the questionnaire and the response rate are also discussed.

The research instrument used was a questionnaire, which was distributed in August 1993 to women educators including those holding promotion posts (Heads of Department; Deputy Principals and Principals) employed in a sample of High Schools in Umlazi.

5.2 METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

A careful study of literature with a view to deriving a conceptual framework and a theoretical background within which the problem could be investigated was undertaken. This literature study provided an

understanding of the kind of factors which present internal and external barriers to the advancement of women educators.

While questionnaires included questions to determine some of the characteristics of the group being studied, the major emphasis of the investigation lay in studying the attitudes of the respondents towards factors which are considered by certain writers to present barriers to the promotion of women.

It must be noted that studying attitudes present problems because attitudes are not readily measurable. Many definitions of the concept 'attitude' are based on the observable, outward manifestation of the attitude, rather than what it is intrinsically. One can only infer that a person has attitudes from her words and actions.

According to Evans (1972) in Blampied (1989) there are two possible methods of studying attitudes. The first system relies on the investigator observing individuals and inferring attitudes from their behaviour. Not only is this method cumbersome and time-consuming but it also relies heavily on the assumed objectivity of the investigator. Investigators can, however, do not more than make a subjective assessment of the attitudes of the individual by extracting that data which might be considered

relevant, from the range of information available. What often results is that the investigator pays attention only to those circumstances which correspond to the expected pattern, ignoring all those situations which do not fit the norm.

The alternative method advanced by Evans (1972) is the study of the expressed opinions of the respondents. It is worth mentioning that opinion responses are not problem-free. It is very difficult for the researcher to ascertain whether the respondent 'knows' the correct answers; whether the respondent has ever given the matter any conscious thought until he was confronted by the question or whether he is prepared to give a genuine opinion on the matter in question.

In a study of attitudes the relationship between the investigator and the respondent is of vital importance. Attempts should be made to reduce the possibility of the respondents formulating what they consider to be 'suitable' answers in an effort to please the investigator or to present themselves in favourable light. In an attempt to reduce tension between the investigator and the respondents in the present investigation, it was decided to include with the questionnaire a covering letter which explained why the research was conducted and assured the respondents that their replies would remain completely anonymous.

5.3 CHOICE OF POPULATION

Usually researchers cannot investigate the entire population in which they are interested because of time and economical constraints. Even in this study, it was not possible to research all women educators in South Africa. As education systems differ considerably in their administrative procedures and as attitudes, aspirations and opportunities may be significantly influenced by different cultural backgrounds, it was decided to limit the research to a study of African women educators who serve in schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

Furthermore, since the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture is such a large department, it was decided to limit the study to women educators attached to Umlazi schools. For purposes of convenience in terms of accessibility, only a sample of Umlazi High School educators was investigated. Women educators aroused the researcher's interest because as mentioned earlier on, they are under-represented in the promotional structures of education and their plight is terribly under-researched.

Within each school women might be found filling posts from level 1 i.e. assistant teachers to level 5 i.e. principals of large high schools with a

high enrolment. Teachers on post level 1 including those who in terms of qualifications and experience seem eligible for promotion, were investigated with the intention of finding out what in their opinion, were barriers to their upward mobility. Women educators already holding promotional posts were investigated to elicit data relating to the perceived promotional opportunities and to determine their attitudes and aspirations towards the posts they hold. Further to that they were investigated to ascertain what they perceived to be barriers to women educators' career advancement and what problems they encountered as administrators, and how they dealt with them.

Since in the schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, with particular reference to Umlazi, the principals of lower primary schools are all women, it was decided that if competition between men and women for promotion posts existed, it would be clear in Junior Secondary and High Schools. Another contributory factor for the choice of population is that the researcher is also attached to one of the high schools in Umlazi.



5.4 DESCRIPTION OF THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

According to data obtained from Umlazi Circuit offices, at the time of the study there were seventeen post-primary schools in Umlazi South and

twelve in Umlazi North. These schools were classified into Junior Secondary and High Schools. The population of women educators in these schools in August 1993 (at the time of the study) was 381. A study of all these teachers would have made the research cumbersome. That is why the study was restricted to women educators of only ten high schools. By restricting the investigation to only ten high schools, the study became more manageable. The women educators employed at the school in which the investigator was teaching assisted the investigator in the pretesting of the questionnaire.

The KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture provides a 'School Address List Book' in which schools are subdivided into circuits. The schools in each circuit are listed alphabetically and each school is classified according to type. While the 'School Address List Book' represents a valuable sampling frame for this study, its use is not without problems. Although efforts are made to update the list from time to time, it is updated on continuous basis. At any given time, it is not likely to reflect exactly the status quo. There is frequent change in the status of schools and many schools listed as junior secondary schools become high schools and may operate as such for some time before the status change is registered in the list. Some schools are listed as high schools when they are still operating as junior secondary schools. It is for this reason

that certain schools initially chosen as part of the sample were later replaced by others which qualified as high schools in status.

The data employed in this survey were obtained from responses to questionnaires. Questionnaires were sent in August 1993 to all the principals of the ten high schools chosen as a sample for distribution to women educators. As a follow-up, telephone calls were made to the principals whose schools had not responded by the beginning of September 1993.

5.4.1 The Population

The ten high schools consisted of a population of 152 women educators ranging in number between nineteen and nine in bigger and smaller schools respectively. A questionnaire was sent to each of the women educators in these ten schools.

5.4.2 The Sample Obtained

Returns were received from 108 (71%) of the women educators and full details of the relative distribution of these returns, school by school, are set out in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNS			
[SCHOOL BY SCHOOL]			
SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF WOMEN EDUCATORS	RETURNS	PERCENTAGE RETURNS
A	16	9	56
B	10	7	70
C	15	7	46
D	18	18	100
E	20	15	75
F	19	13	68
G	12	9	75
H	19	6	31
I	9	9	100
J	14	13	92

On checking returns against schools it was found that although 71% of the women educators responded, there is considerable variation in the response rate between schools. While 100 percentage responses were obtained for schools D and J, the rate for schools C and H was 46 and 31 percent, respectively. One explanation for the relatively low response rate may be that the questionnaires were sent out in August, the month during which teachers, including those of Umlazi schools, went on strike that was called by the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). During the strike and shortly thereafter, teacher-attendance in many schools was very erratic. It is possible that when the questionnaires were

distributed, some of the women educators were not at work and when they eventually returned, their principals either forgot to give them the questionnaires or the teachers themselves were not interested in completing questionnaires. Another possible reason for low response rate in certain schools may be that, after the strike, the teachers were busily engaged in 'catchup' programmes and could not spare any of their time for the completion of questionnaires. Finally, in so far as follow-up telephone calls improved the response rate in certain schools, it may be justified to speculate that response rates which remained relatively low in some way reflect internal 'communication' or 'co-operation' problems in some high schools.

5.5 CHOICE OF RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

It was decided that despite the well documented limitations of using a mailed questionnaire (Moser and Kalton, 1971:11) it would be the most appropriate research instrument for the present investigation.

First, as the target population was scattered in different schools, it would be costly both in terms of time and transport to obtain opinions of respondents through individual interviews.

Secondly, the anonymity of the respondents can be maintained when a questionnaire is used whereas this is not possible in person-to-person interviews. In addition, respondents would have more time to consider each answer given and it is advisable when asking for an attitude or opinion, to give the respondents enough opportunity to think of their responses.

Thirdly, as the respondents are 'professional' and 'sufficiently' educated, it was assumed that they would be able to understand and answer the questions unequivocally.

The major limitation of using a mailed questionnaire is usually considered to be the poor response. Follow-up telephone calls were used to improve the response rate.

5.6 ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

5.6.1 Pretesting the questionnaire

Literature suggests that it is advisable to pretest the research instrument in order to modify any faults which may be discovered in it. The pretest group should have characteristics closely parallel to those of the selected population. Nisbet and Entwistle (1970:39) in Blampied (1989) assert:

The pilot run is done with a sample which is similar to the group from which the sample will be selected.

As the anonymity and objectivity of the investigator's female colleagues were compromised, they (colleagues) were requested to assist with the pretesting of the questionnaire and were then excluded from the final sample. The more experienced and academically more qualified female colleagues perused and commented on the questionnaire.

The questions were tested for ambiguity and the investigator was assisted in rephrasing some of the 'ambiguous' questions and in revising the order of certain questions in a way which was considered to be more understandable and meaningful to the respondents.

5.6.2 Procedures for data collection

Letters were personally delivered from the first week of August, 1993 to the principals of the ten high schools forming the sample requesting their assistance in the distribution of the questionnaires enclosed with the letter (Appendix 1 and 2). In addition to the questionnaire each respondent was sent a covering letter (Appendix 3) and an envelope in which to return the questionnaire. On each envelope there was some writing which served

to thank the respondent for completing the questionnaire and to remind her what to do with the questionnaire after completion. A return date was not specified in the covering letter to colleagues because questionnaires were sent out during the period of turmoil and uncertainty in schools due to the strike that had been called by SADTU. However, teachers were earnestly requested to give up a little of their time to complete the questionnaire which aimed at investigating an 'interesting phenomenon' of the under-representation of women in senior posts in spite of their preponderance in the teaching profession. Three weeks later, reminder telephone calls were made to schools, by which time about 55 percent response had been obtained. Replies were received up to the third week of September 1993.

In the administration of the questionnaire every attempt had been made to reduce non-response. These attempts, some of which have been alluded to previously, were as follows:

- (1) The questionnaire was made as interesting as possible and included many closed questions to reduce the time needed by the respondent to complete the questionnaire.
- (2) The questionnaire was set out in an uncluttered format to enhance easy reading and completion.

- (3) The questionnaire was available in English, a second language for all the elements of the sample and with which they find themselves substantially comfortable. This was done to enhance a positive response as the respondent could reply in the language she uses daily as a medium of instruction and is presumably conversant with.
- (4) An introduction letter was included, explaining the reasons for the investigation and emphasizing that the project had the approval of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.
- (5) Introductory letters and questionnaires were delivered personally to principals of schools that formed the sample and this personal interaction established some valuable rapport between the principals and the investigator.
- (6) Envelopes in which to return the questionnaires were provided.
- (7) Reminder telephone calls were made which strengthened the rapport referred to earlier.

5.7 RESPONSE DATA

5.7.1 Response rate

Of the 152 questionnaires distributed, 108 responses were received. These constituted 71 percent of usable responses that were subsequently processed. Given that the questionnaires were sent out during the period of instability in schools, the investigator is justified to believe that the response rate was a resounding success and under favourable circumstances it would have been far higher.

Of the 44 questionnaires not accounted for above, only one was returned by the principal, blank, because one respondent was honest enough to say that she was not interested in the investigation. From the data outlined above and from the fact that an overall response of 71 percent was obtained, it would appear that a fairly representative fraction replied.

5.7.2 Non-response

A non-response cannot be ignored as this sector of the population may differ substantially from that portion which did reply. In the present research numerous attempts were made to reduce non-response as already discussed. As mentioned earlier on, the major setback to the

investigation was the timing which coincided with the National teachers' strike.

A closer look at the response rate reveals that fewer responses were received from schools which are generally known for having 'internal problems' like school C and school H. One may assume that internal problems in these schools have drastically reduced the teachers' interests in matters outside the school including completion of questionnaires. Without blowing the issue out of proportion one may further assume that internal problems within these schools have so reduced teacher morale that the incumbents no longer take interest in matters relating to promotion because they think it is something beyond their reach.

According to Blampied (1989), the above assumption could be supported by Nash and Davis (1978) who argue that while the major share of the responsibility for non-response is usually placed on 'system characteristics' it is more likely that non-response is the result of lack of interest and perhaps even apathy on the part of individual respondents. From comments made by some respondents and from discussions with staff members of participating schools, it would appear that lack of interest could account for a proportion of the 29 percent non-response.

5.8 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

5.8.1 Introduction

The questionnaire and accompanying letters were all produced in English because it was assumed that high school teachers, whose medium of instruction is English, would be comfortable with this language. An important consideration was to ensure that the questionnaire was unambiguous, valid and reliable enough to fetch the relevant data for the investigation. The questionnaire was perused by an experienced lecturer in the Department of Educational Planning, Administration and Management of the University of Zululand who made minor adjustments to improve its quality. Later the questionnaire was edited by the investigator's supervisor who is a Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Natal (Durban) and an experienced lecturer in Research Methodology and Management in Education. The invaluable assistance rendered by the two mentors saw the emergence of the final questionnaire which was distributed to the respondents.

Each respondent received a twelve-page questionnaire printed in English, a copy of which is included for reference in the appendices (Appendix 1)

Both factual and attitudinal questions were employed in the questionnaire. In the former case 'closed' questions were asked as the answers required

were straight-forward, while in the latter kind of questions the respondent was permitted greater flexibility of responding to 'open-ended' questions and opportunities to expand or explain a choice if she so desired.

5.8.2 Description of the questionnaire

The questionnaire is divided into seven sections. The instrument was used to elicit answers to the questions posed in Chapter 4. In the following discussion the item numbers correspond to those of the distributed questionnaire (see Appendix 1)

Section One (Questionnaire page 1-2)

This part of the questionnaire required the respondents to answer factual questions relating to personal details, these being their age, years of teaching experience, qualification category and their responsibilities to other members of their households. The purpose of these questions was to develop a profile of educators including those holding promotional posts like Head of Department, Deputy Principal and Principal. As attitudes are affected by past experiences, the knowledge of those demographic factors which might impinge on the respondents' present attitudes could assist in the research.

While some correlation was expected between the respondent's age and her number of years teaching experience (Item 1.2 and 1.3), it was considered necessary to know the academic qualification level of each respondent (Item 1.4) as qualifications are a factor in determining promotions. Another reason why the question of qualifications was explored was to observe if this factor was cited as a potential hindrance to the attainment of the respondent's perceived capability (Item 7.3). These items elicited information concerning research question 3.

As literature suggests that women are less career-minded than men, the investigator decided to elicit information relating to:

- (i) women educators' career-mindedness (Items 3.1 and 3.2);
- (ii) career pattern of women educational administrators (Items 4.1 to 4.11);
- (iii) women educators' possible commitments, either in financial aspects or in terms of time spent with another person (Item 1.5); and
- (iv) to determine if (iii) above determines the incumbents' career-mindedness. These data were used to answer research questions 2a, b and c.

Section Two (Questionnaire page 3)

One would expect the staff quota to be determined by the demographic features of a school although this is not always the case in African schools. Questions on employment data, especially item 2.2, seek to determine the population pattern of the respondent's school in order to ascertain if it compares favourably with the staff quota. It is the investigator's belief that the higher the pupil population the higher the need for senior staff to supervise, co-ordinate and control the work.

Section Three (Questionnaire page 3)

Items 3.1 to 3.4 were used to gain information regarding the level of career ambition of women educators, their perceived promotional opportunities and what they perceived as barriers to their career advancement. These items correspond with research question 4.

Section Four (Questionnaire page 4)

Section four was included to obtain a profile of women holding promotional posts to ascertain if there was a general career pattern. Items 4.1 and 4.2 sought insight into the respondent's age and teaching

experience when she gained promotion as these two factors are taken into account during promotion. Item 4.4 dealt, in particular, with rejection as a possible barrier to promotion; how many respondents had experienced this rejection and how often they had to persevere in order to gain promotion. Item 4.6 was used to establish whether respondents had been supported when they applied for promotion and if so, by which sector of their social circle.

Item 4.7 sought, in particular, to determine what difficulties women holding promotional posts experience and how they contend with them. Items 4.8 to 4.11 dealt with the depth of career commitment of the respondent. Item 4.8 provided insight into the centrality of the career to the respondent's life while items 4.9 to 4.11 expanded the concept in order that conclusions could be drawn about the focus of the respondents' lives.

Section Five (Questionnaire page 8)

Section five was set out to find out what women educators regard as obstacles to their upward mobility. The section is in the form of a list of statements to which respondents answered on a five-point scale. Each statement provides a possible reason why women are under-represented

in the promotion structure. The list of possible reasons is based on informal discussions with colleagues and a survey of selected literature.

Statements 1-8 dealt with perceived internal barriers to promotion, relating particularly to the personality of women. These items were used to provide information regarding research question 1.

Statements 9-17 dealt with the social relationships of women teachers. The particular emphasis of the statements was as follows:

Statements 9, 10: The loss of time which could be spent developing relationships.

Statements 11, 13, 14: The conflict between time spent with pupils and that spent on administrative tasks (Research question 6).

Statement 12: Lack of perseverance when women experience rejection when applying for promotions.

Statements 15, 17: Lack of support when attempting to secure promotion (Research question 5a).

Statement 18: The internal socialization of gender bias.

Some writers (Adkinson, 1981; Biklen, 1980; Mumford, 1985) argue that the barriers to promotion would diminish if women were aware of successful role models. Statement 18 of section 5 and items 6.1 and 6.2 address the question of role models.

Section Seven (Questionnaire page 11)

Having used the preceding sections to draw out the respondents' personal experiences and their attitudes towards the promotion of women teachers in general, this section dealt with their future aspirations and their opinions as to which hindrances, if any, they considered might influence the attainment of their goals.

Through the seven sections of the questionnaire a picture of the woman educator was painted - her characteristics, her attitudes towards her own promotion and the promotion of other women teachers, and her aspirations towards further promotion.

5.9 CONCLUSION

While the previous chapter posed questions around the under-representation of women in the formal management of schools, this

chapter has dealt with the choice, design and administration of the research instrument to elicit answers to the foregoing questions. In addition the problems of measuring attitudes and of non-response were discussed as they are pertinent to the present investigation. The next chapter focuses on the data obtained and an analysis of these data. Methods of analysis are discussed in context.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the reporting of results of the research conducted by means of a questionnaire which was mailed to women educators employed in high schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture in Umlazi North and South Circuits.

The findings are reported in the same sequence as the items appear in the questionnaire and each section relates to the section with the same heading in the questionnaire. Each section will conclude with a brief summary, while at the end of the chapter the findings will be discussed in relation to the research questions previously identified (see Chapter 4).

6.2 ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES

6.2.1 Section One - General

The items in this section were aimed at eliciting a general profile of the respondents.

Item 1.1 of the questionnaire was included as a control question to ascertain that only women educators completed the questionnaire as per instruction.

Information relating to the years of teaching experience of the respondents (questionnaire 1.2) has been arranged and presented in Table 6.1 which shows the number and frequency of the respondents in each category.

Table 6.1 Distribution of ALL respondents in each experience category

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE SCHOOL	5 OR LESS	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	4	2	1	-	2	9
B	2	1	2	-	2	7
C	1	4	1	-	1	7
D	6	4	5	2	1	18
E	4	9	2	-	-	15
F	9	1	3	-	-	13
G	4	5	1	-	1	11
H	1	1	4	-	-	6
J	5	2	1	1	-	9
K	1	5	2	4	1	13
n =	37	34	22	7	8	108
PERCENTAGE	34,3	31,5	20,3	6,5	7,4	100

The data indicate that 65,7 percent of the respondents had more than five years teaching experience. It was also noted that 51,9 percent of the

respondents had between 6 and 15 years teaching experience. Only a very small percentage (7,4) of the respondents had substantially more experience of 21 years or more. The data also suggest that a higher percentage (65,7) of the respondents were eligible for promotion in terms of their teaching experience, as one requirement for promotion in KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture was at least five years teaching experience. The two following tables (6.2 and 6.3) show the number and frequency of unpromoted and promoted respondents in each experience category.

Table 6.2 Distribution of UNPROMOTED respondents in each experience category

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE SCHOOL	5 OR LESS	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	4	2	-	-	-	6
B	2	1	2	-	2	7
C	1	4	-	-	-	5
D	6	4	4	2	-	16
E	4	9	1	-	-	14
F	9	1	3	-	-	13
G	4	5	1	-	-	10
H	1	1	2	-	-	4
J	5	2	1	1	-	9
K	1	5	2	4	1	13
n =	37	34	16	7	3	97
PERCENTAGE	38,1	35,1	16,5	7,2	3,1	100

The data indicate that 97 (89,8 percent) of all respondents were unpromoted. Of the respondents 38,1 percent were not eligible for promotion because of their limited teaching experience of five years or less. It is however striking to observe that 61,9 percent of all respondents whose teaching experience made them eligible for promotion were also unpromoted. Later, information relating to the age and qualifications of respondents will be analyzed as these two factors are also taken into account in making decisions relating to promotion.

Table 6.3 Distribution of PROMOTED respondents in each experience category

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE SCHOOL	5 OR LESS	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	-	-	1	-	2	3
B	-	-	-	-	-	0
C	-	-	1	-	1	2
D	-	-	1	-	1	2
E	-	-	1	-	-	1
F	-	-	-	-	-	0
G	-	-	-	-	1	1
H	-	-	2	-	-	2
J	-	-	-	-	-	0
K	-	-	-	-	-	0
n =	-	-	6	-	5	11
PERCENTAGE	-	-	54,5	-	45,5	100

The aim of setting out Table 6.3 was to determine at the outset how many respondents were promoted and to what extent their promotion

appears to be related to their teaching experience. The data show that only 11 (10,2 percent) of all respondents were promoted. It is notable that most of the promoted respondents (54,5 percent) were in the category of 11 to 15 years teaching experience. Of the 11 promoted respondents 5 (45,5 percent) had 21 or more years teaching experience. Although the number of promoted respondents is low, the data seem to suggest that experience plays an important part for promotion because the less experienced respondents (less than 5 to 10 years experience) were unpromoted. It is not possible to ascertain why there are no promoted respondents in the 16 to 20 years experience category.

Another feature which was considered to be important in an analysis of the respondents was their age. Age is important because it is expected to correlate with experience unless respondents had experience in another field prior to entering teaching or had interrupted their teaching careers. Information relating to age (questionnaire 1.3) is set out in Table 6.4 which shows the number and percentage of respondents in each category.

Table 6.4 Distribution of ALL respondents according to age

AGE IN YEARS SCHOOL	25 OR LESS	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	1	3	1	1	3	9
B	1	3	1	-	2	7
C	-	3	2	1	1	7
D	2	5	5	3	3	18
E	2	7	5	1	-	15
F	3	5	3	2	-	13
G	3	5	1	1	1	11
H	-	1	3	2	-	6
J	2	2	4	-	1	9
K	1	5	1	4	2	13
n =	15	39	26	15	13	108
PERCENTAGE	13,9	36,1	24,1	13,9	12,0	100

The data suggest that the highest number of respondents (36,1 percent) fell into the 26-30 years age bracket. This age bracket correlates with the 6-10 years teaching experience category. A closer look at tables 6.5 and 6.6 shows that none of these respondents was promoted. Their teaching experience and age seemed to be insufficient to earn them a promotion. There is a high level of agreement between the respondents who were between 31 and 35 years of age and had 11 to 15 years teaching experience. It is questionable though that very few of them were promoted. It is also notable that the older the respondents were, the fewer they became, for example, while 36,1 percent of the respondents were 26 to 30 years of age, only 12 percent of the respondents were 41 or more years old. Of the 12 percent, almost half were promoted. The

two following tables (6.5 and 6.6) show the number and percentage of unpromoted and promoted respondents in each age category.

Table 6.5 Distribution of UNPROMOTED respondents according to age

AGE IN YEARS SCHOOL	25 OR LESS	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	1	3	1	1	-	6
B	1	3	1	-	2	7
C	-	3	2	-	-	5
D	2	5	4	3	2	16
E	2	7	5	-	-	14
F	3	5	3	2	-	13
G	3	5	1	1	-	10
H	-	1	2	1	-	4
J	2	2	4	-	1	9
K	1	5	1	4	2	13
n =	15	39	24	12	7	97
PERCENTAGE	15,5	40,2	24,7	12,4	7,2	100

The data indicate that all the respondents who were less than 25 years to 30 years old were unpromoted. Of the 26 respondents in the 31-35 age category, 24 were not promoted. While there were 15 respondents in the 36 to 40 years age bracket, 12 were unpromoted. Of the 13 respondents who were 41 or more years old, seven were unpromoted.

Table 6.6 Distribution of PROMOTED respondents according to age

AGE IN YEARS SCHOOL	25 OR LESS	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 OR MORE	TOTAL
A	-	-	-	-	3	3
B	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	-	-	-	1	1	2
D	-	-	1	-	1	2
E	-	-	-	1	-	1
F	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	-	-	-	-	1	1
H	-	-	1	1	-	2
J	-	-	-	-	-	-
K	-	-	-	-	-	-
n =	-	-	2	3	6	11
PERCENTAGE	-	-	18,2	27,3	54,5	100

Table 6.6 was drawn up to show the distribution of the promoted respondents in their age categories. The data show that the few promoted respondents were more advanced in age because they were all above 30 years of age. Of the 11 promoted respondents, six were above 40 years of age. This table shows clearly that no promoted teacher was less than 30 years old.

In analysing the characteristics of the respondents it was considered important to look into their educational level because educational

qualifications are taken into account for promotion. The educational qualification, set by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, for promotion at the time of the study was a University degree or equivalent qualification and a recognised teachers' certificate or diploma.

The respondents were requested to indicate their category classification based on their highest academic and professional qualifications. All the respondents fell into one of the categories A to F (see Table 6.7). A category classification of A indicates a one-year post-senior certificate qualification. Only candidates who, after obtaining a senior certificate, had taught for about five years as unqualified teachers were eligible for this 'special' course. It was assumed, on the strength of the recommendation by inspectors, that after five years of practice as 'teachers' the candidates had acquired enough experience to be ready to become fully-fledged teachers after one year's formal training. Only one respondent fell into the A category. A category classification of B indicates a two-year post-senior certificate qualification. Again only one respondent fell into this category. The largest number of respondents, forming 37,1 percent of the sample, fell into category C. This category classification indicates a three-year post-senior certificate qualification such as a teachers' diploma obtained from a College of Education or a two-year post-senior certificate qualification plus a certain prescribed

number of courses or subjects obtained towards a University degree. In the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, educators who hold a two-year teachers' certificate and eight degree courses are classified as category C. A category D classification consists of a teachers' diploma or certificate and a University degree or equivalent qualification. A total of 33,3 percent of the sample held category D qualifications. Category E qualifications were held by 24,1 percent of the respondents. A category E qualification indicates a teachers' diploma or certificate and a University degree or equivalent qualification plus a post-graduate qualification or equivalent qualification. Only 3,7 percent of the respondents held category F qualifications. This category classification consists of a teachers' diploma or certificate and a University degree or equivalent qualification plus two post graduate qualifications or equivalent qualifications. As the qualification requirement for promotion in the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture was, at the time of the study a University degree and a recognised teachers' certificate or diploma, it may be seen that 61,1 percent of the respondents held qualifications which made them eligible for promotion to higher post levels (see Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 Classification of ALL respondents according to qualification category

QUALIFICATION CATEGORY*							
SCHOOL	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
A	-	-	4	3	2	-	9
B	-	-	2	2	3	-	7
C	-	-	1	2	3	1	7
D	-	-	6	4	6	2	18
E	-	-	7	5	2	1	15
F	-	-	6	6	1	-	13
G	-	-	2	7	2	-	11
H	-	-	1	3	2	-	6
J	-	-	5	2	2	-	9
K	1	1	6	2	3	-	13
n =	1	1	40	36	26	4	108
PERCENTAGE	0,9	0,9	37,1	33,3	24,1	3,7	100

NOTE: * No respondents were found in categories G, a1, a2, a2m and a3.

The data indicate that 66 respondents (61,1 percent) held category D, E and F qualifications which made them eligible for promotion if they met other promotion requirements in this connection. It should be recalled that many of the respondents met the age and experience requirements. It was observed that the majority of respondents who held higher qualifications were those who were older and had more years of teaching experience. The possible reason for this trend could be that the older

teachers became aware of the need for higher qualifications for purposes of professional growth and, of course, upward mobility. This awareness may have motivated them to further their studies by taking advantage of part-time or correspondence tuition. Tables 6.8 and 6.9 show the number and percentage of unpromoted and promoted respondents according to qualification category.

Table 6.8 Classification of UNPROMOTED respondents according to qualification category

QUALIFICATION CATEGORY							
SCHOOL	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
A	-	-	4	1	1	-	6
B	-	-	2	2	3	-	7
C	-	-	1	2	1	1	5
D	-	-	5	4	6	1	16
E	-	-	7	4	2	1	14
F	-	-	6	6	1	-	13
G	-	-	2	6	2	-	10
H	-	-	1	2	1	-	4
J	-	-	5	2	2	-	9
K	1	1	6	2	3	-	13
n =	1	1	39	31	22	3	97
PERCENTAGE	1,0	1,0	40,2	32,0	22,7	30,9	100

The data suggest that of the overall total of 66 respondents who held category D, E and F qualifications, 55 (83,3 percent) were unpromoted.

It is notable that a substantial proportion of respondents with suitable educational qualifications were unpromoted at the time of the study.

Table 6.9 Classification of PROMOTED respondents according to qualifications category.

QUALIFICATION CATEGORY							
SCHOOL	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
A	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
C	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
D	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
E	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
G	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
H	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
J	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
K	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
n =	-	-	1	5	4	1	11
PERCENTAGE	-	-	9.1	45,5	36,4	9,1	100,1

The data indicate that of the 66 respondents who held category D, E and F qualifications, only 11 (16,7 percent) were promoted.

The final item in this section (questionnaire 1.5) was directed at obtaining details of social commitments the respondents had, as it was thought that

these might have some bearing on the aspirations of the respondents. Perhaps, for example, a respondent who resided permanently with an adult (e.g. spouse and/or dependants) might not apply for promotion for fear of potential role-overload resulting from the addition of administrative tasks to teaching and domestic responsibilities. The calculations showed that 96 (87 percent) of the respondents resided permanently with another adult and 88 percent had dependants of which 90 percent resided with the respondents permanently. The data suggest that a great majority of the respondents did have domestic commitments.

A closer look at the data indicate that of the 96 respondents that resided with another adult, 9 (9,4 percent) were promoted while 87 (90,6 percent) were unpromoted. Of the 95 respondents who had dependants and resided with them permanently, 11 (11,6 percent) were promoted and 84 (88,4 percent) were unpromoted. Although the number of promoted respondents was remarkably low, it is clear that it was not domestic commitments that presented a barrier to upward mobility because all promoted respondents did have domestic commitments. This shows that these respondents aspired and successfully applied for promotion in spite of their domestic commitments. In a ranking of responses to an assessment of possible barriers to promotion (Table 6.28), only 20,3 percent of the respondents suggested that they would be unable to cope

with social and administrative roles. In this investigation, domestic commitments are therefore not regarded as a serious barrier to promotion.

In summary, the overwhelming majority of the respondents were over 25 years old and more than 65 percent of them had more than five years teaching experience. It is also noteworthy that 61,6 percent of the respondents held educational qualifications ranging between D and F qualification categories. One observes that a high proportion of the respondents, although not promoted, were in terms of their age, experience and educational qualifications eligible for promotion. It needs to be reiterated that of the entire sample of 108 respondents, only 11 were promoted.

Of the 11 promoted respondents, six were in the 11 to 15 years teaching experience category while five were in the 21 or more years teaching experience bracket. Two of the promoted respondents were in the 31 to 35 years of age bracket; three were in the 36 to 40 years of age category and six were in the age bracket of 41 years or more. The characteristics of the respondents, relating to age and experience, show clearly that there were far less chances of promotion for younger and less experienced educators because no promoted educator was less than 30 years old and had less than 10 years teaching experience. The promoted

respondents seemed to have met the educational qualification requirement for promotion because one of them held a category F qualification, four held category E qualifications; five held category D qualifications and only one held a category C qualification. In terms of the requirements for promotion, set out by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, only the respondent with the category C qualification did not meet the educational qualification requirement. Of the promoted respondents four were Deputy Principals and seven were Heads of Department. None of them was a Principal of a school.

6.2.2 Section Two - Employment details of the respondents

This section was included to determine the position held by each respondent in the school (see item 2.3 of the questionnaire). The importance of this item was to determine to what extent the respondents had received promotion. Information showing the distribution of respondents according to the posts they held is set out in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Distribution of respondents according to position held in school

SCHOOL	PRINCIPAL*	DEPUTY PRINCIPAL	HOD	TEACHER POST LEVEL 1	TOTAL
A	-	2	1	6	9
B	-	-	-	7	7
C	-	1	1	5	7
D	-	-	2	16	18
E	-	-	1	14	15
F	-	-	-	13	13
G	-	-	1	10	11
H	-	1	1	4	6
J	-	-	-	9	9
K	-	-	-	13	13
n =	-	4	7	97	108
PERCENTAGE	-	3,7	6,5	89,8	100

NOTE * No respondent held the position of principal.

The table shows clearly that 97 (89,8 percent) of the respondents were teachers on post level 1 and only 11 (10,2 percent) respondents held promotion posts namely, deputy principalship and head of department. None of the respondents was a principal of a school. It is clear that very few of the respondents were promoted. The distribution of respondents in Table 6.10, and particularly the absence of principals, shows that climbing the promotion ladder is very difficult for women educators.

Items 2.1 and 2.2 of the questionnaire were included to determine what standards the respondents taught and whether there was any difference between the level and the size of classes taught by the promoted respondents and those taught by respondents on post level 1. The information relating to class size was considered important because it could give an indication of the population size of the school, the assumption being that overcrowded schools make overcrowded classrooms.

The responses to item 2.1 of the questionnaire showed that promoted respondents usually taught senior classes, namely standards 9 and 10. Only two promoted respondents had anything to do with standard 6 and one of them taught standard 10 as well. The class size varied from school to school with the number of pupils ranging from 16 to 209 per class. Very few schools had classes consisting of 16 pupils and this applied to standard 10 classes only. Most of the schools had classes ranging between 80 and 100 pupils.

It will be remembered that 'Black education' has always had a history of overcrowded schools and classrooms. The information relating to the population size of the school was sought in order to determine the need for promotion posts, bearing in mind that the higher the enrolment the

greater the need for control posts. The responses to item 2.2 of the questionnaire did not provide enough data on which to draw meaningful conclusions. To supplement the information obtained from item 2.2, the principals of high schools which form the sample of this study, together with a few others, were telephoned in order to obtain the enrolment of their schools and the number of all control posts they had (including those held by men) at the time of the study. Information relating to enrolment and the number of control posts is set out in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11 Enrolment versus number of control posts

SCHOOL	ENROLMENT	PRINCIPAL	DEPUTY PRINCIPAL	H.O.D.	TOTAL
A	680	1	4	5	10
B	670	1	1	2	4
C	900	1	1	1	3
D	985	1	1	3	5
E	1 225	1	1	-	2
F	1 293	1	1	-	2
G	600	1	1	2	4
H	850	1	1	2	4
J	650	1	1	1	3
K	1 208	1	1	1	3

The distribution of control posts in schools was found to be inconsistent because some of the schools with a high enrolment had very few control

posts (see Schools C, E, F and K). The population size of the schools did not always correspond with the number of control posts. This also applied to the other schools, from which information relating to enrolment and control posts was sought, which were not part of the sample. The data show that school A, with an enrolment of 680 pupils, had ten control posts and it was the only school in the whole of Umlazi that had more than five control posts. School A is considered to be 'prestigious' in terms of its facilities, equipment, personnel and above all its output. It has consistently had very good senior certificate examination results. It was the first school in Umlazi to have a deputy principal. However, most of the control posts in School A are held by men. The good work done by this particular school underlines the need for manageable classes and the control posts that are compatible with the enrolment. The population size of schools C, D, E, F and K warranted far more control posts than were provided.

6.2.3 Section Three - Career pattern

The purpose of including this section was to determine the career-mindedness of women educators, their commitment to their profession and the perceptions they had regarding their chances of receiving a promotion. Item 3.1 of the questionnaire was included to enable the

respondents to indicate whether they would change their job if they had the opportunity to do so. The responses to item 3.1 are set out in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Respondents' indication whether they would change their job

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	3	6	-
B	2	5	-
C	-	7	-
D	3	10	3
E	4	8	1
F	2	10	1
G	2	7	2
H	-	6	-
J	1	7	1
K	4	9	-
n =	21	75	8
PERCENTAGE	19,4	69,4	7,4

NOTE: 4 respondents did not respond to this item

The data indicate that, given an opportunity, 75 respondents would change their job while 21 respondents would not. Only eight respondents were uncertain whether they would change their job or not. Tables 6.13

and 6.14 show the distribution of responses by unpromoted and promoted respondents to whether they would change their job if they had the opportunity to do so.

Table 6.13 Unpromoted respondents' indication whether they would change their job

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	2	4	-
B	2	5	-
C	-	5	-
D	1	10	3
E	3	8	-
F	2	10	-
G	1	7	2
H	-	4	-
J	1	7	1
K	4	9	-
n =	16	69	8
PERCENTAGE	16,5	71,1	8,2

The data indicate that, given an opportunity, 69 of the unpromoted respondents would change their job while 16 would not. All eight respondents, referred to above, who indicated that they were uncertain whether they would change their job were unpromoted.

Table 6.14 Promoted respondents indicate whether they would change their job

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	1	2	-
B	-	-	-
C	-	2	-
D	2	-	-
E	1	-	-
F	-	-	-
G	1	-	-
H	-	2	-
J	-	-	-
K	-	-	-
n =	5	6	-
PERCENTAGE	45,5	55,5	-

Table 6.14 shows that of the 11 promoted respondents, five indicated that they would not change their job while six indicated that they would change if they had the opportunity to do so. The respondents who indicated that they would not change their job mentioned that the love they had for teaching was the reason for their commitment to their job. The respondents who indicated that they would change their job cited various reasons why they would do so. The larger proportion of unpromoted respondents indicated that they would change their job because of poor remuneration and because they thought their chances of

receiving a promotion were not good because, as women, they were discriminated against. Some promoted respondents indicated that they were no longer happy in their positions because the 'unionized' teachers were unco-operative and defiant. Other promoted respondents implied that they felt their lives were at stake because of 'trade unionism' that was prevalent in schools at the time of the study.

Item 3.2 of the questionnaire was included to ascertain if the respondents were keen to receive a promotion. The responses to item 3.2 are recorded in Table 6.15 which shows the number of respondents in each response category.

Table 6.15 Respondents' indication whether they were keen to receive a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	3	6	-
B	-	7	-
C	1	5	1
D	-	16	1
E	1	9	5
F	2	7	4
G	3	8	1
H	2	4	-
J	-	9	-
K	2	9	2
n =	14	80	14
PERCENTAGE	13	74,1	13

The data suggest that 80 (74,1 percent) respondents were keen to receive a promotion while 14 (13 percent) respondents were not keen. The other 14 respondents indicated that they were not sure whether they were keen to receive a promotion. The two following tables (6.16 and 6.17) show the responses of unpromoted and promoted respondents in relation to whether they were keen to receive a promotion.

Table 6.16 Unpromoted respondents' indication whether they were keen to receive a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	4	-	2
B	1	5	1
C	-	-	5
D	4	6	6
E	3	6	4
F	3	4	6
G	1	5	4
H	-	1	3
J	5	2	2
K	5	5	3
n =	26	34	36
PERCENTAGE	26,8	35,1	37,5

NOTE: 1 respondent did not respond to this item.

This table suggests that 26 (26,8 percent) of unpromoted respondents were not keen to receive a promotion while 34 (35,1 percent) were keen.

The largest proportion (36,5 percent) of unpromoted respondents indicated that they were uncertain whether they were keen to receive a promotion.

6.17 Promoted respondents indicate whether they were keen to receive a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	-	3	-
B	-	-	-
C	-	2	-
D	-	2	-
E	-	1	-
F	-	-	-
G	1	-	-
H	-	2	-
J	-	-	-
K	-	-	-
n =	1	10	-
PERCENTAGE	9,1	90,9	-

The analysis of data shows that of the 11 promoted respondents, 10 (90,9 percent) were keen to receive a promotion. This keenness suggests that the promoted respondents were highly career-minded. Although they were holding senior positions, the promoted respondents still aspired for further upward mobility.

Item 3.3 of the questionnaire was used to determine if the respondents thought their chances of receiving a promotion were good. Table 6.18 shows whether the respondents were optimistic about receiving a promotion.

Table 6.18 Respondents' indication whether they were optimistic about receiving a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	4	3	2
B	1	5	1
C	-	2	5
D	4	8	6
E	3	7	4
F	3	4	6
G	2	5	4
H	-	3	3
J	5	2	2
K	5	5	3
n =	27	44	36
PERCENTAGE	25	40,7	33,3

NOTE: 1 respondent did not respond to this item.

The data suggest that 44 (40,7 percent) respondents thought that their chances of receiving a promotion were good; 27 (25 percent) respondents

thought that they did not have good chances of receiving a promotion while 36 (33,3 percent) indicated uncertainty about their chances of receiving a promotion. The responses of unpromoted and promoted respondents in relation to whether they were optimistic about receiving a promotion are set out in Tables 6.19 and 6.20.

Table 6.19 Unpromoted respondents' indication whether they were optimistic about receiving a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	3	2	1
B	1	5	1
C	-	1	4
D	4	6	6
E	3	7	3
F	3	4	6
G	2	4	4
H	-	1	3
J	5	2	2
K	5	5	3
n =	26	37	33
PERCENTAGE	26,8	38,1	34

NOTE: 1 respondent did not respond to this item.

On analysis of data obtained from Table 6.19 it is apparent that 26 (26,8 percent) of unpromoted respondents were not optimistic about receiving a promotion while 37 (38,1 percent) unpromoted respondents thought

their chances of receiving a promotion were good. Thirty-three (34,0 percent) of unpromoted respondents indicated uncertainty about their chances of receiving a promotion.

Table 6.20 Promoted respondents' indication whether they were optimistic about receiving a promotion

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	1	1	1
B	-	-	-
C	-	1	1
D	-	2	-
E	-	-	1
F	-	-	-
G	-	1	-
H	-	2	-
J	-	-	-
K	-	-	-
n =	1	7	3
PERCENTAGE	9,1	63,6	27,3

The data suggest that of the 11 promoted respondents, seven were optimistic about receiving a promotion; one thought that her chances of receiving a promotion were not good and three were uncertain about their chances of receiving a promotion.

Item 3.4 was used to enable the respondents to express their opinions about the allocation of promotions and what they considered as barriers in their career path. Responses to item 3.4 are set out in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21 Respondents' opinion on whether the allocation of promotions was fair

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	5	1	3
B	5	-	2
C	2	-	5
D	11	1	6
E	10	-	5
F	8	-	5
G	6	1	4
H	-	-	5
J	4	2	3
K	9	2	1
n =	60	7	39
PERCENTAGE	55,5	6,5	36,1

NOTE 1 respondent did not respond to this item.

From a study of data outlined in Table 6.21, it would appear that a great majority (60) of respondents thought the allocation of promotions was unfair. Seven of the respondents thought the allocation of promotions

was fair while 39 respondents were uncertain whether the allocation of promotions was fair. The responses of unpromoted and promoted respondents are set out in Tables 6.22 and 6.23 respectively.

Table 6.22 Unpromoted respondents' opinion on whether the allocation of promotion was fair.

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	2	1	-
B	5	-	2
C	-	-	5
D	10	-	6
E	9	-	5
F	8	-	5
G	5	1	4
H	-	-	3
J	4	2	3
K	9	2	1
n =	52	6	34
PERCENTAGE	53,6	6,2	35,1

NOTE: 5 unpromoted respondents did not respond to this item.

The analysis of data obtained from Table 6.22 shows that 52 (53,6 percent) of unpromoted respondents thought that the allocation of

promotions was unfair while only 6 (6,2 percent) of unpromoted respondents thought the allocation of promotions was fair. Thirty-four (35,1 percent) of unpromoted respondents were uncertain whether the allocation of promotions was fair.

Table 6.23 Promoted respondents' opinion on whether the allocation of promotions was fair.

SCHOOL	NO	YES	UNCERTAIN
A	3	-	-
B	-	-	-
C	2	-	-
D	1	1	-
E	1	-	-
F	-	-	-
G	1	-	-
H	-	-	2
J	-	-	-
K	-	-	-
n =	8	1	2
PERCENTAGE	72,7	9,1	18,2

The data suggest that 8 (72,7 percent) of promoted respondents thought the allocation of promotions was not fair. Only one promoted respondent thought the allocation was fair while 2 (18,2 percent) respondents indicated uncertainty about the fairness of the allocation of promotions.

The evidence suggests that in spite of the high enrolment in Umlazi high schools in the sample, very few respondents were promoted. Of the promoted respondents, none held the position of principal. It is also clear that in a large proportion of the high schools in the sample, the enrolment was not compatible with the number of control posts at the time of the study. On further analysis of data, it became clear that the larger proportion of the respondents would change their job if they had the opportunity to do so. The unpromoted respondents indicated that they would change their job because they were unhappy with their salaries and they thought that their chances of receiving a promotion were not good. The promoted respondents would change their job because they felt threatened by the 'trade unionism' that was prevalent among teachers at the time of the study. The evidence also suggests that although the large proportion of the respondents were keen to receive a promotion, they thought they would not be promoted because they considered the allocation of promotions to be unfair. The majority of the respondents perceived gender inequality or sex discrimination to be a barrier to their upward mobility.

6.2.4 Section Four - Career pattern of women educational administrators

Only women educators holding promotion posts were requested to respond to items 4.1 to 4.7 of this section. The questions in these items

were included to obtain a profile of the women holding promotion posts and to ascertain if they follow a general career pattern. A summary of the distribution of respondents according to the posts they held is set out in Table 6.10 (see Section Two - Employment details of the respondents).

The data in Table 6.10 indicate that only 11 respondents (10,2 percent) held promotion posts and 97 respondents (89,8 percent) were post level 1 teachers. It was apparent that of the promoted respondents, none held the post of principal. This is not surprising, bearing in mind that recent research into the secondary school principals of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture suggested that only about eight percent of the principals were women (Thurlow 1993:32).

It was decided to investigate the respondents' age and experience level at promotion (see items 4.1 and 4.2 of questionnaire) to determine whether women in a particular age and experience bracket were preferred for promotion. There is not enough evidence, in this connection, on which to draw conclusions except that ten of the promoted respondents were above 30 years of age at the time of their promotion. Only one respondent was less than 30 years old when she received her first promotion. The highest percentage of promoted respondents were, at the time of promotion, in the experience categories of 6 to 10 and 11 to 15

years, respectively. One respondent was in the 16 to 20 years experience bracket when she received her first promotion while two respondents were in the experience category of 21 years or more at the time of promotion. Table 6.24 shows the respondents' age and experience at the time of promotion.

Table 6.24 Distribution of respondents holding promotion from posts according to age and experience at the point of promotion.

LENGTH OF SERVICE IN YEARS	AGE IN YEARS					TOTAL
	25 OR LESS	26 TO 30	31 TO 35	36 TO 40	41 OR MORE	
5 or Less	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 to 10	1	-	3	-	-	4
11 to 15	-	-	1	2	1	4
16 to 20	-	-	-	-	1	1
21 or More	-	-	-	-	2	2
n =	1	-	4	2	4	11
PERCENTAGE	9,1	-	36,4	18,1	36,4	100

The data show that of the 11 promoted respondents, three were in the 6 to 10 years experience category and 31 to 35 years of age at the time of promotion. Two respondents were in the 11 to 15 years experience group and 36 to 40 years of age when they received their first promotion. Two other respondents had 21 years or more teaching experience and 41 years or more of age at the time of promotion. Although this research did

not set out to elicit comparable data in respect of male promotees, on the basis of the researcher's personal knowledge of high schools in the Circuits under study, it may be suggested with confidence that the profile of the typical woman administrator differs from the profile of the typical man administrator in at least two ways. Specifically, women in all levels of administration are older than men in similar positions and are likely to have been a teacher for a longer period of time. Of the 11 promoted respondents, only one received her promotion as an HOD when she was in the age group of 25 years or less.

In addition to the amount of experience prior to promotion, it was considered important to investigate the quantity of post-promotion experience the women administrators possessed as it had been established that a larger proportion of the promoted respondents had been teaching for more than 10 years when they received their first promotion (see Table 6.24). It needs to be remembered that, in theory, educators with at least 5 years teaching experience were, at the time of the study, eligible for promotion. The respondents filled in their completed years of service in their promotion positions (see item 4.3 of the questionnaire). The data indicated that a substantial proportion of respondents had very little experience in a promotion post. Of the 11 promoted respondents only 3 (27,3 percent) had more than 5 years post-promotion experience.

It should not be surprising that the majority of promoted respondents had little post-promotion experience because promotion of women, with particular reference to high schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, is a new phenomenon. Secondly, it has been mentioned above that women educators are likely to receive a promotion after they have been teaching for a longer period of time.

Although a full personality assessment of the respondents might have provided insight into their promotional attitudes, this was not possible as the exercise was not only beyond the scope of this study but should be conducted by suitably qualified personnel. It was, however, decided that some tentative investigation into the perseverance of the respondents was possible in order to determine whether promoted respondents exercised any perseverance in their aim to obtain promotion. The respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had applied for career advancement before receiving promotion (see item 4.4 of the questionnaire).

An analysis of the responses obtained from item 4.4 of the questionnaire showed that 6 (54,5 percent) of the respondents holding promotion posts received promotion on first application while 5 (45,5 percent) were promoted on second application. While a larger proportion of promoted

respondents had been successful at their first application for promotion, it would appear that certain women holding promotion posts had to demonstrate some degree of perseverance in their aim to obtain promotion.

Item 4.5 of the questionnaire was included to obtain the respondents' reasons for applying for promotion. As this was an 'open' question, a variety of responses was generated. It was therefore necessary, for purposes of analysis, to categorise the responses. All the reasons given were noted. After scanning the responses a list of possible groupings was drawn up. While attempts were made to derive mutually exclusive categories, in certain circumstances the reasons given could overlap. The response data were then classified and the five most frequently stated categories were ranked.

All responses fell into the following broad categories (abbreviated labels are given in parentheses).

1. Felt capable of doing the work and qualified to do it (capability).
2. Was ambitious, wanted to advance career vertically (ambition).

3. Encouraged by the Circuit Inspector and others (encouragement).
4. Wanted to become involved in the management and organization of the school (management interest).
5. Financial incentive (financial).

Table 6.25 sets out the categories listed above, with the percentage of responses for each category.

Table 6.25 Respondents holding promotion posts stated reasons for seeking promotion.

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE
Capability	5	45,4
Ambition	1	9,1
Encouragement	2	18,2
Management Interest	2	18,2
Financial	1	9,1
n =	11	100

On analysis of the responses obtained from questionnaire item 4.5 it seemed that promoted respondents had a positive career drive and were confident of their capability to do the work as about 50 percent of them

noted capability as a reason for applying for advancement. The next most frequently cited reasons for applying for promotion were a desire to be involved in management and encouragement by Circuit Inspectors and others.

The responses to item 4.6 of the questionnaire showed evidence of positive reinforcement of the respondents by various sectors of their communities. Of the respondents only two indicated that no-one had encouraged them to seek promotion, while others had received encouragement from numerous sources. Table 6.26 illustrates from whom the respondents had received encouragement and how many respondents had indicated each choice. It must be remembered that in many instances individual respondents cited more than one source of encouragement.

Table 6.26 Sources of encouragement to respondents holding promotion posts when seeking initial promotion.

PERSON / GROUP	FREQUENCY	FREQUENCY %
Mother	1	4,0
Father	1	4,0
Other Teacher(s)	4	16,0
H.O.D.(s)	3	12,0
Deputy Principal(s)	2	8,0
Principal(s)	6	24,0
Inspector(s)	2	8,0
Husband	1	4,0
Male Friend(s)	1	4,0
Female Friend(s)	2	8,0
n = 9	23	92

The data suggest that a larger proportion of the respondents received encouragement from their colleagues in the school especially members of the management team. On closer examination of the data it was observed that 60 percent of the responses related to encouragement from the school personnel while 8 percent of the responses related to encouragement from either Inspectors or Subject Advisers or both. It is apparent, from the data, that more encouragement was obtained from school personnel than from head office staff, possibly because the interactions with school personnel would be more frequent.

The second highest source of encouragement indicated by respondents was their friends. Few respondents indicated that they received encouragement from parents but this must be viewed in the light of the fact that many of the respondents were over 35 years of age and had received promotion relatively recently by which time the influence of parents could be expected to have diminished.

As encouragement by friends and husbands was seldom noted, evidence suggests that the major source of encouragement lay within the teaching environment.

In summary, the evidence suggests that four of the women educators holding promotion posts had been teaching for 6 to 10 years prior to promotion and were all, except one, over 25 years of age at the point of promotion. Four other promoted respondents were over 30 years old and had been teaching for 11 to 15 years when they received their first promotion. Two of the promoted respondents had been teaching for 21 years or more and fell into the age category of 41 years or more when they received their first promotion. Only one respondent fell into the 16 to 20 years experience category and was 41 years old or more at the point of promotion. Almost two-thirds of the promoted respondents had less than 5 years post-promotion experience. More than 50 percent of

the promoted respondents had received promotion after their first application and the most frequently stated reasons for applying for promotion were based on capability. For those holding promotion posts, the major source of encouragement for applying for promotion posts were colleagues especially members of the management team.

Item 4.7 of the questionnaire was included to determine if the promoted respondents encountered any problems as they discharged their duties which, in their opinion, were peculiar to them as women administrators and how they dealt with them. The responses to this question suggested that the problems experienced by the respondents were perceived as inherent in management as their male counterparts experienced them too. There was no evidence that the problems had anything to do with the respondents being women. About 50 percent of the promoted respondents cited defiance and/or insubordination by some of their colleagues as the major problem(s) they experienced as they discharged their duties but related the problems to the infiltration of politics into schools which was prevalent at the time of the study. Some promoted respondents indicated that teachers had become 'unionized' and were therefore 'anti-authority' irrespective of whether the authority was male or female. In connection with dealing with problems, the majority of the respondents suggested that they tackled the problems in different ways,

that is, each problem was treated on its own merit. One respondent mentioned that when she got 'too angry' she 'cried out' her anger but did not explain whether she cried publicly or privately. None of the respondents indicated that she experienced insurmountable problems which she related to her gender.

Earlier in this chapter the relationship between the age and the teaching experience of the respondents was analyzed. In certain cases a positive relationship between age and experience was not evident. A possible reason suggested for this irregularity was that certain respondents might have experienced career breaks. Items 4.9 to 4.11 of the questionnaire were designed to investigate the patterns of the respondents' careers to determine how career-minded the respondents were. Of the respondents, 96 percent indicated that, if they were free to choose, they would continue working. It is apparent therefore that the majority of the respondents had a positive attitude towards work.

As part of investigating the patterns of the respondents' careers, respondents were asked to select from a list, a career pattern which best described their own situation. Respondents were offered three alternatives:

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

The results were as follows:

CAREER PATTERN	% RESPONDENTS
Work only, no home-making	52
Marriage and work	36
Home-making and work	8
Rather not work at all	4
PERCENTAGE =	100

Of the respondents, 44 percent indicated a career pattern where multiple roles had a clear impact. Eight respondents who placed themselves in the 'Work only, no home-making' category commented that although they were single, they had homes of their own and they considered that their maintenance of their houses and gardens could be classified as home-making.

A larger proportion of the respondents who placed themselves in the 'Marriage and work' category indicated, in the space provided for further comment, a reason for maintaining their dual roles. The most commonly cited reason was that it would not have been possible to cope with the rising cost of living out of the husbands' salaries. The next most frequently cited reason was that respondents had chosen teaching for the love of it and were therefore keen to apply the knowledge they had received from their training.

Those women who selected the category 'Home-making and work' were asked in item 4.10 of the questionnaire to explain why, after home-making for a long period, they had returned to work. The respondents selected, from the list provided, more than one reason, giving the following replies:

Financial pressure / additional income desired	62 percent
Boredom at home	25 percent
Grown up children becoming independent	13 percent

The evidence suggested that the social and financial commitments discussed in section one of the analysis had an effect on women educators because not only did 44 percent of the respondents check a

career pattern which included home-making, but some respondents in the 'Work only, no home-making' category explained that they too had either social or financial commitments. While these commitments had caused minimal disruption in the careers of those respondents who placed themselves in the 'Marriage and work' category, some respondents did allude to the pressure caused by their dual roles and the conflict they experienced between their career-role fulfilment and their family-role fulfilment.

It seems that the greatest personal role redefinitions occurred in those respondents in the category 'Home-making and work', as almost half of the women in this category had suspended their personal career development until they thought that their dependants did not need their full-time attention. Since 24 percent of the respondents indicated boredom as their reason for returning to work, it might be assumed that their circumstances had changed sufficiently for them not to experience role overload on resuming their careers.

It was mentioned earlier that the relationship between the age and the teaching experience of the respondents was not always congruent and it was suggested that the reason for this irregularity was that some of the respondents were likely to have experienced career breaks. Further

analysis of the respondents whose teaching experience and age did not correspond showed that about two-thirds of the women educators in the set had interrupted their careers, although these breaks were usually of short duration.

The evidence therefore suggests that in certain situations the career development of the women in the sample had been delayed due to home-making responsibilities and it was for this reason that the relationship between age and length of service had not occurred in certain instances. As indicated earlier, the profile of promoted respondents did not follow a general career pattern on which to draw conclusions.

6.2.5 Section Five - Promotional potential

This section started with a short statement reminding respondents that although teaching is a predominantly female occupation, there is an under-representation of women in promotion positions. Respondents were asked to give their opinions why women were under-represented in promotion posts. The response data were classified and analyzed. The results obtained suggested that many respondents viewed discrimination against women as the main reason why they were under-represented in the promotion posts. Of the 68 women educators who responded to this

open question, 55 (80,8 percent) cited gender inequality or sex discrimination as a barrier to their vertical mobility.

Respondents were then asked to rate a list of possible causes of the under-representation of women in promotion positions on a five-point scale consisting of 'strongly agree; agree; strongly disagree; disagree and do not know'. The frequent and relative frequency of citation of causes was calculated from the addition of the value for each ranking. Table 6.27 illustrates the distribution of the responses by respondents in assessing possible barriers to promotion of women.

Table 6.27 A distribution of the responses by respondents to an assessment of possible barriers to promotion of women educators

* BARRIER	FREQUENCY AND RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF CITATION				
	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DO NOT KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. Lack academic qualifications	1,85% (2)	4,6% (5)	0,9% (1)	38,9% (42)	56,5% (61)
2. Lower self-image and career ambition	0,9% (1)	(10,1%) 11	8,3% (9)	43,5% (47)	41,7% (45)
3. Preference for male leaders	2,8% (3)	33,3% (36)	13,9% (15)	23,1% (25)	26,9% (29)
4. Lack self-confidence	2,8% (3)	24,1% (26)	3,7% (4)	30,6% (33)	34,2% (37)
5. Disciplinary problems	0%	7,4% (8)	5,6% (6)	37,9% (41)	47,2% (51)
6. Physically unsuited for management	0%	2,8% (3)	5,6% (6)	43,5% (47)	48,1% (52)
7. Too emotional	0%	12,9% (14)	7,4% (8)	37,9% (41)	41,7% (45)
8. Lack commitment	0,9% (1)	2,8% (3)	5,6% (6)	43,5% (47)	47,2% (51)
9. Husbands oppose wives' careers	2,8% (3)	20,3% (22)	15,7% (17)	43,2% (40)	22,2% (24)

(Table continued on next page)

Table 6.27 A distribution of the responses by respondents to an assessment of possible barriers to promotion of women educators *(continued from previous page)*

* BARRIER	FREQUENCY AND RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF CITATION				
	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DO NOT KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
10. Lack time for both social and administrative roles	0,9% (1)	19,4% (21)	10,1% (11)	46,2% (50)	23,1% (25)
11. Career focused on pupils	0%	9,3% (10)	6,5% (7)	45,3% (49)	38,9% (42)
12. Lack perseverance	2,8% (3)	18,5% (20)	17,6% (19)	35,1% (38)	23,1% 25%
13. Dislike administrative tasks	1,85% (2)	5,6% (6)	10,1% (11)	41,7% (45)	39,8% 43
14. Prefer classroom atmosphere	3,7% (4)	41,7% (45)	12,9% (14)	20,3% (22)	21,3% (23)
15. Lack support of seniors	22,2% (24)	38,9% (42)	21,3% (23)	10,1% (11)	7,4% (8)
16. Lack relevant role models	5,6% (6)	27,8% (30)	12,9% (14)	31,5% (34)	22,2% (24)
17. Lack adequate societal support	11,1% (12)	43,5% (47)	6,5% (7)	21,3% (23)	8,3% (9)
18. Avoid positions held by men	3,7% (4)	19,4% (21)	12,0% (13)	36,1% (39)	28,7% (31)
n = 108					

Evidence suggested that the majority of the respondents considered the greatest obstacle to the career development of women educators to be the lack of support by their seniors when they applied for promotion and the lack of adequate societal support in the women's attempts to secure promotion. Only nineteen of the 107 respondents who answered this section did not consider this aspect to be the main cause of women educators' under-representation in promotion positions.

The barriers to promotion ranked third and fourth related to the perception that many women were not interested in vertical career mobility but prefer to remain in the classroom rather than seek a position which would distance them from teaching.

Lack of relevant role models was considered to be an important factor ranking fifth while lack of self-confidence was considered less important only ranking sixth.

It is interesting to note that very few respondents indicated lower self-image and career ambition as the reason for the lack of progress by women educators. The husbands' influence was not considered very important, ranking seventh in importance.

Few respondents indicated that the reason for the lack of progress by women lay in their lack of academic qualifications. Very few respondents regarded women's emotional and physical characteristics as barriers to their promotion. Neither lack of perseverance nor the disciplinary capabilities of the women were considered to be important factors.

Based on the ranking of responses in Table 6.28, evidence suggests that many of the respondents did not perceive many of the possible causes given, as forming substantial barriers to the promotion of women educators. Only item 15 (lack of support of seniors) and item 17 (lack of adequate societal support) emerged as outstanding barriers to the promotion of women educators.

Table 6.28 A ranking of the responses by respondents to an assessment of possible barriers to promotion of women educators

* BARRIER	FREQUENCY AND RELATIVE FREQUENCY		
	AGREE	DISAGREE	RANK (AGREEING)
1. Lack academic qualifications	6,5% (7)	95,3% (103)	16
2. Lower self-image and career ambition	11,1% (12)	85,1% (92)	12
3. Preference for male leaders.	36,1% (39)	50% (54)	4
4. Lack self-confidence	26,9% (29)	64,8% (70)	6
5. Disciplinary problems	7,4% (8)	85,1% (92)	13
6. Physically unsuited for management	2,8% (3)	91,7% (99)	18
7. Too emotional	12,9% (14)	79,6% (86)	11
8. Lack commitment	3,7% (4)	90,7% (98)	17
9. Husbands oppose wives' careers	23,1% (25)	59,2% (64)	7

(Table continued on next page)

Table 6.28 A ranking of the responses by respondents to an assessment of possible barriers to promotion of women educators (continued from previous page)

* BARRIER	FREQUENCY AND RELATIVE FREQUENCY		
	AGREE	DISAGREE	RANK (AGREEING)
10. Lack time for both social and administrative roles	20,3% (22)	69,4% (75)	10
11. Career focused on pupils	9,3% (10)	84,3% (91)	15
12. Lack perseverance	21,3% (23)	58,3% (63)	9
13. Dislike administrative tasks	7,4% (8)	81,5% (88)	13
14. Prefer classroom atmosphere	45,3% (49)	41,6% (45)	3
15. Lack support of seniors	61,6% (66)	17,5% (19)	1
16. Lack relevant role models	33,3% (36)	53,7% (58)	5
17. Lack adequate societal support	54,6% (59)	29,6% (32)	2
18. Avoid positions held by men	23,1% (25)	64,8% (70)	7

6.2.6 Section Six - Role models

Shakeshaft (1987) and Schmuck (1980) argue that one cause of women not aspiring to promotion positions is that, as there is a lack of same-sex role models in posts senior to themselves, they consider any upward mobility to be abnormal. Shakeshaft (1987) asserts that the importance of role models in helping both the women themselves and others in the system to view women administrators as a normal occurrence cannot be overstated.

The women in the sample were asked first to state the most senior position in education which they were aware was held by a woman, and secondly, to state the most senior position in education held by a woman whom they knew personally (refer to questionnaire items 6.1 and 6.2).

Respondents frequently failed to specify the position held by the person they cited, for example, they referred to Subject Advisers as Inspectors. For this reason all references to Advisers, Inspectors and Planners were considered jointly as role models at Circuit and Head Office level.

Of the respondents, 86,2 percent knew of a woman who was or had been in a Circuit or Head Office post. Of this percentage, 21,2 percent

had mentioned a Planner as the role model, which probably indicates that they were aware that Dr T. Guma had held a position in the planning department. Nine respondents knew of women holding positions as Subject Advisers while 37 percent knew of women who were Inspectors of schools. Four respondents knew of women holding senior posts in tertiary institutions, while 29 percent knew of no women holding positions above the level of principal. Five respondents knew of no women holding positions above the level of head of department.

About two-thirds of the respondents knew a woman member of the Circuit Office staff personally and 8,6 percent knew of a woman Planner at the Head Office. Four respondents knew no one personally holding a senior position except their principals and deputy principals.

It would appear that although role models are visible to women educators, they are few in number to make an impact and physically distanced from many women and therefore their ability to function as mentors is limited.

6.2.7 Section Seven - Future Career Plans

In an effort to ascertain the aspirations of the women in the sample, they were asked to state the highest post in education they thought they were

capable of holding (item 7.1), and what their expectations were as to the actual post level they would attain (item 7.2).

The relative proportion of respondents selecting positions on each level was tabulated (see Table 6.29).

Table 6.29 Perceived capabilities and expectations of women educators for promotion

RANK	% RESPONDENTS	
	CAPABILITY	EXPECTATION
Director	0,9	0,9
Adviser / Inspector / Planner	18,3	2,9
Principal	15,7	17,6
Deputy Principal	1,9	1,9
Head of Department	19,4	20,3
Lecturer	9,3	4,6

* Strangely enough one respondent perceived herself as having no capabilities at all and therefore no expectations to achieve promotion.

While 15,7 percent of the respondents thought they were capable of becoming Principals, 20,3 percent did not expect to be promoted beyond the position of head of department. It is also notable that while 18,3

percent of the respondents felt capable of being Planners, Advisers or Inspectors, only 2,9 percent expected to be promoted to these positions.

When the replies to items 7.1 and 7.2 were compared, it was observed that it was only women who aspired to be deputy principals whose capabilities were equal to their expectations. The 46 respondents who did not fall into this group were asked, in item 7.3 of the questionnaire, to suggest what major hindrances they perceived as preventing them from reaching their full potential. These respondents are hereafter referred to as the 'aspirants'.

As item 7.3 was an open question it was necessary to formulate categories into which responses were placed. The replies were analyzed and groupings based on the barriers discussed in Chapter 3 were formulated.

The five most common reasons stated by the 'aspirants' as to why they would not be promoted to their self-assessed level of capability, were (abbreviated labels are given in parentheses):

1. The perception that the decision-makers, through an internalization of social norms, would prefer men for the positions (socialization of decision-makers).

2. Their educational qualifications were not suitable for the position they sought (institutional-qualifications).
3. They felt that they did not have the relevant experience to make them eligible for promotion to positions sought (lack of relevant experience).
4. They were discouraged by favouritism and nepotism practised by decision-makers (favouritism and nepotism by decision-makers).
5. Members of the community might oppose the appointment of women (socialization of community).

The data are summarised in Table 6.30. The reasons were ranked on the basis of how frequently they were cited.

Table 6.30 The five most commonly cited reasons why aspirants would not reach their promotion potential

CATEGORY	% RESPONSE
Socialization of decision-makers	37,7
Institutional-qualifications	31,1
Lack of relevant experience	13,3
Favouritism / Nepotism by decision-makers	11,1
Socialization of community	6,6

The barrier caused by the socialization of decision-makers was most frequently alluded to. Many respondents indicated that they would not reach their potential because they considered that the authorities tended to promote men applicants, rather than women, in order to retain their services.

While it would be difficult to determine whether the decision-makers do apply covert discriminatory employment practices, the increase in the number of women in senior management positions might correct some of these invalid perceptions which may exist. Although many school management positions are openly reserved for men, it is necessary to have a change in societal attitudes and to provide information to women about the changes which are occurring. It is also very important to improve the visibility of the role models. As many of the respondents

were aware of role models, it seems that some aspirants need to be encouraged to see these women not as exceptions, who were permitted into their posts by the all-powerful 'decision-makers', but as holding a position open to all aspirants.

The second most common set of barriers indicated were those related to factors categorized as 'institutional'. The aspect many alluded to in this category was the lack of suitable educational qualifications. It will be remembered that for many years 'Black' education channelled women through pre-matric teaching qualifications (Refer Chapter 3). These qualifications which were mainly primary orientated impeded the women's career progress because they were regarded as unsuitable for promotion purposes.

The other barrier mentioned was the lack of relevant experience. Six respondents considered that although they had the 'right' educational qualifications and were relatively advanced in age their limited experience as teachers would impede their career progress.

Although it would appear that the most significant barrier to the promotion of the aspirants was related to the socialization of decision-makers, some respondents perceived obstacles arising from the institutional and organizational aspects.

Having discussed the data which were gained from an analysis of the responses to the questionnaire, it is possible to examine the research questions, which were aimed at testing aspects concerning the barriers the respondents might have experienced or might experience in future.

6.3 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Each research question was formulated to obtain insight into an aspect which, it was considered, might form an obstacle to the promotion potential of women educators. Each of these possible barriers is discussed separately, under the same headings as were used in Chapter 3.

6.3.1 Personality (Refer to research question 1, Chapter 4)

Women educators indicated neither physical nor emotional characteristics of women as forming important barriers to promotion. A substantial number (48,2 percent) of respondents perceived that lack of self-confidence and perseverance could have a negative effect on promotion potential. It is this personality trait evident in certain women which has made them less assertive to contest promotion posts. More than half of the respondents holding senior positions indicated that they had received

promotion on their first application, indicating that up to that stage they had not needed to show persistence and perseverance in order to gain promotion. The data relating to their reason for seeking promotion (Table 6.25), did suggest, however, that certain respondents gained self-assurance through positive reinforcement; either by senior management's encouragement or by realising that they had the ability to fulfil management duties competently.

6.3.2 Multiple roles (Refer to research question 2, Chapter 4)

Of the respondents, 96 percent expressed a desire to work, even if the choice to cease working was available. This interest shown by the respondents in working does indicate that they sought not just a job, but a career.

The majority of respondents had social commitments of some type, and in many cases these also entailed a financial commitment. Certain respondents explained that although the members of their family did not reside with them, they still had to fulfil certain obligations to them.

Some respondents (20,3 percent) rated the reason: 'Women consider the additional load would encroach on their time for family and friends' as the

most likely cause for women educators not applying for promotion. Social commitments were also perceived to hinder the aspirations of the women due to the fact that they could limit the aspirant's geographic mobility.

It would therefore appear that, although role overload is regarded as a serious barrier to promotion, the respondents did not consider it as the greatest obstacle to career advancement.

6.3.3 Education (Refer to research question 3, Chapter 4)

The respondents in general considered that women educators possessed sufficient qualifications to progress without impedance.

6.3.4 Legal (Refer to research question 4, Chapter 4)

Of the aspirants, 39 percent considered that the present staffing system discriminated against women and would prevent them reaching their full potential. Employers in education systems in South Africa including the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture were, at the time of the study, still legally free to advertise posts on the basis of gender and they usually displayed preference for males.

6.3.5 **Societal** (Refer to research question 5, Chapter 4)

Although 92 percent of the respondents had received encouragement from at least one source when they applied for promotion posts, it was their opinion that societal pressures could create obstacles to the promotion of women educators. Of these, socialization of decision-makers to rate men higher than women was ranked the highest, followed by favouritism and/or nepotism. Of the aspirants, 6,6 percent expected to meet with disapproval by the community which has been socialized to undermine women and to hold men in esteem.

6.3.6 **Organizational** (Refer to research question 6, Chapter 4)

Of the respondents, 81,5 percent indicated that they were interested in trying their hand at administrative tasks inherent in senior posts. Only 7,4 percent indicated their dislike of administration and preference for teaching and personal contact. In addition, the latter indicated that they would not reach their full vertical career potential because, for them, fulfilment lay in the development of relationships and assisting others, rather than 'power, profit, independence and prestige' (Bould and Hopson, 1983).

6.3.7 **Discipline** (Refer to research question 7, Chapter 4)

Of the respondents, 85,1 percent indicated that they had not experienced any major disciplinary problems which were peculiar to them as women educators and administrators. Some of the respondents argued that women were better and more effective disciplinarians than men.

6.4 **CONCLUSION**

This chapter was concerned with an analysis of the responses to the questionnaire. Details relating to the general backgrounds of the respondents, their career patterns and future aspirations were extracted. In addition the presence of role models was discussed.

Some general conclusions as to the aspirations of women educators and their perceptions regarding hindrances to promotion were elucidated and examined by means of a discussion of the research questions previously identified.

The final chapter is concerned with an overview of the study and the research findings. Certain recommendations regarding the continuation of research in this field are also suggested.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The decision to explore aspects relating to the promotion opportunities for women educators was based not only on an academic interest in the position of women and the promotional hierarchies which exist in educational organizations, but also on the personal concern of the writer, as a woman educator.

Although interest in the advancement opportunities available to working women appears to be steadily increasing, both locally and internationally, investigations into the situation of women educators in South Africa are still relatively scarce. The study therefore might be classified as exploratory, aiming at educing some of the considerations which might be examined, to determine some of the constraints which operate on women educators, rather than attempting to offer solutions prematurely.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

While it is a frequently documented fact that women have seldom been given the same opportunities as men to progress in the workforce, the situation of women is progressively receiving attention and there are many formal discussions revolving around gender equity especially in the 'new' South Africa. Changing attitudes towards women educators are indicated by the recommendations of various Education Commissions, for the inclusion of women in senior positions in education.

There is hope that women, who for many centuries have been victims of male chauvinism and gender inequality, will benefit from the affirmative action which is advocated in South Africa. Assurances by the African National Congress (majority party in the South African Government of National Unity) that the definition of people who should benefit from affirmative action must be broad are welcome. It is only right that women should now benefit from affirmative action in a genuine programme which compensates for past prejudice while rewarding merit. Mr Nelson Mandela (State President) 'has personally widened the definition of beneficiaries to include Indians and women and anyone else who had been disadvantaged in the old South Africa' (Herald p6; 4 June 1994).

A study of the data relating to the hierarchical distribution of teachers in a sample of Junior Secondary schools administered by the KwaZulu

Department of Education and Culture indicated that in 1993 only 13,5 percent of the Principals were women; 27,3 percent accounted for women Deputy Principals and 50 percent for Heads of Departments. A similar study in a sample of High Schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture in 1993 indicated that women accounted for only 4,4 percent of Principals, 30,2 percent of Deputy Principals and 32,6 percent of Heads of Departments (Statistical returns by Circuits, 1993; KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture).

The introduction and background to the study are outlined in chapter 1. The status of women in the field of education formed the focus of Chapter 2. The decrease in the proportion of posts occupied by women, as one moves to the higher levels, was observed in both international and local examples. The data obtained from the study of the distribution of respondents according to the position they held in the sample of Umlazi High Schools indicated that while 89,8 percent of the women educators were post level 1 teachers, only 10,2 percent held promotion posts.

An analysis of barriers which might create obstacles to the promotion of women educators was undertaken in Chapter 3. While it was perceived that barriers could overlap, for ease of analysis the obstacles were separated into internal and external barriers. Obstacles classified as

internal barriers related to the psychological factors (e.g. sensitivity, emotionality, gentleness) which could impinge on the situation, while the latter group of barriers were categorized as those relating to the environment of the individual - the institution in which she is employed, societal, organizational and political factors. One legal barrier was removed when married women were included on the permanent staff and, in addition, with the equalization of remuneration for men and women educators with similar qualifications, one economic barrier to the advancement of women educators was removed.

The study of literature generated certain questions regarding the aspirations of women educators and their perceptions of the barriers to advancement which they had experienced. These questions formed the basis for the research (see Chapter 4). The methodology and procedures employed in this connection were discussed in Chapter 5.

An analysis and discussion of the research findings were conducted in Chapter 6. In addition certain tentative answers to the research questions were suggested.

The examination of research findings indicated that 89,8 percent of all respondents were unpromoted and only 10,2 percent were promoted. It

is noteworthy that a high proportion of the respondents, although not promoted, were in terms of their age, experience and educational qualifications eligible for promotion. The requirements for promotion, set by the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, at the time of the study were at least five years teaching experience plus a University degree or equivalent qualification and a recognised teachers' certificate or diploma. It would appear, from an overall examination of the data obtained, that the overwhelming majority of the respondents were over 25 years old and more than 65 percent of them had more than five (5) years teaching experience. It also needs to be mentioned that 61,6 percent of the respondents held high educational qualifications ranging between D and F qualification categories.

Although the full analysis and discussion of the research findings are undertaken in Chapter 6, it needs to be emphasized here that of the entire sample of 108 respondents, only 11 were promoted. Of the promoted respondents, four (4) were Deputy Principals and seven (7) were Heads of Department. None of them was a Principal of a school.

A closer look at the research findings indicated that although the larger proportion of the respondents were keen to receive a promotion, they thought they would not be promoted because they considered the

allocation of promotions to be unfair. The evidence suggested that the most significant obstacle to the upward mobility of women educators is discrimination against them which results from the socialization of decision-makers in particular and the community in general. When respondents were asked to give their opinions why women were under-represented in promotion posts, 80,8 percent of the women educators who responded to this question, cited gender inequality or sex discrimination as a barrier to their vertical mobility. The analysis of data made it clear that certain respondents were referring to the overt discriminatory practice of opening certain posts to men applicants only and to the lack of support by seniors, who are predominantly men, when women educators applied for promotion and also to the lack of adequate societal support in the women's attempts to secure promotion. Other respondents suggested that certain decision-makers viewed applications from men in a more favourable light than those from women aspirants. A substantial number of respondents perceived women educators as not aspiring to positions which decreased their contact with the pupils. Within the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture a definite hierarchy exists, with the purely administrative positions being placed at the top of the post structure. There are few opportunities in the post hierarchy for those individuals who wish to maintain links with the teaching of their subject while still progressing to higher positions in the Department.

Lack of suitable educational qualifications, or personality traits were not considered to be important hindrances to vertical career development. In relation to the former aspect, it was noted that out of 108 respondents, 66 held qualifications ranging from category D to F. It would appear that many women educators have made progress in gaining educational qualifications suitable for climbing the promotional ladder.

Before outlining some suggestions for further research, certain limitations of the present research will be reviewed.

7.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Bearing in mind the nature and purpose of this study, it was necessary to limit the scope of the research due to the exigencies of time and distance. It was decided to limit the study to women educators attached to Umlazi High schools and to select as the research instrument, the mailed questionnaire, some of the limitations of which were mentioned in Chapter 5.

In connection with the scope of the study, while it was considered that a wider population group would give a more complete picture of the attitudes and aspirations of women educators towards promotional

hierarchies and opportunities, some circumscription of the population was unavoidable. It is, however, realised that this restriction narrows the applicability of the research findings to women educators in the employ of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture.

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

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Recommendations were suggested by the limitations of the present investigation and from considerations raised by the study. From a superficial study of various education departments, it would appear that certain differences in the organizations and staffing procedures do exist. As South Africa is going through a transition period, characterised by transformation, it may be suggested that it would be beneficial to broaden the scope of the enquiry to the anticipated integrated education department that will cater for a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The study would inform an understanding of the influence of the cultural environment on the advancement of women educators.

It is also recommended that the aspirations and attitudes of male teachers towards promotional hierarchies be investigated, to elicit information regarding the similarities and differences between their perceptions and those of women educators.

As external barriers (the reasons given for not promoting women usually have to do with the fact that they are female) were perceived to be the primary cause of promotional inequalities, it might be considered valuable to formulate and introduce change programmes. The emphasis must be on unlocking the potential and developing the talents of all the country's people irrespective of race or gender. In a United Nations-sponsored conference in Zambia, women delegates discussed 'gender sensitization in the media'. Among other things, the women pointed out that one of the worst areas for discrimination was in the work place and males were guilty of trivializing the role of women (Sunday Tribune, p.8; 14 August 1994).

As some women have made significant strides to prove themselves, it is important that change programmes foster the spirit of respect and encouragement for women. Effective use of change programmes could reduce the deplorable tendency, especially here in South Africa of looking at women as naturally subservient human beings, particularly in the Black

communities. Emphasising the need for breaking 'the shackles of gender oppression', Botswana-based sociologist, Elsie Alexander, who attended the United Nations-sponsored conference in Zambia, summed it up as follows:

Ours is not a struggle to be men. Nor is our freedom a threat to our men's liberty. What we are saying is that we should be treated as individuals, not as women, and, in the workplace, promotion should be based on merit and merit only, not on gender.

(Sunday Tribune, p.8; 14 August 1994)

It is against this background that the writer recommends the formulation and introduction of change programmes that will reward merit. Never again must South African society randomly exclude any group of people to the advantage of others. It is also recommended that selection procedures be reassessed and a process of transformation which opened up opportunities for women to participate fully in all aspects of education be developed.

As multiple roles appeared to have some impact on limiting the promotional aspirations of women educators, the impact of role stress and anxiety caused by role overload could be explored further. According to Blampied (1989), an H.S.R.C. computer search of relevant current and completed research elicited, among other items, three references to current research for Masters in Education; one focusing on the motivation of women teachers, another on managerial leadership of women in secondary schools and the third a study of the changing role of women and the implications of this on their task as educators.

As one of the greatest influences on the attitudes of the respondents appear to arise from those individuals closely related to their work environment, it might be worthwhile to investigate the attitudes of the decision-makers, colleagues and clients, to determine the level of congruence which exists between the women educators' perception of these individuals' attitudes and the stated attitudes of the individuals. While a systematic search of literature revealed no such investigation to have been undertaken in South Africa, research in this aspect has occurred internationally. Parallel studies on male promoters' attitudes (O'Leary, 1974), the attitudes of selection committees (Schmuck, 1986) or pupils' attitudes towards male and female principals (Bottomley and Sampson, 1977) could be undertaken to inform an understanding of the

attitudes of these individuals towards women educators aspiring to managerial positions.

There were indications in the research that some respondents could not visualise women filling certain promotion posts. In addition, it would appear that women who did fill senior posts were not sufficiently visible especially to other women educators. There might therefore be some merit in raising the consciousness of women educators by means of studies such as this and, in a far broader sphere, through relevant conferences like the one sponsored by the agency of the United Nations which was held in Zambia. In addition, women who could act as role models could be enlightened on means of increasing their visibility and methods of counselling women aspiring to senior educational posts.

Schmuck (1980:246) states:

Providing information to develop awareness is
a powerful strategy for changing individual
perspectives.

Another aspect, closely allied to this, is that as few women hold senior posts in education and few women are aware of them, it could be worthwhile to develop 'networks similar to the 'old boys' network'

(Schmuck, 1980) because by this means the awareness of other members in the organization might be increased, with concomitant alteration in attitudes towards women educators.

7.5 CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

It would appear, from the investigation conducted, that some of the women educators either foresee no obstacles to them reaching their promotional potential, or perceive discrimination against them as the only barrier to their career development. It may be suggested that the women in the sample are continually exposed to the prevalent ideology regarding women, causing them to accept the status quo. In addition, many of the respondents who did perceive obstacles to exist, saw these hindrances as relating to women educators in general, while not exercising any influence on their personal progress. Crosby (1982) theorises that while working women express group deprivation they do not express personal deprivation, as they compare their situation to that of other women, not to that of men. If this has occurred in the present investigation, it becomes clear why these women, who have made some progress on the promotion ladder, perceive fewer obstacles to their advancement than might be expected.

While the primary purpose of the investigation was to gain some insight into the attitudes of women educators towards promotional hierarchies, it is hoped that through the research, interest in and awareness of the situation may be increased. By raising consciousness of the attitudes of women educators towards career progress, advances may be made in allowing each woman to reach her full career potential.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

ON

WOMEN TEACHERS

AND

PROMOTION

APPENDIX 1

Please note that this Questionnaire is to be completed **only by women educators**, including those holding the posts of Head of Department, Deputy Principal and Principal in High Schools.

Where appropriate, please indicate your answer with an "X" in the box provided.

1. **GENERAL**

Please supply the following information:

1.1 **Sex**

Male Female

1.2 Total years of your teaching experience:

Less than 6

6 to 10

11 to 15

16 to 20

21 or more

1.3 Your age in completed years:

Under 26 years of age

26 to 30 years

31 to 35 years

36 to 40 years

41 years and over

1.4 Qualifications according to category classification:

G (M + 7)

F (M + 6)

E (M + 5)

D (M + 4)

C (M + 3)

B (M + 2)

A (M + 1)

a1 (Std 8 or 9 + 2)

a2 (Std 6 or 7 + 2)

a2m(M + O)

a3 (Lower than M + O)

1.5 Please answer the following questions to determine some of the social commitments you have:

1.5.1 Do you reside permanently with another adult such as a husband, a friend or a family member?

No

Yes

1.5.2 Do you have any dependants? (i.e. people depending on you financially)

No

Yes

If your answer in 1.5.2 above was YES, then:

How many dependants do you have? 1

How many live with you permanently? 3

2. EMPLOYMENT DATA

2.1 What standard/s are your teaching presently? CP 6-7

2.2 How many pupils do you teach

1) in your biggest class? 35

2) in your smallest class? 1

3) on average per class?

2.3 Position in school (not your acting position):

Principal

Deputy Principal

H.O.D.

Teacher (post level 1)

3. **CAREER**

Through the following questions an attempt will be made to ascertain how career-minded women educators are.

3.1 If you had the opportunity to change your job would you do so?

No Yes Uncertain

Please add a comment if you wish

3.2 Are you keen to receive a promotion?

No Yes Uncertain

3.3 Are your chances of receiving a promotion good?

No Yes Uncertain

3.4 Is the allocation of promotions at present very fair?

No Yes Uncertain

If your answer/s in 3.3 and 3.4 above was NO, what in your opinion are things that make it difficult for women to gain promotion?

4. **CAREER PATTERN OF WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS**

NOTE: If you do not hold a promotion post (H.O.D., Deputy Principal, Principal) please move to Question 4.8 on Page 7.

Through the following questions an attempt will be made to obtain a profile of the women holding promotional posts (H.O.D., Deputy Principal, Principal) to ascertain if there is a general career pattern. Please supply the following information:

4.1 What was your age at the time of your first promotion?

Under 26 years of age

26 - 30 years

31 - 35 years

36 - 40 years

41 years and over

4.2 How many years had you taught prior to gaining promotion?

Less than 6

6 to 10

11 to 15

16 to 20

21 or more

4.3 For how many years of service have you held the promotional post/s (starting from the first promotion)?

10-20 years

4.4 How many times did you apply for promotion before receiving it?

Once

Twice

Three times

Four or more times

4.5 What was your main reason for applying for promotion?

4.6 Who, if anyone, encouraged you to seek promotion? (More than one source may be indicated if you received encouragement from more than one source)

- No-one
- Mother
- Father
- Other Teacher(s)
- H.O.D.(s)
- Deputy Principal(s)
- Principal(s)
- Subject Adviser(s)
- Inspector(s)
- Husband
- Male Friend(s)
- Female Friend(s)
- Someone else

4.7 As a woman administrator (H.O.D., Deputy Principal, Principal) what are some of the problems you encounter as you discharge your duties and how do you deal with them?

4.8 If you had the choice of working or not, would you

Work?

Not work?

4.9 Which of the following career patterns best describes your case?

Work only, no home-making eg.

Single

Childless

Widow

Divorced

Marriage and work eg work possibly interrupted for short periods
by

Ill-health

Maternity leave

Child-rearing

Home-making and work eg raising family (children) for long period
of time, then return to work.

4.10 If you placed yourself in the category 'Home-making and work' in the question above, would you say your return to work was due to:

- 1. Financial pressures/additional income desired?
- 2. Boredom at home?
- 3. Grown-up children becoming independent?
- 4. Other (please specify)

4.11 If your career pattern does not fall into any of the categories listed above, or if you would like to comment further on your career pattern, please use the space below to elaborate.

5. **PROMOTIONAL POTENTIAL**

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

Why do you think this is so?

Please indicate next to each of the statements below to what extent you agree to the reason given.

		Str- ongly agree	Agree	Str- ongly Dis- agree	Dis- agree	Do not know
1.	Women do not have the academic qualifications required for promotion					
2.	Women have a lower self-image and career ambition					
3.	Women consider that their colleagues prefer to work under a man.					
4.	Women lack the self-confidence to apply for senior posts.					
5.	Women are less capable of dealing with disciplinary problems					
6.	Women are physically unsuited for the rigours of the task of management.					
7.	Women are too emotional to hold senior positions.					
8.	Women lack com-mitment, working only until they marry.					
9.	Husbands of married women do not like the idea of their working and/or holding senior posts.					
10.	Women consider that the additional load would encroach on their time for family and friends.					
11.	Women become teachers to teach, and not to become admin-istrators.					

		Str- ongly agree	Agree	Str- ongly Dis- agree	Dis- agree	Do not kno w
12.	Women do not persevere when their initial attempts to secure promotion are turned down.					
13.	Women dislike the large amount of paperwork required in senior posts.					
14.	Women prefer to maintain the classroom contact with their pupils.					
15.	Women do not receive the support of their seniors when applying for promotion.					
16.	Women lack relevant role models to inspire them.					
17.	Women lack adequate societal support in their attempts to secure promotion.					
18.	Women do not apply for positions traditionally held by men					

6. **ROLE MODELS**

One perceived barrier to women's advancement is that so few women hold senior posts that the aspirants lack the necessary inspiration to urge them on in their attempts at progress.

6.1 What is the most senior position in education held by a woman whom you know personally? (i.e. relative/friend/parent or somebody you have met).

6.2 What is the most senior position held by a woman known to you? (eg somebody you have heard about).

7. **FUTURE CAREER PLANS**

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

7.2 What is the highest post in education you would really expect to be promoted to in your career?

7.3 If your expectations (Question 7.2 above) are lower than your perceived capabilities (Question 7.1 above), then state what you see as the major barrier to your reaching your potential.

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7.4 Is there anything else you would like to add to the above?

Now that you have finished, please check for answers skipped!

Thank you for your co-operation
in completing this questionnaire

APPENDIX 2



University of Natal

Faculty of Education
Department of Education

King George V Avenue Durban 4001 South Africa
Telephone (031) 8162611 Fax (031) 8162609
Telegrams University Telex 621231SA

27th July 1993

Dear Colleague

RESEARCH PROJECT : WOMEN TEACHERS AND PROMOTION

I think you would agree with me that it is an interesting phenomenon that, while the greatest proportion of teachers are women, very few women fill senior posts in education, especially in Junior Secondary and High Schools.

I am trying to find out why this is and what women teachers think about the state of affairs and, to this end, am investigating the problem as part of my studies for the MEd degree (Educational Administration) of the University of Natal.

I think you will agree that it is very important to find out why women do not seem to be promoted as frequently as men, and your opinions about this matter are really very important.

I know that you are very busy, but I would really appreciate it if you would kindly give up a little of your time to complete the enclosed questionnaire.

The initial sections of the questionnaire involve an assessment of women educators including their employment data, while the latter sections deal with your opinions on the situation. I wish to guarantee that the information you supply will be treated confidentially and all questionnaires will be destroyed once the research has been completed. Remember that you have not been requested to identify yourself. Please be as frank and truthful as you can.

In order to ensure confidentiality, when you have completed the questionnaire, I should be most grateful if you would seal it in the envelope provided and give it to your principal, who will return all completed questionnaires to me.

Thank you for your time and willingness to complete this questionnaire.

Yours sincerely

HETTIE N. NZIMANDE
c/o DR MICHAEL THURLOW

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APPENDIX 3



University of Natal

Faculty of Education
Office of the Dean

King George V Avenue Durban 4001 South Africa
Telephone (031) 8162610 Fax (031) 8162214
Telegrams University Telex 621231SA
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9 August 1993

The Principal

Dear Colleague

RESEARCH PROJECT: PROMOTION OF FEMALE TEACHERS IN KWAZULU HIGH SCHOOL

I am writing to ask for your assistance in connection with a research project that I am undertaking, through the University of Natal, into the attitudes of female teachers to promotion and promotional opportunities in our high schools.

This project is being undertaken with the permission of the Secretary for Education and Culture and I have been asked to say that, should you have any query related to this permission, you are asked to refer to **Mr S.M. Gqwaru** of **Academic Planning Services (ULUNDI 0358 - 203594)**.

I am enclosing questionnaires and covering letters, and I should be most grateful if you would be kind enough to give one of each to every female member of your staff, including any who may be in promotion posts. Please would you ask each of the female members of your staff to complete the questionnaire. When they have done this, they have been asked to seal the completed questionnaires in the envelopes provided and to return them to your office. As agreed with the Secretary for Education and Culture, it would be much appreciated if you would then place all completed questionnaires from your school in the addressed envelope provided, and return it to me c/o **Dr Thurlow** at the Faculty of Education, University of Natal (DURBAN).

I realise that your daily work schedule is very heavy and that, in asking you to assist in the administration of the questionnaire, I am adding to your already considerable workload. However, I assure you that the research, for which official support has been granted, will be of considerable value in connection with employment opportunities in our profession. May I say that, should you be interested to receive a summary of the outcomes of the research, I shall be happy to send one to you.

Thank you in anticipation of your valued co-operation.

Yours sincerely

H.N. Nzimande
.....
MS H.N. NZIMANDE
c/o DR M. THURLOW