

**GENDER EQUITY: A CRITICAL ISSUE FOR
WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR
MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN
HIGHER EDUCATION**

M J MKHONZA

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MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN
HIGHER EDUCATION**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the PhD degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not been previously submitted by me at another university/faculty. I furthermore code copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

.....
M.J.MKHONZA

.....
DATE

Dedicated to my three children

PHOSI, PAPI AND TOPI

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This thesis is dedicated with love to my mother and my late father: Ngoakoana and Matoane Leimela. Thank you Mom and Dad for everything. I must thank the Almighty for His mercies, strengths and for giving me such wonderful and loving parents. My niece, Martha Choshi has unselfishly supported me throughout my two years of study. May the Lord God richly bless her.

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TABLE OF CONTENT

	Page
<i>SUMMARY</i>	<i>xiv</i>
<i>OPSOUMMING</i>	<i>xviii</i>
 CHAPTER 1	
<i>ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1 <i>INTRODUCTION</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1.1 <i>Background to the study</i>	<i>1</i>
1.2 <i>RATIONALE OF THE STUDY</i>	<i>7</i>
1.3 <i>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</i>	<i>9</i>
1.3.1 <i>Problem questions</i>	<i>11</i>
1.4 <i>PURPOSE OF THE STUDY</i>	<i>11</i>
1.5 <i>RESEARCH METHODS</i>	<i>12</i>
1.5.1 <i>Qualitative investigation</i>	<i>12</i>
1.5.2 <i>Quantitative investigation</i>	<i>13</i>
1.5.3 <i>Site</i>	<i>14</i>
1.5.4 <i>Selection of respondents</i>	<i>15</i>
1.5.5 <i>Access to respondents</i>	<i>15</i>
1.5.6 <i>Procedure</i>	<i>16</i>
1.5.7 <i>Data collection</i>	<i>17</i>
1.5.8 <i>Research ethics</i>	<i>17</i>
1.6 <i>DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY</i>	<i>18</i>
1.7 <i>STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY</i>	<i>19</i>
1.8 <i>DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS</i>	<i>20</i>
1.9 <i>SUMMARY</i>	<i>21</i>

CHAPTER 2

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ..23

2.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	23
2.2	<i>WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: THE GLOBAL PICTURE</i>	23
2.3	<i>WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA</i>	28
2.4	<i>HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND GLOBAL SITUATION</i>	30
2.4.1	<i>The position of women in pre-colonial South Africa</i>	30
2.4.2	<i>The position of women in colonial South Africa</i>	32
2.4.3	<i>The position of women in higher education: the global picture</i>	35
2.4.4	<i>The position of women in South African higher education institutions</i>	42
2.5	<i>SUMMARY</i>	44

CHAPTER 3:

	<i>BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION</i>	45
3.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	45
3.2	<i>INTERNAL BARRIERS</i>	46
3.2.1	<i>Fear of success</i>	46
3.2.2	<i>Lack of aspiration and motivation</i>	47
3.3	<i>EXTERNAL BARRIERS</i>	48
3.3.1	<i>Societal/ cultural barriers</i>	49
3.3.1.1	<i>Gender role socialization</i>	50
3.3.1.2	<i>Gender stereotyping</i>	54
3.3.1.3	<i>Role of society and culture in gender issues</i>	58
3.3.1.4	<i>Gender and ideology</i>	61
3.3.2	<i>Structural/ organizational barriers</i>	62
3.3.2.1	<i>Work-family conflicts</i>	63
3.3.2.2	<i>Discrimination and sexual harassment</i>	64
3.3.2.3	<i>The influence of the workplace environment</i>	69
3.3.2.4	<i>Women's exclusion from networks and lack of mentoring programmes</i>	69
3.3.2.5	<i>Men's and women's leadership/management styles</i>	71
3.3.2.6	<i>The 'glass ceiling'</i>	77
3.4	<i>SUMMARY</i>	78

CHAPTER 4:

	<i>EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR ENHANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION</i>	87
4.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	87

4.2	<i>EMPOWERMENT, EQUALITY AND EQUITY: GROUNDING PERSPECTIVE</i>	87
4.3	<i>LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN</i>	91
4.3.1	<i>International legislation</i>	91
4.3.2	<i>National legislation</i>	93
4.3.3	<i>Implication of the legislation for higher education</i>	95
4.4	<i>EMPOWERMENT AT PERSONAL LEVEL</i>	97
4.4.1	<i>Non-sexist education</i>	98
4.4.1.1	<i>At school level</i>	99
	(a) <i>Construction of a gender-sensitive curriculum</i>	100
	(b) <i>Teacher training</i>	102
4.4.1.2	<i>At higher education level</i>	103
	[a] <i>Increasing the quality and quantity of postgraduate students</i>	103
	[b] <i>Introducing women'/gender studies</i>	105
4.4.2	<i>The provision of explicit training</i>	107
4.4.3	<i>The effects of psychotherapy</i>	108
4.4.4	<i>Accomplishing behavioural changes</i>	109
4.5	<i>EMPOWERMENT AT SOCIETAL LEVEL</i>	110
4.5.1	<i>Changing the ideology</i>	110
4.5.2	<i>Changing socialization practices</i>	112
4.5.3	<i>Changing relationships in the family</i>	114
4.6	<i>EMPOWERMENT AT INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL</i>	115
4.6.1	<i>Moving towards equity</i>	116
4.6.2	<i>Networking and mentoring</i>	118
4.6.3	<i>Fair appointment and promotion procedures</i>	123
4.6.4	<i>Taking Affirmative Action measures</i>	125
4.6.5	<i>Providing for women through equal pay</i>	127
4.6.6	<i>Reorganizing work and family</i>	128
4.6.7	<i>Providing leadership and management training</i>	129
4.6.8	<i>Establishing a Gender Management System (GMS)</i>	135
4.6.9	<i>Eradicating sexual harassment</i>	137
4.7	<i>SUMMARY</i>	138

CHAPTER 5

	<i>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</i>	151
5.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	151
5.2	<i>RESEARCH DESIGN</i>	151
5.2.1	<i>Selection of research methods</i>	152

5.2.2	<i>Selection of respondents</i>	152
5.2.3	<i>Quantitative investigation: individual Leadership Practices Inventory test</i>	155
5.2.3.1	<i>Data collection</i>	155
5.2.3.2	<i>Objectivity of researcher, validity and reliability</i>	156
5.2.4	<i>Qualitative research: in-depth interviews</i>	156
5.2.4.1	<i>Objectivity of the researcher</i>	158
5.2.4.2	<i>Data collection</i>	159
5.2.4.3	<i>Data analysis</i>	160
5.2.4.4	<i>Reliability</i>	161
	(a) <i>Internal reliability</i>	161
	(b) <i>External reliability</i>	163
5.2.4.5	<i>Validity</i>	163
5.3	<i>SUMMARY</i>	164

CHAPTER 6:

	<i>REPORT OF EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS</i>	165
6.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	165
6.2	<i>QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION: RESULTS OF LPI TEST</i>	165
6.2.1	<i>Correlation: an overview</i>	165
6.2.1.1	<i>Challenging the process</i>	168
6.2.1.2	<i>Inspiring a shared vision</i>	168
6.2.1.3	<i>Enabling others to act</i>	169
6.2.1.4	<i>Modeling the way</i>	169
6.2.1.5	<i>Encouraging the heart</i>	170
6.3	<i>SUMMARY</i>	170
6.4	<i>QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION: THEMES AND SUB-THEMESES</i>	170
6.4.1	<i>Factors contributing towards participants' advancement in higher education position</i>	172
6.4.2	<i>Support systems</i>	175
6.4.2.1	<i>Family</i>	176
6.4.2.2	<i>Supervisors/subordinates</i> 178	
6.4.2.3	<i>Institutional support</i>	181
6.4.3	<i>Barriers to women's advancement in higher education</i>	184
6.4.3.1	<i>Socialization practices</i>	185
6.4.3.2	<i>Work-family conflicts</i>	186
6.4.3.3	<i>Stereotyping</i>	188
6.4.3.4	<i>Institutional climate/culture</i>	191
6.4.3.5	<i>Work overload</i>	198
6.4.3.6	<i>Leadership styles</i>	200
6.4.3.7	<i>Sexual harassment</i>	205

6.4.3.8	<i>Racism</i>	208
6.4.4	<i>Possible solutions to women's under representation in higher education</i>	209
6.4.4.1	<i>Institutional commitment</i>	210
6.4.4.2	<i>Institutional gender policies</i>	212
6.4.4.3	<i>The effectiveness of legislative frameworks</i>	213
6.4.4.4	<i>Leadership and management training</i>	216
6.4.4.5	<i>Networking</i>	218
6.4.4.6	<i>Mentoring programmes</i>	222
6.4.4.7	<i>Societal role</i>	224
6.4.5	<i>Career pathing</i>	228

CHAPTER 7:

	<i>CLOSING PERSPECTIVES</i>	230
7.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	230
7.2	<i>REPORT OF THE FINDINGS</i>	230
7.2.1	<i>The position of women in the labour market and in society</i>	231
7.2.2	<i>The situation of women in higher education</i>	232
7.2.3	<i>Factors that have contributed to women's advancement in higher education</i>	232
7.2.3.1	<i>Family</i>	233
7.2.3.2	<i>Supervisors and subordinates</i>	234
7.2.3.3	<i>Institutional support</i>	235
7.2.4	<i>Barriers to women's advancement in higher education</i>	236
7.2.4.1	<i>Socialization practices</i>	236
7.2.4.2	<i>Work family conflicts</i>	238
7.2.4.3	<i>Women's work overload</i>	239
7.2.4.4	<i>Leadership styles</i>	240
7.2.4.5	<i>Exclusion from informal networks</i>	242
7.2.4.6	<i>Institutional culture/climate</i>	243
	(a) <i>Racism</i>	245
	(b) <i>Sexism</i>	246
7.2.5	<i>POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION</i>	249
7.2.6	<i>The contribution of education</i>	250
7.2.7	<i>Fair appointment and promotion procedures</i>	251
7.2.8	<i>Institutional gender policies</i>	251
7.2.9	<i>Legislative frameworks</i>	252
7.2.10	<i>Leadership and management training</i>	253
7.2.11	<i>Networking and mentoring programmes</i>	254
7.2.12	<i>Eradicating sexism</i>	255
7.3.8.1	<i>Sexual harassment</i>	255
7.3.8.2	<i>Changing societal views</i>	256
7.3.9	<i>CAREER PATHING</i>	257

7.4	<i>RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION.....</i>	257
7.5	<i>PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE INVESTIGATION.....</i>	261
7.6	<i>CONCLUDING REMARKS</i>	262
7.7	<i>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</i>	264

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Women's share of administrative and managerial positions.....	2
Table 2.1	Professors by county	26
Table 2.2	British women: sample size by responsibility level (%).....	28
Table 2.3	Percentage of Universities led by women.....	40
Table 2.4	Percentage of general staff levels by gender, Australia 1999.....	41
Table 2.5	Percentage of academic staff levels by gender, Australia,	41
Table 2.6	South African Universities' academic staff by rank and gender 1994	43
Table 3.1	Barriers to women's advancement in higher education as identified in the literature.....	80
Table 4.1	Gender distribution (percentages) in post graduate courses, 1992	104
Table 4.2	Comparison of the 1994 LDW cohorts' promotional success with other female, male and total staff promotional success from 31 March 1994 to 31 March 2000	133
Table 4.3	Comparison of LDW cohorts' promotional success with female, male and total staff promotional success from 31 March 1995 to 31 March 2000, illustrating 1995, 1996, 1998 and 1999.....	133
Table 4.4	Promotions achieved by the 1995, 1996, 1998 and 1999 LDW participants up to March 2000	134
Table 4.5	Number of academic and general staff members, by position or level at time of entry into LDW, who have received a promotion as at March 2000 includes all LDW cohort groups.....	134
Table 4.6	Possible solutions to women's empowerment in higher education as identified in the literature: a summary	140
Table 5.1	Profile of the participants in Universities	154
Table 6.1	Data reporting of quantitative investigation (LPI test	166

LIST OF FIGURES

Diagram 6.4	Themes and sub-themes originating from empirical data.....	172
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APPENDICES

<i>Appendix A</i>	<i>Request to do fieldwork</i>	278
<i>Appendix B</i>	<i>Demographic questionnaire</i>	279
<i>Appendix C</i>	<i>Interview participant consent form</i>	281
<i>Appendix D</i>	<i>Letter attached to LPI</i>	282
<i>Appendix E</i>	<i>Leadership practices inventory</i>	283
<i>Appendix F</i>	<i>Graphic representation of the six individual LPI tests</i>	288-294
<i>Appendix G</i>	<i>A synthesis of data from literature study and empirical investigation: a summary</i>	295

SUMMARY

The number of women entering the workforce has escalated over the past thirty years. However, in terms of employment and promotion, women often face greater handicaps than men in that women continue to compete in the workforce on an unequal footing with men, and as a result continue to experience unequal labour market outcomes. In higher education, progress to elevated levels of employment and occupations seems to be much more problematic for women than for men. Although the number of women in the academe has increased, women are still concentrated in lower and middle management and in unskilled jobs whilst forming a minority in the most senior positions. This situation prevails both developed as well as developing countries.

The main objective of this study was to analyse the position of women in management and their experiences in higher education institutions in the South African context. Furthermore, this study also reported on the obstacles that these women may have had to face in their attempt to gain entry into the higher echelons of these institutions. The absence of career paths to these positions further exacerbates the situation. This study therefore focused on amplifying the existing body of knowledge on the experiences of women in management positions in higher education and the barriers they face with regard to their advancement to senior positions, as well as possible mechanisms to enhance their empowerment.

From the literature review it became clear that societies often perceive the differences between men and women as natural; but masculinity and femininity are hierarchical contrasts, and categories associated with femininity are perceived as inferior and subordinate whilst categories associated with masculinity are perceived as dominant. Through socialisation, this socially constructed segregation between men and women, and the roles attributed to each sex, are inculcated by the family and reinforced by other socialisation agents such as schools, peers, religion and the media. Children therefore learn from infancy about the relationship between biological sex and social roles.

Prior to the industrial revolution, family and work life were intertwined for most people. The division of labour only came into being with the advent of industrialisation. Men started engaging in jobs outside the home and women increasingly assumed responsibility for family life, with most of them destined for hard physical labour dominated by patriarchal systems. These attitudes continue to persist. The division of labour means that, in almost all the economies, women are concentrated at the lower end of the labour market. In South Africa, though, as a result of the heritage that racism brought to this country, black women – in contrast to their white counterparts who were discriminated upon just in terms of gender – suffered discrimination based on gender, race and class.

Recently the traditional female roles have been showing signs of change – a process that has been accelerated in South Africa as a result of the country's new constitution, as well as other legislative gender machinery. These legislative frameworks imply that the non-traditional work opportunities for women have increased in all sectors of employment and in particular in the higher education sector. Despite this, however, women continue to be underrepresented in decision-making positions in the workplace. Furthermore, women are still subjected to the strain caused by gender stereotyping as a result of patriarchal beliefs. Women seeking equity in the education management world are often confronted by stereotypical gender views, which negatively impact on their performance levels and productivity

There are very low numbers of women in executive management positions in higher education. Women are underrepresented at the ranks of vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, dean and head of school. Higher education institutions are dominated by male leadership; those few women who manage to reach the top often report isolation and lack of support and recognition from their male colleagues. Most people believe that by closing the leadership gap between the two sexes, institutions will become more centred on persons and processes. But the problem is that leadership has traditionally been studied using male norms as the standard for behaviours. Women have adopted male standards of success to better fit into male-dominated hierarchical structures and systems.

Moreover, women in these positions owe their commitment to the norms and values of the dominant male society.

A qualitative investigation was the dominant method used and thus formed the core of this study, with the quantitative investigation being the alternative, less-dominant method. Thirteen females in management positions were selected from six universities in South Africa. The respondents came from diverse cultures and backgrounds. The Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) questionnaire was used to determine whether the leadership styles employed by women in higher education institutions met the standard as set by these institutions. The results of the LPI indicated that although society does not associate women with leadership, women's scores on the LPI items were rated moderate to high.

Thereafter, structured and semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the 13 female managers to ascertain their opinions and perceptions with regard to their advancement to senior management positions and their experiences once they had attained these positions. During the empirical investigation the respondents attested to their experiences of direct gender discrimination in promotion and appointment, as well as patriarchy and sexual and emotional harassment. Respondents also revealed how these practices were impacting on their performance as managers. In addition, family arrangements can be quite unequal in terms of sharing the burden of housework and childcare. In many societies, it is quite commonly taken for granted that while men will naturally work outside the home, women may do so if and only if they can combine it with various inescapable and unequally shared household duties.

The participants' responses to a great extent correlated with the literature in revealing solutions for curbing the problems related to women's under-representation in management in higher education. Women need to form groups and women's movements, take an active stance, and speak in one voice against this inhumanity. Society's attitude and behaviour towards women also need to change. Both sexes should strive towards achieving equity and equality. Education institutions can also play a vital

role in this regard – from promoting gender sensitivity to implementing programmes aimed at changing societal views on gender and recruiting more women into the system, as well as changing the institutional culture to make it more accommodating to women.

In the final chapter of the study, the researcher formed a synthesis of the findings from the literature overview, the qualitative study and the results of the quantitative investigation. The report indicated how female managers in higher education were influenced by stereotyping and the institutional environment that is not conducive to women's advancement to decision-making and authority positions. Recommendations for the enhancement of women's empowerment in order to allow them to advance to management positions in higher education were provided at the end of the final chapter.

From the recommendations, it is clear that strategies need to be put in place to increase the number of women in senior management positions. A prerequisite to meet this challenge is a change in the attitude of society, which very often still regards women as inferior to men, to allow every citizen to work towards the realisation that women's rights are human rights, and that South Africa can never be a true democracy until women, too, can claim full enjoyment of all the human rights enshrined in the constitution.

OPSOMMING

Die hoeveelheid vroue wat die arbeidsmark betree het oor die afgelope dertig jaar betree het, geëskaleer. In terme van werkverskaffing en bevordering ervaar vroue egter groter struikelblokke as mans. Vroue kompeteer steeds op 'n ongelyke voet met mans en as gevolg daarvan ervaar hulle steeds ongelykhede in die arbeidsmark. In hoër onderwys is bevordering tot hoër vlakke van werkverskaffing en beroepe meer problematies vir dames as vir mans. Ten spyte van die feit dat die getal vroue in die akademie verhoog het, bevind die meeste vroue hulle steeds op middelbestuursvlak en in posisies wat werk met minder vaardighede vereis. In senior posisies is die minderheid dan gevolglik ook vroue. Hierdie situasie kom in beide ontwikkelde en ontwikkelende lande voor.

Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie was om die posisie van die vrou op bestuursvlak, asook hulle ondervinding in hoër onderwys in Suid Afrikaanse konteks, te analiseer. Hierdie studie rapporteer ook verder aangaande die struikelblokke wat vroue sou ondervind in hulle poging om toegang te verkry tot die hoër vlakke van sodanige instansies. Hierdie studie fokus gevolglik op die ondervinding van vroue in bestuursposisies in hoër onderwys asook die hindernisse met betrekking tot hulle bevordering na senior posisies, met die oog op die daarstelling van moontlike meganismes om sodoende die probleme wat daarmee gepaard gaan te oorkom en bemagtiging te bevorder.

Vanuit die literatuuroorsig is dit duidelik dat die gemeenskap gereeld die verskille tussen mans en vroue as natuurlik ervaar, hoewel manlikheid en vroulikheid as hiërargies kontrasterend beskou word. Dit word ook verder ervaar dat kategorieë wat met vroulikheid geassosieer word ondergeskik aan manlike kategorieë is wat as dominant ervaar word. Deur sosialisering word hierdie sosiaal gekonstrueerde segregasie tussen mans en vroue, asook die rolle wat aan elke geslag toegeken word, verder deur sosiale agente soos skole, portuurgroep, godsdiens en die media versterk. Kinders leer dus van jongs af wat die verwantskap tussen geslag en sosiale rolle is.

Voor die industriële revolusie was die familie en die lewe van werke met mekaar verweef. Die eerste verdeling van arbeid het met die koms van industrialisasie begin realiseer. Mans het meer by werk buite die huis betrokke geraak, terwyl vroue al hoe meer verantwoordelikheid vir die familie aanvaar het, wat harde fisiese arbeid beteken het, tewel hulle deur patriargale sisteme oorheers is. Hierdie patriargale stelsels het egter bly voortbestaan en die verdeling van arbeid het beteken dat vrouens op die laer vlakke van die arbeidsmark gekonsentreer het. In Suid Afrika egter, as gevolg van die nalatenskap van rassisme, het swart vroue, in kontras met hulle wit eweknieë en teen wie gediskrimineer is slegs in terme van geslag, verdere diskriminasie wat op geslag, ras en klas gebaseer is, ondervind.

Onlangs het die tradisionele rolle van vroue tekens van verandering begin toon – ‘n proses wat in Suid Afrika as gevolg van die land se nuwe grondwet asook die nuwe wetgewing aangaande ras versnel het. Hierdie wetgewingsraamwerk impliseer dat die nie-tradisionele werksgeleenthede vir vroue in alle sektore van werkverskaffing vermeerder het, gevolglik ook in die hoër onderwyssektor. Ongeag laasgenoemde tendens, is vroue steeds onderverteenvoerdig in besluitnemingsposisies in die werkplek. Vroue is steeds ook onderworpe aan bykomende druk wat deur geslagstereotipering as gevolg van patriargie, veroorsaak word. Vroue wat gelykheid in die opvoedkundige bestuurswêreld nastreef, word soms gekonfronteer met stereotipiese geslagsmenings wat dan weer ‘n negatiewe inpak op hul prestasievlakke en produktiwiteit het.

Daar is min vroue in uitvoerende bestuursposisies in die hoër onderwys sektor, veral in die posisies van vise-kanseliers, adjunk vise-kanseliers, dekane en hoofde van skole. Hoër onderwysinrigtings word steeds deur manlike leierskap oorheers. Die paar vroue wat wel hierdie sport bereik, ondervind isolering en gebrek aan ondersteuning en erkenning deur hulle manlike kollegas. Kundiges is van mening dat, deur die leierskaps gaping tussen die twee geslagte uit die weg te ruim, die instellings meer persoon- en prosesgesentreerd sal raak. Die probleem is egter dat leierskap wat in die verlede bestudeer is, manlike norme as standaard van gedrag gebruik het. Vroue het

manlike standaarde van sukses aanvaar om sodoende beter in te pas in manlik oorheersde hiërargiese strukture en sisteme wat daartoe gelei het dat vroue hulle kompromiteer tot die norme en waardes van 'n dominante manlike samelewing.

'n Kwalitatiewe ondersoek was die dominante metode wat in hierdie ondersoek gebruik is en 'n kwantitatiewe ondersoek as alternatiewe minder dominante metode. Dertien vroue in bestuursposisies uit ses universiteite in Suid-Afrika gekies is. Die respondente het uit verskillende kulture en agtergronde gekom. Die Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) vraelys is gebruik om vas te stel of die leierskapstyle van vroue in hoër opvoedkundige inrigtings ooreenstem wat van die goeie leiers verwag word is. Die uitslae van die LPI het aandui dat, alhoewel die samelewing nie vroue met leierskap assosieer nie, vroue oor die nodige eienskappe beskik.

Hierna is gestruktureerde en semi-gestruktureerde in-diepte onderhoude met die dertien vroulike bestuurders gevoer om hulle menings en persepsies met betrekking tot hulle bevordering tot senior bestuursposisies en hulle ervarings in hierdie verband vas te stel. Gedurende die kwalitatiewe empiriese ondersoek het die respondente se ondervinding van direkte geslagsdiskriminasie in aanstellings en bevorderings asook patriargale, seksuele en emosionele teistering na vore gekom. Die respondente het ook openbaar hoe hierdie praktyke 'n inpak op hulle werkverrigting as bestuurders het. Reëlins binne die gesinsopset kan ook baie oneweredig in terme van die lading van huiswerk en kinders se sorg versprei wees. In baie samelewings word dit algemeen aanvaar dat dit natuurlik is dat die man buite die huis werk en dat vroue slegs mag werk as hulle dit kan kombineer met hul onoorkomlike en oneweredig verdeelde huishoudelike pligte.

Die deelnemers se response het grotendeels gekorreleer met die bevindinge uit die literatuur en het bepaalde oplossings vir vroue se probleme in bestuursposte in die hoër onderwys, die lig laat sien. Sodanige oplossings sluit in groeppvorming en standpuntinname teen hierdie ongelykhede.

Die gemeenskap se gedrag en houding teenoor vroue sal ook moet verander, en beide geslagte sal na billikheid en gelykheid moet streef. Opvoedkundige inrigtings kan 'n kragtige rol speel in hierdie verband, van propagering van geslagsensitieweit tot implementering van sodanige programme. Die programme behoort daarop gerig wees om sosiale menings oor geslag te verander, vroue vir die sisteem te werf en om die institusionele kultuur te verander sodat dit meer akkommoderend ten opsigte van vroue sal wees.

In die finale hoofstuk van die navorsing vorm die navorser 'n sintese vanuit die literatuuroorsig, die kwalitatiewe navorsing asook die resultate van die kwantitatiewe ondersoek. Die verslag dui aan hoe vroulike bestuurders in hoër onderwys deur stereotipering beïnvloed word en dat die institusionele omgewing nie tot die vroue se bevordering tot besluitnemingsprosesse en magposisies bydra nie. Aanbevelings ten opsigte van die bemagtiging van vroue, sodat hulle in staat gestel kan word om tot bestuursposisies in hoër onderwys bevorder te word, word aan die einde van die finale hoofstuk gedoen.

Vanuit die aanbevelings blyk dit duidelik dat dit noodsaaklik is om strategieë te ontwikkel om te verseker dat daar 'n toename in die hoeveelheid vroue in senior bestuursposisies is. 'n Voorvereiste tot hierdie uitdaging is die verandering van die houdings van die gemeenskap, naamlik dat vroue volwaardige landsburgers is en dat die regte van 'n volwaardige demokratiese land wees alvorens vroue nie volledig kan deel in alle basiese menseregte van die grondwet nie.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this introductory chapter is on providing the background to the study, the rationale behind the study, the problem statement, the purpose of study, as well as the research methods employed in this study.

1.1.1 Background to the study

“Since the Fall, man has been desperately afraid of recognising that a woman is his equal, his helpmate, his companion. Therefore he has consistently tried to reduce her to something less than himself, a being he both loves and detests...”
(Oldhuis, cited in Greyvenstein, 1996:75).

The traditional inequality between men and women may be traced throughout history. Since the 1980s there has been much talk of a ‘glass ceiling’ preventing women from ‘getting to the top’ in management careers. The barriers to women’s advancement are deeply embedded within societies and in organisations. These barriers have contributed towards the traditional stereotyping of gender roles, as well as gender role socialisation, thereby affecting the relative position of women compared with men in the workplace and in society at large (Greyvenstein, 1996:75).

As Crompton, Gallie and Purcell (1996:260) assert, there is now growing international interest in women occupying senior management positions within organisations. Most research, such as that by Delport (2000); Graev (1998); Greyvenstein (1996); Makosana (2002) focuses on the continued prevalence of low salaries for women, the failure to break down gender segregation in the labour market, and the concentration of women in lower and middle management and in unskilled jobs. In recent years women senior managers have been seen as a symbol and measure of organisational change – an indicator of the equality policies. The presence of women in decision-making positions is perceived to be a more direct challenge to male power within organisations, but at the same time offers all women hope for change.

According to Osongo (2002:4), women do not participate equally with men in society, in the public and private sectors, and in the education sector. Although increasing numbers of women are moving into leadership and management positions in organisations and institutions, less than 5% of top business, governmental, political and institutional leaders is women (Carr-Ruffino, 1993:2). On average, only 7% of universities or similar institutions worldwide are led by women. This figure rises to 10% in Commonwealth countries, where several hundred public and private institutions exist (UNESCO, 1998:8).

Davidson (1999:4) refers to Grant Thornton's survey of over 5 000 small and medium-sized enterprises in the fifteen European Union member states, as well as Malta and Switzerland. The results revealed that half the companies surveyed had no women in managerial positions and only a few women in senior executive positions. The statistics are given in the following table.

Table 1.1: Women's share of administrative and managerial position

Countries	Administrative and managerial positions %
Austria	22
Finland	25
Germany	25
Israel	25
Switzerland	28
Norway	32
United Kingdom	33
Turkey	35
Australia	43
USA	48

(Source: ILO World of Work (in Davidson & Cooper, 1992))

The table above shows that, with the exception of the USA and Australia with 48% and 43% of women in administrative and management positions respectively, all the countries involved in the survey have a very low percentage of women in decision-making positions.

Some of the reasons for such low numbers of women and little change in a wide range of occupations are well rehearsed. The most common explanation is that women themselves lack the necessary attributes to succeed in management. Human capital

theories stress that because a woman is primarily focused on fulfilling her childrearing role, she voluntarily chooses to invest less in education and training than her male counterparts. The argument is that women therefore tend to lack the professional qualifications that are necessary for promotion to senior positions (Crompton *et al.*, 1996).

Other more psychologically based theories focus on personality traits and an individual's attitude towards the job (Davidson & Cooper, 1992:40). According to this perspective, women are socialised into feminine patterns of behaviour, which are ill-suited to the managerial role. They lack the confidence, drive and competitiveness that are seen as key to effective performance as a manager. Women are said to be less instrumentally motivated, less interested in career advancement, and less committed to work in general.

In all these explanations, the focus is mainly on the individual characteristics of women as the major determinants of career progression. However, much feminist research now focuses on how the gender relations of employment are produced at work. Dominant sociological approaches also focus on explanations to be found in family structures and the domestic division of labour (Crompton *et al.*, 1996:261).

Higher education makes a vital contribution to sustainable development through the generation and dissemination of knowledge. Thus, the effective management of this sector merits top priority. Moreover, the numerous and complex issues facing society demand that social investment in higher education institutions be justified in terms of its returns to the community (UNESCO Secretariat, 1993:1). The under-representation of women in higher education management is well documented and serves to demonstrate that the pool of managerial talent within each country is not being optimally utilised. Current practices of employment and promotion require urgent investigation in order to understand the reasons for the lack of women's progress and to identify the strategies to bring about a fairer gender balance based on professional equality.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference held in Beijing, China, in 1995, the global community stressed the importance of women assuming power and influence, not only because their points of view and talents are needed, but also as a matter of their human rights. The Beijing Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment,

which reaffirms the human rights of women and the girl child and calls for strong commitment to these issues. It reaffirms that the human rights of women and the girl child are part of universal human rights (United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995). The conference had six strategic objectives aimed at:

- *ensuring equal access to education*
- *eradicating illiteracy among women*
- *improving women's access to vocational training, science and technology, as well as continuing education*
- *developing non-discriminatory education and training*
- *allocating sufficient resources for educational reforms and monitoring the implementation thereof*
- *promoting lifelong education and training for girls and women.*

Some of the main actions recommended in Beijing, as stated by Licuanan (2002:3), were: equal access to career development, training, professional counselling and scholarships, as well as full and equal participation of women in educational leadership, management, policymaking and decision making.

In South Africa, as in other member states of the United Nations, observations indicate that some of the Beijing conference's promises have been kept and others not. Measures to achieve equal opportunities for women and girls are addressed through structures such as UNESCO (which aims at fostering a gender-inclusive culture through education, including higher education, in order to promote sustainable human development and peace), the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, as well as the Labour Relations Act (1996) and the Employment Equity Act (RSA, 1998), amongst others. Legislative structures and programmatic structures have been put in place both to dismantle the barriers of gender inequality in organisations and to counteract their negative effects.

The past few decades have witnessed an upsurge in the number of women entering the labour force and dominating middle management in the public and private sectors, both nationally and internationally. However, the presence of a critical mass of women in the decision-making process remains vastly inadequate. The majority of women in professional positions are still concentrated in the caring profession and the public sector

where they occupy lower managerial positions (Davidson, 1999:2). While the evidence suggests that it is relatively easy for women to gain employment at the lower levels of organisations, it is still proving very difficult for them to reach upper-middle and senior management positions.

As a result of the above, most higher learning institutions are facing significant new challenges and some opportunities in an increasingly global context. Renewed attention is being given to the continuing under-representation of women at more senior and management levels of the international higher education sector (Ramsay, 2000:1). Neither the institutions nor the countries in which they are located can continue to overlook women's leadership and management potential. The most striking observation that follows from everyday life is that there are few women in higher executive positions in large organisations and in major leadership roles in society. Men dominate these roles numerically. There is therefore a dire need for the creation of an enabling environment for women's leadership development and empowerment (Licuanan, 2002:3).

Today, nine years after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China, in 1995, global and regional trends indicate that despite much progress, inequality still exists in various aspects of education, specifically higher education (Licuanan, 2002:2). In general, a similar situation exists in South African education institutions. However, there has been very little research done on the under-representation of women in senior management and leadership positions in South Africa. But the studies of Delpont (2002); Greyvenstein (1996); Makosana (2002); Moseitse (1998); Motsemme (2002); Niemann (2002), amongst others, have provided information and statistics that indicate that the situation does not differ from that in other countries. This seems to be a universal phenomenon. According to Delpont (2000:2) women in South Africa constitute approximately 54% of the population and two-fifths or 38% of the paid workforce, but they account for 68% of all service sector employees and more than half the clerical positions. Furthermore, the disparities between male and female employees are also reflected in the following: "*Male managers have twice as many subordinates as female managers; for every male earning less than R60 000 a year, there are eight women earning less than this; Twice as many men as compared to women earned more than R100 000 a year*" (Delpont, 2000:2).

A study conducted at the University of the Western Cape in 2000 revealed that the 2000 national statistics relating to all faculty members regarding teaching and research revealed the disproportionately small and gross under-representation of women at all South African universities, specifically in senior positions (South African Department of Education, cited in Makosana, 2002:2). The figures show that men held 87% of professorial positions, while women held only 13% of such positions. Men held 77% of assistant professorial positions, while women held only 23% of such positions. Sixty-five percent of senior lecturers were men, while 35% of senior lectures were women. Forty-nine percent of lectures were men, while women held 51% of such positions. At the junior lecturer level, 48% were men and 52% were women. At levels below that of junior lecturer, 62% were women while 38% were men. Another study conducted in May 1999 at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology also indicated the scarcity of women in senior decision-making structures (Makosana, 2002:2). This scarcity is despite an increase in female enrolments at universities as well as universities of technology.

The above statistics seem to strongly suggest that South African higher education institutions are hostile environments for women. Such hostility is embedded in the structures, culture and norms of higher education institutions, which are male dominated, resulting in the exclusion of women from the higher echelons of these institutions. This state of affairs leaves young women without role models and mentors, thus creating an impression that these institutions are the sole domains of men (Makosana, 2002:4).

According to the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (February 2001), the principle of equity and redress is firmly entrenched in the Education White Paper 3 (1997:1.18), which states that the principle of equity requires fair opportunities both to enter higher education programmes and to succeed in them. Applying the principle of equity implies, on the one hand, a critical identification of existing inequalities which are the product of structures and policies based on racial, gender, disability and other forms of discrimination or disadvantage, as well as a programme of transformation with a view to redress. Such transformation involves not only abolishing all existing forms of unjust differentiation, but also measures of empowerment, including financial support, to bring about equal opportunities for individuals and institutions (White paper 3, 1997:1.18). The Ministry is of the opinion that the main purpose of redress is to ensure the capacity

of institutions to discharge their institutional mission within an agreed national framework.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

There has been much written about the identification and analysis of the causes of the significant under-representation of women at senior management level of organisations, including higher education institutions (Basow, 1992; Delpont, 2000; Eggins, 1997; Greyvenstein, 1996; Makosana, 2002; Mosetse, 1998; Niemann, 2002; Onsongo, 2002). Ramsay, 2000; Most recently the focus in these institutions has been on women's unequal share of domestic and particularly childrearing responsibilities and men's greater access to mentoring, sponsorship and patronage through informal networks and other career-enhancing benefits. This study will further contribute towards gender equality by raising women's awareness on gender issues and providing guidelines for improving women's situation in the workplace and in society at large.

In South Africa, as a result of current legislation and efforts by various organisations of the United Nations, some progress has been made with regard to the increasing of women's participation in management and decision-making processes. However, women's full participation in all sectors, especially senior and executive management positions in higher education institutions, has remained within marked boundaries. This calls for the empowerment of women in higher education management. Empowerment, according to Wisker (cited in Onsongo, 2002:3), means "*giving official authority or legal power to*".... Kreisberg (cited in Onsongo, 2002:3) sees empowerment as a concept that embodies the power of determination, a process through which individuals and communities increasingly control their own destinies without imposing themselves on others.

Empowerment can be defined as 'power to' as opposed 'to power over'. 'Power over' is rule bound and emphasises controlling people, whereas 'power to' means empowering people or giving power to some other group or individual. Empowerment therefore means increasing people's efficiency and productivity, overcoming their resistance, and increasing their sense of ownership, self-confidence and responsibility.

In Onsongo's (2002:4) opinion women need all these kinds of empowerment to be able to play their central role in the development of society. In higher education institutions, the empowerment of women refers to equipping them with skills that will enable them to take part in the decision-making processes and realise their full potential. Women should be empowered specifically in the higher education sector, since this is where high-level technical, professional and managerial personnel are trained to work in various sectors of the economy (Onsongo, 2002:4). Higher education provides the teachers, scholars, managers and administrators for the education system. Therefore, if women are empowered in this sector, then it is most likely that they will act as role models for young girls who will aspire to higher education and be able to play an important role in national development.

Leadership and management in higher education institutions are still male dominated, as shown by the statistics reported previously (refer to 1.1.1). Within the evidence available, there seems to be little reference to the gender variable in studies of leadership and management. The model on which the characteristics of effective leaders are based are stereotypically andocentric. Leaders seem to be consistently associated with so-called masculine attributes and behaviours such as competitiveness, dynamism, power and aggression (Kruger cited in Licuanan, 2002:548).

For a greater number of women to advance to senior management and leadership positions in higher education, as well as in the public and private sectors, the climate and culture of the organisation / institution have to change in such a way that the embedded mechanisms are balanced with both male and female models and masculine and feminine norms (Kennedy, 2001:2).

Against this background, the main aim of this study is to examine the reasons for the continued under-representation of women in positions of senior management in higher education institutions in South Africa despite the increasing number of women in these institutions. The main focus of the study will therefore be on the exploration of women managers' perceptions, feelings and opinions about their experiences in management and to determine the problems they face with regard to their advancement. This study will also provide guidelines to address gender inequality in senior positions at higher education institutions.

Is this because of society's gender stereotyping, or is women's perceived incompetence in management real? Do women perform their management and leadership roles differently from men? Are there barriers, visible and invisible, to women's career advancement, or are women discriminated upon in the workplace and in society at large? Against this backdrop, therefore, this study investigates the personal/individual, societal/cultural and structural/institutional factors that may be responsible for women's under-representation in senior management and leadership positions. Once the obstacles have been identified, possible solutions can be put in place to improve women's situation.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Whether or not men and women behave differently in leadership roles is a much-debated question. Although there is general agreement that women face more barriers to becoming leaders than men do, especially for leadership roles that are male dominated, there is much less agreement about the behaviour of women and men once they attain such roles (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:3). This is usually discussed in terms of leadership styles. Differences in style can affect people's views about whether women should become leaders and advance to senior positions in organisational hierarchies.

According to some authors (Davidson, 1999; Gabbard, 2000; Gilligan, 1982; Klenke 1996) females are known to be nurturing, sensitive, empathetic, intuitive, compromising, caring, cooperative, and accommodative. These attributes are increasingly being associated with effective leadership and management. While these characteristics are said to be innate and valuable, women possessing these qualities of 'a good leader' still face higher attrition and slower career mobility, particularly in higher education.

Several theories are used to explain what a leader is, who possesses the potential to lead, which attributes are necessary for one to be able to lead, how leaders are expected to behave, and in which situations various kinds of leaders are able to function optimally. According to the trait theory, no amount of learning will turn anybody into a leader unless he or she is born with the natural qualities of a leader. Hence, one often hears statements such as 'he is a born leader'. This belief has a long history and remains popular today. It is believed that men possess certain personality traits that enable them to

be set apart from others and to influence others so that others can follow them (Bass, 1998:302).

The trait theory has been used as an explanation for why so few women are found in leadership and management positions. According to Klenke (1996:167) the traits associated with leadership have been prescribed and defined in a stereotypical manner; women find themselves in a catch-22 situation in that, if a woman displays the culturally defined traits of femininity, i.e. being emotional, passive, dependent, nurturing, intuitive or submissive, she is perceived to be a 'poor' leader, but on the other hand, if she acts according to the male role definition of a leader, that is, being aggressive and achievement oriented, she is condemned as being 'unfeminine'. The general opinion is that women's apparent lack of such 'traits' as perceived in their behaviour makes them unsuited for leadership (Klenke, 1996:168).

Behavioural studies, such as the Ohio State University and the University of Michigan study, examine the actions and styles of leaders, including what they do and how they do it. It is in the area of styles and behaviours that the issue of gender differences and leadership has been most keenly addressed. Numerous studies (Eagly & Johnson 1990; Eggins, 1997:40) have argued and illustrated that the socialisation of females is culturally transmitted, with different role assignments and behaviours considered for each gender. These studies produced results indicating that women employ a more interpersonal (people-oriented) style of leadership than men, who were found to be more task oriented. However, these same results are not obtained in the real world of organisations. Another finding was that when leaders chose typically masculine styles (such as being autocratic and non-participative) female leaders were evaluated more negatively than their male counterparts (Klenke, 1996:166).

Contingency theories (Blake & Mouton and Fiedler, cited in Smyth, 1989:105) have moved the focus away from a search for particular components of leadership to an analysis of the context/situation regarding leadership style and effectiveness. Gender is a contingent factor that has only recently been taken into consideration in studies of leadership. Earlier studies (Bennis & Townsend, 1995; Gardner, 1990; Kotter, 1990) sought to understand leadership by focusing investigation on the person of the leader (looking for signs of leadership), and since leaders were almost exclusively of one

gender, namely masculine, the notion of gender as an important variable in leadership was not raised. However, contingency perspectives and feminist movements on the status of women have altered the picture. The issue of gender is now considered relevant to both leadership and followership, since effectiveness depends on these two dimensions.

Subsequently, the problem is that gender inequality still see to exist in senior management and leadership positions across the higher education sector in South Africa. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the reasons for this under-representation of women in these positions.

1.3.1 Problem questions

From the above problem statement, the following research questions arise:

- What is the position of women in society and in the labour market, both nationally and internationally?
- What is the situation of women in senior management and leadership in higher education, both nationally and internationally?
- What are the reasons for the under-representation of women in senior management and leadership positions in higher education?
- What can be done to enhance the progress of women to senior management positions in higher education?

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to investigate why there are so few women in senior management positions in higher education, and what can be done to improve the situation. Historically, men and women have received different signals as to what is expected of them, especially in the area of leadership and management. This does not imply that there are gender-based differences, but most people are oriented toward finding differences between men and women and tend to downplay the similarities they show. Research conducted by Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:5); Klenke (1996:167); Makosana (2002:6); Sinclair (1998:70), in terms of women's and men's leadership styles has shown that any differences that are perceived between the two

sexes are in fact manifestations of social constructions. This study is therefore undertaken to establish whether women in higher education institutions feel that the structures, culture and norms in their institutions are conducive to their inclusion in the higher echelons of these institutions, as well as their experiences once they are in these positions. Against this backdrop, this study therefore aims at achieving the following objectives:

- To provide an overview of the position of women in society and in the labour market, both nationally and internationally and (chapter 2).
- To view the situation of women in senior management in higher education, both nationally and internationally (chapters 2, 6, 7).
- To determine the reasons for the under-representation of women in senior management positions at higher education institutions (chapters 3, 6, 7).
- To provide guidelines to address gender inequality in senior positions at higher education institutions (chapters 4, 6, 7).

1.5 RESEARCH METHODS

The literature study of relevant sources dealing with the topic provides a foundation for the argumentation and recommendations of the study. Quantitative data from questionnaires, as well as qualitative data from interviews with women in the South African higher education sector, will be used to identify the reasons for the under-representation of women in senior management positions and what they see as possible solutions.

1.5.1 Qualitative investigation

The above research questions will be investigated through a qualitative research design. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000:76) qualitative research means any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about people's lives, stories, behaviour, and also organisational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:225) caution that "*the design of a naturalistic study... cannot be given in advance; it must emerge, develop, unfold...*" Thus, where it seems to be

reasonable to modify the design, the researcher will do so and will report fully on what was done, why it was done, and what the implications are for the findings (Patton, 1990:62). A case study design will be used, resulting in the formulation of themes, which are in turn used to generate constructs in order to arrive at the construction of a theory of leadership and management and its relationship to gender. According to Merriam (1998:67) a case study is “*an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a programme, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a special group*”. The special group in this study is women in senior management and leadership positions in higher education institutions in South Africa.

A qualitative approach seems to be the most reasonable approach for answering the aforesaid questions, since qualitative research questions are especially appropriate where little empirical data exists (Patton, 1990:67). Furthermore, the use of qualitative research affords the researcher the opportunity to gather firsthand information on the perspectives of women in senior leadership and management positions at higher education institutions, as well as their thoughts on how they managed to reach the top management level, the support and obstacles they experienced along the way, and the experiences of being in so-called ‘male’ territory. Women who serve in line-function management positions will also form part of the interviewees. Although they are not in senior management positions, their inclusion is warranted by the fact that they serve on the institution’s decision making structures, and furthermore, they have the potential to view management positions of women from a different angle compared to women have already reached the top.

1.5.2 Quantitative investigation

A quantitative study means any type of research that produces results arrived at by means of statistical procedures. In this study, the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) questionnaire is used (see Appendix E). This is a 30-item standardised questionnaire developed by Kouzes and Posner (1995:5), used for determining respondents’ performance as leaders and in this study it will be used to establish whether the leadership style employed by women meet the standard as set by their institutions. It has two dimensions, one of which will be administered to female respondents in order to validate the information collected from the participants, the other dimension of the LPI

test will be administered to two or three people (preferably colleagues) who know the respondent well. Afterwards the results will be averaged.

1.5.3 Site

The site of this study focuses on at least six higher education institutions (universities and universities of technology) in South Africa. An effort will be made to select a broad range of institutions, both historically black and historically white (Afrikaans and English), small and large. Yet somehow, the researcher expects to be restrained by geography and the proximity of the institutions to her place of abode and employment. The number of institutions is based on the premise that culture differs from one institution to another. Three women in senior administrative and/or academic posts in each institution will be interviewed, and the same women and their subordinates will be requested to complete the LPI questionnaire.

1.5.4 Selection of respondents

The number of respondents selected will be guided by the attainment of theoretical saturation; that is, if no more new information is gathered from the interviewees, the interviews will be discontinued. However, due to financial constraints and the practicality of the situation, if theoretical saturation is not attained after interviews are conducted at six institutions, the process will be discontinued.

The respondents will be selected on the basis of their position in the identified institution. If necessary, a snowball/network technique will be used to select a convenient sample of three women in leadership and management positions from each of the identified institutions. Snowball sampling is where the researcher starts with a subject/respondent who displays qualities of interest, then obtains referred subjects from the first subject, then additional referred subjects from the second set, and so on (Korn & Gaubart, 1995:2). The researcher will also use a network of colleagues and friends in higher education institutions to identify suitable respondents. The respondents will come from both the academia and administration with different academic, racial and cultural backgrounds.

Because the sample size is so small compared to the number of higher education institutions in South Africa and to the number of women in leadership and management positions in each institution, the sample will not be regarded as 'representative' of the population in any of the institutions under study. The researcher is more interested in gaining an in-depth understanding of the experiences and perspectives of women leaders and managers than in being able to generalise those experiences to a larger population.

1.5.5 Access to respondents

Since the study deals with issues pertaining to employment, letters to request permission to do field work will be sent to the heads of the Human Resource Departments of nine institutions (see Appendix A). This number is based on the premise that not all the institutions approached will respond favourably. Once permission has been granted the researcher will communicate with the potential respondents telephonically and/or electronically to request them for permission to participate in the study. Depending on the response received, the researcher will then make arrangements with the potential respondents for the date, time and the venue for the interview. Two to three weeks before the date for the interviews, the LPI questionnaire together with a covering letter (see Appendix D), will be sent to the respondent, either by post or delivered personally. The covering letter will explain the procedure to be followed in completing the LPI questionnaire. The LPI questionnaire will be collected by the researcher on the day of the interview. Insofar as humanly possible, the researcher will perform the contact work herself, because according to Patton (1990:88), building the interviewing relationship begins the moment the potential respondent hears about the study.

1.5.6 Procedure

Demographic questionnaires, in-depth interviews and individual LPI test will be used. This will enable the researcher to crosscheck the reliability and validity of the techniques used in data collection. The women will be interviewed in their offices, staff lounges, or any other venue convenient for the respondent.

The study focuses on women in senior leadership and management positions despite the handicaps resulting from race, class and gender disparities. Where possible, the

researcher will also attempt to create opportunities for other employees of the institution to validate the respondents' accounts of their experiences.

1.5.7 Data collection

This study focuses on the experiences of women as senior leaders and managers in higher education institutions – given the impediments of gender – in acquiring and sustaining their leadership and management positions. To achieve this, the researcher will rely on a structured and semi-structured, open-ended interview guide. Semi-structured interviewing entails the administering of the same questions and probes to all participants, which may change according to the response of the participant. The structured interview approach will be utilised during the first half of the session with each participant and the semi-structured questions will be administered during the second part of the interview session. This is meant to give all the respondents a chance to respond to similar issues and leadership scenarios. Although the researcher will use an interview guide, the researcher's approach will be to rely more on open-ended questions.

The interview guide will be constructed around personal, biographical and employment considerations. Information on personal factors such as traits and attributes, as well as leadership styles, will be gathered through the LPI questionnaire. The biographical details will include age, gender and marital status, number of children, educational qualifications, departmental and faculty affiliations, and years in current position and at the current institution.

The employment issues will focus on the type and level of higher education institutions in which the women are employed; their level of employment, their opinions and feelings concerning factors that helped secure their appointment as managers and/or leaders, their workload, and other responsibilities. Other concerns include information on the influence of their work responsibilities on their family lives and vice versa, acceptance of their work demands by their spouses and other family members, participation in decision-making processes of the institution, their experiences in dealing with their superiors and subordinates of either gender, as well as their experiences in dealing with males and females occupying similar posts. Furthermore, some questions will focus on their

opinions about the opportunities for career advancement of women in higher education management.

The length of the interviews will depend on the respondent's period of employment, variety of experiences, and eagerness to talk about his/her life, but will vary from one and a half hours to three hours. Each interview will be tape-recorded with the express permission of the respondent. The researcher will transcribe the interviews and listen to the tapes while proofreading and annotating the transcripts. Immediately following the interview, field notes will be recorded.

1.5.8 Research ethics

The researcher is aware of the nature of the research and the fact that some of the questions might affect the respondents' standing with the institution because of the sensitivity of the information. Confidentiality will be provided through carefully maintained participant anonymity. There will be minimal threat to the well-being of the participants in the study as a result of their participation. However, the researcher is also aware that even though serious consideration can be given to the problem of anonymity and all attempts made to protect the participants, ethical concerns are never simple. In a qualitative study, anonymity can never be guaranteed because it is not entirely under the researcher's control. There is always a lurking possibility of harm to the participants. Nevertheless, such issues will be treated with the utmost care and sensitivity. The participants will be requested to sign consent forms at the beginning of the interviews and will be informed that they are free to withdraw from the study at any stage should they wish to do so (see Appendix C).

1.5.9 Data analysis

This being an exploratory study, data will be coded from interview transcripts using coding categories. The researcher will first analyse the data of interviews from individual participants as separate cases, and will thereafter consider the wider matter of cross-case analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:49) have argued that an understanding of individual cases (before they are aggregated in any way) is the best guarantor for theoretical assertions that are grounded in specific contexts and real world patterns. Typologies will

then be created to facilitate the identification of themes and sub themes. The themes will then be used to generate constructs in order to arrive at a theory of leadership and its relation to gender equity in higher education institutions. The researcher will score the data from the LPI questionnaire.

1.6 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study will be conducted at higher education institutions in South Africa. The data collected will also be used to establish the lack of advancement of women to management and leadership positions, together with possible reasons for their under-representation in these positions, as well as whether there are gender differences in leadership styles for women, and what strategies can be used to enhance women's participation in decision-making processes. Taking the above facts into consideration, it can, without doubt, be asserted that this study falls into the field of Educational Management since its focus is on leaders and managers in higher education institutions.

The sample size and procedure for participant selection, while appropriate for a qualitative study like this, do not support generalisation to all higher education institutions in South Africa nor to any other higher education institution from where participants are taken. The relationship between leaders' perceptions of leadership effectiveness and empirical measures of leadership effectiveness has yet to be defined. The exploration of that relationship is beyond the scope of this study. The study does not attempt to give any empirical evidence of female and male differences in leader or manager behaviour, leadership or management styles, or the evaluation of female and male leaders and managers. This is an exploratory study – one of the first few in South Africa – on the perceived under-representation of women in senior leadership and management positions in higher education institutions. Since there have been very few studies conducted in this field in South Africa, this study makes a valuable contribution towards the awareness of gender inequality, and more specifically the under-representation of women in decision-making structures in the higher education sector, and also provides possible strategies for ensuring a fairer gender balance.

Leadership and management, though not synonymous, are closely related. These are understood and often used as such by most people. However, it has to be emphasised that

these are two different concepts. The concept of leadership is often used to refer to a process that helps direct and mobilise people and/or their ideas, or it might be used to refer to a formal position of authority, for example a supervisor or manager or a company's Chief Executive Officer. The second usage often contributes to the confusion surrounding the two concepts of leadership and management. The two are related in that they both involve deciding what needs to be done and ensuring that people actually get the job done. However, the two processes are somehow incompatible in that leadership is about movement and change, and management is about stability, order and efficiency (Kotter, 1990:77). Taken together, these differences in function can create the potential for conflict. Strong leadership can, for example, disrupt an orderly planning system and undermine the management hierarchy, while strong management can discourage the risk-taking and enthusiasm needed for leadership. The conclusion drawn by Kotter is that both leadership and management are needed if the organisation/institution is to prosper.

Marite (2003:242) defines leadership as the ability to influence a group towards the achievement of goals. The source of this influence may be formal, such as that provided by managerial rank in an organisation. A management position has some degree of formally designated authority, and therefore a person can assume a leadership role simply by virtue of the position he or she holds in the organisation. However, this does not imply that all managers are leaders, nor are all leaders managers.

However, according to the definition of leadership given above, leadership belongs to one individual and/or can be shared or distributed among the group or organisation. This definition is not limited to processes that necessarily result in 'successful' outcomes. The researcher assumes that managers and supervisors are expected to perform some leadership functions due to their organisational positions, and these individuals are therefore studied as leaders. The two concepts will therefore be used interchangeably or parallel to each other throughout this study.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is conducted according to the following structure:

Chapter one, an introductory chapter, provides a broad overview of the study, including the rationale of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research methods, delimitation of the field of study, and structure of the research. The focus of chapter two is the literature overview of the grounding perspective on the position of women in the labour force, both internationally and nationally, with emphasis on the position of women in higher education institutions. In chapter three the reasons for the under-representation of women in senior management and leadership positions are discussed, focusing on both the internal and external factors, while chapter four focuses on possible strategies for the enhancement of women's progress to senior management positions. The following chapter (chapter five) provides the research design, i.e. research methods, and describes the process of data collection, sampling and transcription methods. Chapter six describes the findings of the qualitative investigation and the results of the quantitative investigation, having analysed several themes that emerged from the transcripts, with a number of conversational examples that emerge from the data being used to explicate the findings. Putting together the empirical data and presenting the conclusion and possible solutions and recommendations for addressing women's positions of subordination in the higher education sphere is the focus of chapter seven.

1.8 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The following concepts will be described in detail as they are used throughout the text but, for the sake of orienting the reader, they are described briefly underneath:

Gender: Is a person's perception of herself or himself as male or female. It represents a person's characteristics and behaviour considered by society as socially appropriate to female or male (Wood, 1999:27).

Sex: Refers to the biological differences caused by the differences between male and female in sex organs, and to indicate an individual's femaleness and maleness (Klenke, 1996:164).

Stereotypes: These are beliefs about a group's predictable characteristics that allow us, based on these beliefs, to categorise the group and generalise about its behaviour without looking at individuals (Klenke, 1996:166).

Gender stereotyping: Refers to broad oversimplified generalisations about men and women leading to categorised judgement of people as either feminine or masculine (Klenke, 1996:166).

Feminism: Feminism means a movement for political, social and educational equality of women with men (Basow, 1992:329).

Affirmative action: Is a deliberate taking of positive steps to design and implement procedures that ensure that the employment system provides equal opportunities for all (Redwood, 1996: 5).

Sexism: Refers to a degrading mental attitude that is usually associated with superiority towards the male gender and inferiority towards the female gender (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:34).

Sexual harassment: Refers to unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power Ideology; a broad term used to signify the value system, attitudes and beliefs that surround power relations (Batlilwa, 1997:2).

Gender equity: The different behaviours, aspirations and needs of men and women considered, valued and favoured equally (UNESCO, 2000:5).

Gender equality: A situation where women are accorded the same opportunities in life as men, for instance, equality of education and employment (Grown, Rao Gupta & Kahn 2003:3).

1.9 SUMMARY

Chapter one explored the relationship between gender and management, with special reference to the higher education sector and how the under-representation of qualified women in management and leadership positions in higher education institutions has created a gender gap that exists not only in education but also in many areas of the workplace. This chapter further provided the rationale behind the study, the statement of

the problem, the purpose of the study, research methods, delimitations of the study, as well as an orientation as to how the study is to be approached. The subsequent chapter outlines the position of women in the workplace, both nationally and internationally.

<i>CHAPTER 2: THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE</i>

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In many countries the proportion of women holding senior managerial positions falls short of that of men. Public and private sectors, it appears, have systematically ignored women as a potential resource. In most, if not all countries, the higher the rank within the organisation, the fewer the women found there. There must be a complex set of variables that account for women being absent senior management position in organisations. This chapter addresses the problem of women's under-representation in the labour force both international and nationally, the position of women in pre-colonial and colonial South Africa and finally, the position of women in higher education institutions globally and in South Africa.

2.2 WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: THE GLOBAL PICTURE

According to Wood (1999:27), prior to the industrial revolution, family and work life were intertwined for most people. Men and women participated in the labour of raising crops for subsistence, and both were involved in homemaking and childrearing. The industrial revolution gave birth to factories and to paid labour outside the home as a primary way of making a living. This brought about the division of life into separate spheres of work and home. As men took the job away from home, women increasingly assumed responsibility for family life. Consequently, femininity was redefined as being nurturing, dependent on men for income, focused on relationships, and able to make a good home. Masculinity was also redefined to mean emotional reserve, ambition, success at work, and especially the ability to provide an income (Basow, 1992:258).

Hammoud (1993:14) asserts that, historically, the global picture has been one of discrimination against women and girls in education. The majority of women in agrarian society were destined for hard physical labour dominated by patriarchal systems of family life, and were limited to mastering the role of nurturer and servant. The author sees the source of this discrimination as the persistent cultural values and attitudes of

patriarchal, agrarian societies, which define men as the primary significant figures and women as the secondary support figures. These attitudes persist even where economic and technological development has progressed beyond the agrarian model. This narrow definition of the female role limits girls' access to education, causes early attrition, and restricts girls to traditional female areas of study (Core, 1999:4).

In most societies women are assigned the roles of mother, housewife and home manager. They are expected to work primarily in the domestic/family sphere, being engaged in what is termed reproductive work, that is, domestic tasks and childbearing and childrearing responsibilities, which are necessary for the reproduction of the labour force (Baker, 2000:38). In contrast, males are mostly perceived as providers, drawing in economic resources from productive work outside the home. But these perceptions of the traditional roles of men and women stereotype views which are reinforced by the ideology of patriarchy and which overlook the other roles women perform. The gender division of labour and the asymmetrical gender relations ensure that although men and women are both engaged in productive work, they do so on unequal terms (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:10). The fact that some tasks are allocated primarily to women and others to men is thus additionally reinforced in the area of productive work. The segregation of the labour market means that in all economies women are concentrated in the lower end of the labour market. Women are often concentrated in the lower-paid and lower-skilled jobs and within less prestigious sectors, particularly in the occupations that are an extension of domestic labour. According to Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:10) the gender division of labour does serve to perpetuate the subordination of women in the labour market.

As mentioned previously, not all women's work is paid and outside the home; women often carry a double burden in that at home they perform reproductive labour while cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the children, the elderly and the sick. Such labour is invisible and no monetary value is attached to it (Baker, 2000:38). In the workplace and in the formal economy, women perform productive labour. Although monetary value is attached to such labour, women generally earn less than men for doing work of equal value (Delpont, 2000:9). Moreover, it is not possible to estimate women's activities in the informal paid working environment, in the voluntary working environment and in the

domestic field, but there is evidence that women's participation in the formal economy has steadily increased in the last one hundred and ten years or so (Wilson, 1995:10).

One of the most significant social and economic developments of the twentieth century has been the entry of women into the paid labour force. In the 1960s women, especially wives with dependent children were still more likely to remain at home to pursue domestic duties, while men, particularly husbands and fathers, were engaged in the paid labour force.

The past thirty years has witnessed significant improvements to the labour market position of women. Yet women continue to compete in the workforce on an unequal footing with men and to experience unequal labour outcomes as a result. One of the obstacles to gender equality has been the failure of the workplace and social institutions, historically organised around the male breadwinner model of the family, to keep pace with the changing labour market (Hammoud, 1993:5). Women's entry into the workforce, for example, has not significantly altered the allocation of responsibilities for domestic duties and childcare within the home, meaning that women continue to bear the main responsibilities for childcare and household work. This is the case even in countries such as Canada, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, which have achieved high rates of female participation in the labour force.

Several factors are responsible for the increased entry of women into the labour force. These include lower birth rates, rising divorce rates, delays in marriage and childbearing, as well as other developments such as women's rising educational level, changes in social attitudes, and a growing demand for women's labour in an expanding service sector (UNESCO, 1998:9). Furthermore, structural economic changes have placed serious limits on the ability of a single wage-earner to earn enough to support his family, and it has therefore become necessary for women to enter the workforce.

Statistics indicate that despite the advances made by women in many areas of public life over the past two decades, in the area of leadership and management they are still a long way from participating on the same footing as men. As Hammoud (1993:11) asserts, "*with hardly any exception, the global picture is one of men outnumbering women at about five to one at middle management level and at about twenty or more to one at*

senior management level". Moreover, the fact that women also engage in unpaid labour in the household and community is almost never taken into consideration (Wilson, 1995:10).

Table: 2.1: Professors by country

Country	No. of women	%	No. of men	%	No. of men and women
South Africa	73	8.0	844	92.0	917
South Pacific	1	4.5	21	95.5	22
Sri Lanka	17	12.2	122	87.8	139
Swaziland	0	0.0	8	100.0	8
Uganda	2	16.7	10	83.3	12
United Kingdom	333	8.6	3542	91.4	3875
United Republic of Tanzania	5	8.6	53	91.4	58
West Indies	5	7.1	65	92.9	70
Zambia	2	8.3	22	91.7	24
Zimbabwe	0	0.0	4	100.0	4
Commonwealth	1 814	9.9	16543	90.1	18 357

(Adapted from UNESCO, 2000:35)

The above table indicates that the number of female professors in various universities is very low compared to the number of male professors.

Although differences in educational attainment have narrowed considerably and antidiscrimination legislation has been put in place in most countries, the persistent wage difference between the genders proves that women do not have the same access to the same occupations as men. Female employment still remains highly concentrated in a narrow range of occupations. As Core (1999:3) rightly puts it, "*one thing that has remained constant in our lives is that in the majority of societies, half the species (women) has been held in an inferior position to the other half (men)*". Women and men are in effect working in two separate markets. Segregation remains one of the major sources of inequality in the labour market.

In most countries, men and women work in occupations where their own gender is in a strong majority. It is even customary to talk about 'traditionally male' and 'traditionally female' jobs. But there are five times as many male-dominated jobs as there are female-dominated ones (UNESCO, 2002:9). The following occupations are particularly

representative of female-dominated occupations: secretaries, teachers, nurses, social workers and to some extent, jobs in retailing and hotel catering, as well as a few other occupations such as domestic workers and home helpers, which are almost entirely taken up by women (UNESCO, 2000:9).

Core (1999:4) is of the opinion that society's occupation very largely determines an individual's social and economic status. In this regard, the gender segregation of occupations brings out some marked differences that are detrimental to female-dominated occupations since they further inhibit female access to occupations that attract the most prestige, the most power and the highest incomes. These occupations are still by and large the male 'preserve'. Female-dominated occupations have lower standing in terms of income, career prospects and social recognition. The question is, why is this the case? The answer to this should explain why, today, with all the equal rights legislation in effect, women are still 'second-class' citizens, and secondly, it should indicate the mechanisms and tactics to be used to achieve women's liberation. If the problem is identified, a possible solution can be found.

According to Wilson (1995:14), there are varying degrees of occupational segregation. Such segregation occurs in two dimensions, namely vertically and horizontally. Horizontal occupational segregation occurs where men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupations, for example where women predominate in occupations such as data preparation clerks and chambermaids, and men in occupations such as computer operators and kitchen porters. Horizontal segregation is maintained by the recruitment of men and women into different jobs. Jobs become sex-typed into masculine and feminine jobs, with male jobs usually being rated more highly than female jobs.

Vertical occupational segregation describes a form of structuring where men are most commonly working in higher-grade occupations and women in lower-grade occupations. This is the case even in so-called women's occupations such as nursing. A study conducted by Stamp, for example, revealed that in one institution where nine percent of nurses were men, they held 45 percent of the top nursing jobs (Stamp & Roberts, cited in Wilson, 1995:16). Vertical segregation is maintained by either differential recruitment or the confining of women to lower grades within the internal labour markets.

In Britain, for example, women are still finding it very difficult to attain upper-middle and senior management positions. Hirsh and Jackson (cited in Wilson, 1995:20) estimate that there are around three million managers in Britain, but only about one-fifth of them are women. Of the million or so middle and senior managers, at most four percent are women. Women graduates underachieve in the labour market compared with men. In one longitudinal survey of 4 000 graduates in Britain, it was found that women have lower-status jobs and more limited promotion prospects, and earn significantly less than men. Women are less successful than men, irrespective of the type of course followed (UNESCO, 1998:50).

Table 2.2: British women – sample size by responsibility level (%)

	1974	1983	1991	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Directors	0.6	0.3	2.6	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.3	4.5	3.6
Function Heads	0.4	1.5	6.1	6.8	6.1	5.8	6.5	8.3	10.7
Department Heads	2.1	1.9	8.1	9.0	8.7	9.7	12.2	14.0	16.2
Section Leaders	2.4	5.3	11.6	13.2	12.0	14.2	14.4	18.2	21.9
Whole Sample	1.8	3.3	8.6	10.2	9.5	10.7	12.3	15.2	18.0

(Source: Institute of Management and Remuneration Economics, 1998)

As the above table shows, the number of women in management positions is very low. The situation gets worse the higher up the corporate ladder one goes, for example the percentage of female directors compared to the percentage of section leaders is low, which was the trend from 1974 to 1998.

2.3 WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Sunday Times (19 May, 2002:4) states the following with regard to the situation of women in South Africa:

Women make up a small proportion of managers and executives in South Africa, and they are still battling to fit into the cultures of organisations. In fact, the higher up organisations you go, the fewer women you will find. That does not mean that women in this country have to work for a few decades to gain some semblance of equality. Their

journey can be accelerated by a more mature implementation of employment equity legislation, and, of course, by taking note of the experiences of women elsewhere.

Although South African women seem to face similar obstacles and challenges in terms of stereotypes and authority as women in the USA in the 1970s, during the same period in the USA, 10% of managers were women, and by 2002 this figure had risen to approximately 45% (The Sunday Times, 19 May, 2002:4). Now the issue in the USA is access to top management, whereas in South Africa it is still about getting women into all levels of management. A report by the Commission on Gender Equality, published in 2000, states that men, for the most part, hold positions of power and authority, while female employees tend to dominate administrative and junior positions, with decision-making positions being mainly held by white men (The Sunday Times, 19 May, 2002:4). The commission adds that work environments tend not to accommodate women's family responsibilities: working hours are inflexible and there are few, if any, childcare facilities provided at workplaces. Based on these facts, it can be concluded that the workplace 'culture' in South African organisations has been built around (white) men.

While South Africa has installed over one hundred women in parliament (one of the highest percentage of parliamentarians in the world), women continue to be vastly underrepresented in decision-making structures in both the public and private sectors. According to the Department of Welfare (cited in The Sunday Times, 19 May 2002:4) women make up 16% of the uniformed personnel and 36% of the civilian force of the South African National Defence Force.

As Delpont (2000:6) rightly asserts, in South Africa, as in most other countries, women make up a large percentage of the informal economy, constituting such responsibilities as home-based tasks, childcare, collecting firewood and water, subsistence farming, and taking care of dependants. These are tasks that are systematically omitted in the broad analysis of women's contribution to the economy. The multiple burdens of women have excluded them from access to credit, ownership of land, educational opportunities, and skills development. Women who enter the competitive labour market are also subjected to comparatively poorer working conditions bordering on the exploitation of cheap labour.

Although all women in South Africa have at some stage experienced discrimination, Black women, especially those in rural areas, have suffered from discrimination based on the three aspects of race, gender and class. This can be ascribed to the fact that these three structures cannot be treated as 'independent variables' since the oppression of one is inscribed within the other and constituted by the other (Brah, cited in Motsemme, 2002:1). South Africa was governed by a strict regime of oppressive and discriminatory laws based on race and colour for approximately half a century. Poverty, unemployment, low levels of education, and poor health and housing characterised the lives of most South African black people. Black working-class women specifically have borne the brunt of the country's history of racial oppression and white privilege. The specificity of black women's historical experiences, as asserted by Makosana (2002:5), has set them apart from the experiences of white women. Such experiences have produced differential social identities and ideological references for both black and white women. It would be appropriate at this point to trace the origin of one form of discrimination relevant to this study, namely gender.

2.4 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND GLOBAL SITUATION

Without exception, the history of women in South Africa, as in other countries, has been one of oppression. There is strong consensus about the differing characteristics of men and women in society. These characteristics are reified by the dominant assumptions about gender roles, with women perceived as being less independent, less objective, less analytical, less logical and less resourceful (Goduka, 1999:126). These gender biases form the basis of a sexist ideology that equates women with passivity and domesticity. This European cultural tradition, as will be indicated later, has been present in South Africa since the beginning of the colonial occupation (Goduka, 1999:126; Walker, 1990:45 ;).

2.4.1 The position of women in pre-colonial South Africa

In the pre-colonial era, South Africa was occupied by indigenous people who survived by hunting and gathering. In these societies most food came from the gathering activities performed predominantly by women (Goduka, 1999:127). For example, among the San,

who occupied the Cape long before the Dutch invaded the area in 1652; the men hunted and provided the meat for the group, while women and children gathered roots and berries, thereby contributing most of the food supply (Mosetse, 1998:25). Sometimes women would join the men in hunting if game was closer to the dwelling. The foraging groups were therefore characterised by very little stratification of any kind, while status differences between men and women were minimal, and subsistence activities were carried out in same-sexed groups. However, the distinction between men's and women's work was not rigid.

Later these groups laid claim to land and started practising subsistence farming. According to Basow (1992:107), at this time the groups started increasing their food supply through ploughed cultivation and the domestication of animals. As soon as property could be owned, defended, passed on and bartered, inheritance factors such as the legitimacy of the offspring became important. With the rise of agrarian societies, patriarchy and men's control of women's reproduction became firmly established. A woman could therefore not engage in sexual activity with any man other than her husband, but a man could have as many wives as he wished. Consequently women's behaviour and lives became more restricted (Goduka, 1999:127).

In addition to this, married men generally dominated farming societies. They controlled the homestead and were the owners of the agricultural produce, as well as the cattle. Their roles were limited to land clearing and a military role of defending and acquiring land. Women, who had no possessions, usually carried out all the farming tasks while looking after children, planting, weeding, harvesting, maintaining the home, cooking and serving food, and even making clay pots (Hay & Sticher, cited in Mosetse, 1998:25). Men often had sufficient time to spend in the village centre (*khotla*) and attend to the business of the village government, which included socialising boys to adopt 'appropriate' gender roles and behaviours (Mosetse, 1998:25). Women were in no way involved in society's political structures, and men made all the important decisions.

As mentioned previously, in pre-capitalist/pre-colonial societies, production took place in the homestead. The subsistence of such homesteads depended on the cereals produced by the agricultural labour of the women, as well as the milk products of the homestead's herdsmen who were responsible for animal husbandry (Walker, 1990:36).

Walker (1990:36) goes on to state that cattle played a very important role in production, since before a new homestead could be established, that is, before a man could marry, or an existing family be extended, cattle had to be passed or pledged by the husband to the father of the woman he wished to marry. This is variously described as 'lobola', 'bride wealth' or 'bride price'. Walker (1990:37) sees lobola as a social transaction that united two main concerns, namely the control of women and the control of cattle, and emphasises its role in the appropriation and exploitation of women. The organisation and control of cattle remained in the males' hands, and cattle-holding was directly related to the wealth of the homestead.

2.4.2 The position of women in colonial South Africa

The roots of colonial rule in South Africa stretch back about three hundred years to the time when the Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company, under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck, chose the Cape to set up a refreshment station for Dutch sailors travelling to and from Asia (Mermelstein, 1987:67). The British settlers later joined this group of settlers in 1795. According to Moseitse (1998:27), except for a few midwives, no women were officially employed by this company. However, to augment the company's income, women were encouraged to prostitute themselves to sailors and were made to work alongside men on the most gruelling tasks. This treatment of women took place regardless of race, as both black and white women experienced subordination of this nature.

In the colonial era, government continued to be unquestionably a male responsibility. From the earliest days of Dutch settlement in the Cape, settler society rested on a military foundation, and as with the agrarian societies, war was the province of men. Walker (1990:317) asserts that throughout the eighteenth century, there were fewer white women than men in the Cape, and hence competition for control over the fertility and sexuality of these women was fierce. Women were thus faced with marriage and submission to the authority of their husbands, the supervision of the household, the bearing and rearing of children, and the inculcation of the values and norms of their society into the next generation – these were the unquestioned duties of the white woman (Walker, 1990:317). And these duties, according to the Boers, were justified by several biblical texts.

The European view of the position of women in society, brought to Africa by the Dutch and British colonists, was therefore also based on women's subordination. This was greatly influenced by their 'culturally clothed' Christian beliefs and their mission of evangelism of the indigenous people. Missionaries introduced their education system to the natives, which was meant to emphasise the concurred and elaborated ideology of domesticity of women, envisioned in the model of Western society (Walker, 1990:85).

The missionaries saw the solution to African women's subordinate status in evangelism, which, according to them, would help women escape from 'tribal customs' and be restored to human dignity. This led to an emphasis on the gender-specific education of African women, which was valued both as a good in itself and as a means to an end. Not only was it a means to liberate African women and indirectly 'civilise' all Africans, but it was also seen as a means to transform African people into productive workers for the colonists' benefit (Walker, 1990:86).

The missionaries' understanding of education as a civilising process involved imparting both general and role-specific knowledge. The latter included the knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to the different gender roles, and for African women this meant their socialisation into Western definitions of domestic roles. Their cultural source was Victorian England from where the white settlers, missionaries and colonial administrators originated. These values were saturated with an aggressive masculine tone (Walker, 1990: 88). This exclusiveness of male society was inevitably accompanied by a sense of masculine superiority to which women gave assent. As Kitson Clark (cited in Walker, 1990: 88) points out, "*There was a good many people in nineteenth century England who thought that women did not need much education and had to be centred in the home*". For the missionaries, women's core role was a domestic one: It was their influence as wives and mothers that was important. This education for domesticity fitted in with the ideology of subordination, which the colonists saw as appropriate to all blacks, both male and female.

This type of education prepared women for occupations low in pay, power and prestige. In contrast, men who graduated from college entered a variety of occupations, becoming ministers, teachers, entrepreneurs, policemen, printers, law agents and so on. Against this backdrop it can be argued that Western influence weakened or destroyed African

women's role within pre-colonial society without providing alternative roles of power or autonomy in exchange (Goduka, 1999:128). It seems that while missionary education may have worked to liberate a few individual African women who were provided with subordinate roles and subordinate positions.

According to Walker (1990:88) black female agricultural labour continued to be extremely important in the capitalist/colonial system, but the scope of its operation was fundamentally altered. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the colonial government started imposing a hut tax on various chiefdoms. This forced men into wage labour upon which the colonial states depended financially. In this sense, colonialism added another layer to the already existing system of gender exploitation – the surplus created by wives and children was now appropriated by husbands and fathers, as well as the colonial state. This heralded the birth of migrant labour under capitalism in South Africa. This type of labour depended upon the exploitation of both the labourer (the man) and the women who supported him in the rural area he considered to be his home (Mosetse, 1998:26).

Walker (1990:40) asserts that the migrant labour system was sanctioned by law and required that men move to urban areas whilst women and children were kept on the land and made responsible for rural production under severe conditions. This move destroyed the value-creating cycle at the centre of Southern Africa's pre-capitalist societies. Women were then expected to labour both inside and outside the home. A changed situation, in which cash and commodities provided a source of value independent of the women-cattle-labour power cycle, was now created (Walker, 1990:40).

With the advent of industrialisation, there were rapid economic, social, political and technological changes in South Africa as in other countries, which affected the traditional setup in such a way that people no longer depended on agriculture for survival. The introduction of Western education has meant that people acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes to be able to survive in society. However, these changes, as Carr-Ruffino (1993:4) claims, did little to alter the status of women in society. In fact, the status of women declined as men took over tasks formerly performed by women and transferred these tasks from the home to the factory. Men then assumed dominance in the public sphere with women relegated to the private sphere, which then decreased in societal

importance as the means of production moved outside the home (Basow, 1992:108). Man's role became that of good provider. Consequently even employed working-class women were paid less, thereby perpetuating their economic dependence on men.

In April 1994 South Africa took a massive leap forward and changed the country's course from white rule and apartheid to a non-racial and non-sexist democracy. This marked the shift in power to the Government of National Unity. This new government has also recognised the history of the struggle of South African women for equality. South African women are at last faced with the prospect of fair treatment, and indeed the prospect of meaningful corrective action. Nevertheless, many of these possibilities must still be translated into action. Women are aware that the rights enshrined in the constitution will remain paper guarantees unless effective mechanisms of enforcement and implementation are established and women take concerted action to translate these into policy and laws (Makosana, 2002:6).

2.4.3 The position of women in higher education: the global picture

Despite improvements over the past two decades, access to higher education remains a problem in many countries. The poor access to higher education is accompanied by under-representation of women in science and technology and a clustering of women in the traditional female studies of arts, humanities, languages, education and nursing. In most countries, the number of women enrolling also decreases as they move up in the higher education system (UNESCO, 2000:9).

The number of women in higher education has improved tremendously over the years, both in terms of students and employees. This process, as stated by the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:2) is, however, very slow. The presence of a critical mass of women in management and leadership positions remains vastly inadequate (DESA, 1997:1). Furthermore, a number of cultural barriers still exist, which seriously impede women's development as citizens and professionals.

The position of women in education management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society, or from the general aims of economic and social

development. For this reason the question of formal participation in education is taken as the seedbed from which higher education managers come (Hammoud, 1993:12).

Discrimination against girls, as Hammoud (1993:15) argues, is not confined to developing countries only. Although the developed countries enjoyed primary and relatively widespread secondary education during the past century and into the present century, there has not been equality of opportunity for girls. A UNESCO (2002:9) report indicates that the same can be said for the situation in North America and Europe, i.e. the channelling of girls into traditional areas, under-representation in science and mathematics, stereotyping in terms of capabilities and future roles, as well as unequal resource distribution. Despite years of active promotion of equal opportunity policies by governments, women are still clustered in traditional female subject areas and professions.

Access to education is a telling indicator of women's status in society, since cultural perceptions of the roles women fill are reflected in the extent to which women participate in formal education, as well as the type of education to which they have access (Hammoud, 1993:12). The illiteracy and low educational achievement of girls and women in many countries is a problem of particular urgency. In developing countries, 66% more adult women than men are illiterate and the female school enrolment rate at primary level is 13% lower than that of males.

Since the 1970s the education of girls and women has been on the agenda of scholars of education and of international development agencies (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:3). Multiple policies and programmes have since been implemented by NGOs, national governments and international development agencies with the aim of increasing girls' participation in education. But despite these efforts, low female enrolment in schooling and illiteracy amongst women were still widespread in 1990 when the World Education Forum was held in Jomtiem in Thailand (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:21). There are many obstacles to girls' enrolment and further participation in the education system, as is discussed in the next chapter. Some of these obstacles are the lack of role models for girls and low expectations of girls. Despite the positive benefits of education, some implications within the educational system are relevant because they provide some explanation of why girls achieve less and why they drop out before secondary level. This

has to do with the education system as a reproducer of values, sexual stereotypes and norms in society (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:7).

Therefore, in seeking to explain the under-representation of women in management, the participation of girls and women in education must first be considered. Wilson (1995:20) claims that in the UK in general, there has been a gradual increase in the number of women entering higher education. Women constituted 44% of university undergraduates in 1989 and 37% of postgraduates, compared with 41% and 32% respectively in 1983. While the majority of girls study education or arts subjects, 26% of science undergraduates are female. In 1987, in Scotland, women constituted 15% of entrants to undergraduate computer courses. Girls in Scotland are found to be more highly qualified than boys when leaving school (Wilson, 1995:20).

The situation varies according to individual countries. For instance, in the United States since 1979, more and more women are said to be enrolling in college programmes. In 1989-90 women were awarded 58% of all two-year degrees and 53% of all bachelor's and master's degrees. Yet women have done less well in professional doctoral courses. In Finland, by 1990, more than half of bachelor's degrees and one third of postgraduate degrees were awarded to women. But as in other countries, women tend to be concentrated in the social sciences and the humanities. In France, as in Germany, the participation of women in higher education is about 40%, but men dominate technical courses, which are likely to lead to positions of power and high incomes (Hammoud, 1993:17).

According to Licuanan (2002:3), in the Philippines, where literacy and school participation rates for women at all levels are quite favourable, data continues to show gender-typing of educational training and specialisation at higher levels. Women comprise the majority of participants in education, health-related fields, business and liberal arts. The country's educational workforce is predominantly female, since most women pursue degrees in education. However, men still outnumber women in the top-level posts of the educational system. Only 15% of state university and college presidents are women. In its 100 years of existence the University of the Philippines has never had a woman president (Licuanan, 2002:3).

The end of the 20th century will be remembered for a renewed interest in human rights, that is, children's rights and women's rights, among others. Between 1970 and 1998 the proportion of women in the labour force in the United States increased from 43% to 60%. However, only 3% of top-level executives are women. Similarly, in higher education, although more than half the student population at colleges and universities are women, only 16% of college and university presidents and 25% of chief academic officers are female. While 44% of doctorates are earned by women, only 25% of women are full-time professors. Based on the statistics presented, significant progress has been made in the advancement of women's careers in higher education over the past 30 years, yet the situation remains far from equitable. Ramsay (2000:3) points out that "*Women are grossly under-represented in higher education management*", and goes on to cite a UNESCO report which found that, "*With hardly any exception, the global picture is one of men outnumbering women at about five to one at middle management level and at about twenty to one at senior management level*". The UNESCO study concluded that, "*As a result, women deans and professors are a minority group and women vice-chancellors and presidents are still a rarity*".

According to Onsongo (2002:3) a recent Commonwealth higher education management survey report revealed that across the Commonwealth, the percentage of women employed as full-time academic staff ranges from 9.5% in Ghana to just over 50% in Jamaica. The Commonwealth average was 24%. In the area of higher education, both in teaching and management, women are still concentrated in traditional professions, which are considered to be an extension of the natural roles of wife and mother. In management, women were found to be invisible in senior management positions. Most women were found to be more likely to occupy positions such as registrar, librarian or head of personnel rather than vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, director of finance, or even dean of a faculty. A follow-up survey conducted in 2000 indicated a very marginal improvement in the situation. Women were visible in the positions of heads/directors of academic departments, with an overall average of nearly 18% of women in these posts.

These problems impede the personal and social development of women and consequently hinder their ability to emerge as effective leaders at every level of daily life. At its forty-first session in 1997, the Commission on the Status of Women considered a critical area

of concern, namely women and power and decision-making, and called for acceleration of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in this area (DESA, 1997:3). While progress has been significant, much remains to be done, as evidenced by statistics stated in the human development report published annually by the United Nations Development Programme (DESA, 1997: 3).

- *66% of the world's illiterates are women;*
- *only 33% of women compared to men enrol in higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa, with even lower figures in science and technology;*
- *women's participation in employment is only 50% compared to that of men in developing countries;*
- *women in certain countries are still prohibited from voting and owning property;*
- *in politics women represent only 10% of the world's parliamentarians;*
- *national GNPs could rise significantly if women's unpaid work was an official factor in production;*
- *women still suffer salary disparity compared to men in numerous instances of professional life (on average 25% less).*

The above statistics clearly indicate the need for rapid change, and the role of education, notably as an investment in human capital, is an essential aspect of this challenge, in which men and women have equal responsibility. This sentiment is echoed by Niemann (2002:168) when she states: *"The education system is the single largest organisation in the country and thus has a great potential influence on gender relations"*. Since higher education is traditionally where social and economic leaders, as well as experts in all fields, receive a significant part of their personal and professional training, it has the responsibilities of the tasks which concern men and women to an equal extent.

According to the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:6), three specific aspects relating to higher education and women emerge: Firstly, women graduates must be seen as part of the essential human resource base of each country. As such, they have the right to the same access and career opportunities as their male counterparts. Discriminatory practices are not only unjust, but a flagrant waste of valuable expertise which, today, is vital in all nations. Secondly, in higher education itself, where reform is a priority, there should be a strong commitment to equipping women with the necessary range of managerial skills to

contribute to the overall renewal of the sector. Thirdly, the nature of power, as it is used in positions of leadership and management, may need to be conceived quite differently. Feminine leadership needs clearer analyses and definitions and may be preferred as a model more suited to the needs of social development across all sectors, including higher education.

As the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:9) argues, the higher education sector would benefit from more female leaders. It is also asserted that the current management models are being questioned and that the numbers of women in various professional fields are increasing steadily. Current statistics from the world's principal associations of universities attest to the need to improve the presence of women at the top of higher education, as indicated by the table below.

Table 2.3: Percentage of universities led by women

NGO	Members	Institutions led by women (%)
Association of African Universities	120	5%
Association of Arabian Universities	103	1.94%
Association of Commonwealth Universities	463	0.8% ¹
Association of French-speaking Universities	270	5-7%
Association of European Universities	497	6-8%
Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific	140 ²	5%-
Inter-American Organization for Higher Education	350	5% ³
Union des Unversidades de America Latina	177	2.65%

(Adapted from UNESCO, 1998)

In Australia, too, there is inequality when it comes to women in top university management, although universities have been covered by the provision of federal affirmative action legislation since 1987. Despite the potential strength of this legislation, the situation in Australian universities at the end of 1999 showed a continued pattern of inequity in women's employment in universities. The following table shows that women are concentrated in lower-graded occupations (Ramsay, 2000:4).

Table 2.4: Percentage of general staff levels by gender, Australia, 1999

Higher education worker scale levels (HEW)	Women %	Men %
HEW level 4 and below (support staff)	68.1%	31.9%
HEW levels 5-9 (middle management)	54.1%	45.9%
Above HEW level 10 (executive)	34.6%	65.4%

(Adapted from Chesterman, January 2002)

Table 2.5: Percentage of academic staff levels by gender, Australia, 1999

Level in academic scale	Women %	Men %
Below lecturer	50.4%	49.6%
Lecturer	42.7%	57.3%
Senior lecturer	27.8%	72.2%
Above senior lecturer	15.4%	84.6%

(Adapted from Chesterman, January 2002)

As the above tables indicate, even though women workers continue to become more numerous at higher education institutions, they rarely occupy posts such as deputy vice-chancellor or academic head of department. In the academic field, also, women dominate the lower grades and men the senior levels. These questions of prime importance therefore remain:

What is the reality of higher education governance today? Is feminine leadership a valid concept with applications to the higher education context?

In response to the above questions, the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:10) states that as the challenges facing higher education grow more complex, it is true that the governance of higher education requires even more skills, and top leadership is also under more scrutiny. Furthermore, there is no reason why women should be excluded from these positions of leadership and power, provided that their capacities are sought. Training opportunities should also be given to women to acquire skills, which otherwise would exclude their candidature from consideration when leadership positions arise.

A significant group worldwide still denies these trends, insisting that access to decision-making positions still depends essentially on the emulation of male behaviour. However, organisations of different kinds are now going through a 'feminisation' of their structures, some more rapidly than others, and thereby creating more space for the discussion and valuing of personal issues and problems while also reconsidering a more intuitive style of decision-making. Some are relying on teamwork, organisation-wide communication processes, and inclusive and horizontal schemes of power and responsibility (DESA, 1997:4).

According to the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:3), the 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing (Platform of Action) merits special attention for its role as a watershed in the history of women's empowerment and leadership in that, firstly, it confirmed that the entire gender issue has gained worldwide attention as a crucial component in the development process. With this recognition, it may be possible to redress the inequalities more effectively. Secondly, and compared with earlier conferences, it resulted in more concrete recommendations to help ensure that women take their rightful place in the world of the 21st century.

2.4.4 The position of women in South African higher education institutions

The situation of women in South Africa is not inherently different from the global picture. Chesterman (2002:4) posits that South African equity legislation is among the most progressive in the world, drawing on the best international experiences, but it is of recent origin. The statistics for women in senior positions is very poor. Women are inadequately represented among the ranks of full professors at higher education institutions. The most recent figures for South Africa indicate that 10% of the academic staff ranked as professors are female, with 9% being women in the lower ranks (Chesterman, 2002:4).

Table 2.6: South African universities' academic staff by rank and gender, 1994 and 1999

	Professor		Associate professor		Senior lecturer		Lecturer		Junior lecturer		Total	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
Women	186	231	246	331	1064	1303	2366	2718	480	662	4342	5245
Men	2139	1869	1120	1108	2736	2530	2891	2945	392	611	9227	9324
Total	2325	2100	1366	1439	3800	3833	5257	5663	872	1273	13569	14569
% women	8	11	18	23	28	34	45	48	55	52	32	36

(Source: Wolpe, Quinlan & Martinez, 1997)

At the very senior level, the situation is even worse. In 1998 in South Africa there were four women vice-chancellors and only eight women deputy vice-chancellors, with few women in positions such as dean or head of school. The Council for Higher Education annual report for 2000/1 indicates that women are severely underrepresented at the executive management level, despite a modest increase from 13% to 19%.

Furthermore, in South Africa, the situation of black women is exacerbated by the heritage that racism has brought to this country. It is imperative to understand and accept that apartheid and socio-cultural values have resulted in gender inequality. In 1999 De la Rey (cited in Chesterman, 2002:5) interviewed senior women managers in South African higher education institutions. The results showed that many had unusual career profiles, with only seven out of 22 women having doctorates and only 4 having followed traditional career paths. This is explained by the exclusion of black women from positions of power in higher education during the period of apartheid, and by the fact that many of the women had given priority to activist responsibilities; indeed they all demonstrated extensive activity in community activities.

The above numbers mean that women in senior positions in South African institutions will continue to experience isolation. This was emphasised by Professor Irene Moutlana, Vice-Rector: Academic, Port Elizabeth Technikon (in Chesterman, 2002:1):

Women in top management positions usually get their first view and feel of this reproduction of inequality when one is recruited into the institution...Coming in as a woman, there is always the stigma that you were 'let in' and that you did not.

'Get in' Once 'in' women soon realize that their professional identity is invariably shaped and supported by a commitment to the norms and values of the dominant white male society.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter attempted to show that women are indeed excluded from decision-making structures in the workforce and particularly in the higher education sector, both nationally and internationally. South Africa, with its long history of male domination, is not an exception. In fact, this country still exhibits one of the highest levels of gender inequality by excluding half of its human resources potential from development and preventing them from taking their rightful positions in the labour market. The next chapter identifies the possible barriers that prevent women from climbing the career ladder.

<i>CHAPTER 3: BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION</i>

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The social basis of male domination is often concealed through powerful ideological mechanisms such as the naturalisation of gender inequality, so that women experience their subordination as inevitable and natural. The differences between men and women are in most societies perceived as natural via reference to the 'apparently' objective reality of the biological sex. What human beings often ignore is that gender relations between men and women are not naturally given, but rather socially constructed. It is the culture and society that create the perception of masculinity and femininity as hierarchical contrasts where categories associated with masculinity are perceived as superior and dominant and categories associated with femininity are viewed as inferior and subordinate (Bourdieu, in Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:8).

As mentioned in the first chapter (see 1.1.1) several reasons have been given for women's lack of advancement in the labour force, as well as their lower position in terms of status and opportunities. Reasons given range from women's perceived lack of competency and self-confidence, fear of success and lack of relevant qualifications, to stereotypes in society, discrimination in the workplace, and the efforts of one group to exclude participation by another (UNESCO, 1998:6).

In this study, the framework used to examine women's barriers places those barriers within the domains of internal and external barriers. This is the approach espoused by UNESCO (2002:31). External barriers refer to the environmental variables, which affect women's entrance to and advancement in the management hierarchy and in society. These variables are inextricably interwoven with the internal or personal barriers. Their complex and interwoven nature is deeply embedded within the entire workplace, as well as the norms and values of society. The external barriers therefore comprise societal/cultural and organisational/structural barriers.

3.2 INTERNAL BARRIERS

Internal or personal barriers are those deficiencies or inadequacies that exist within women and which are described as limitations inherent in traditional and stereotyped feminine traits. According to UNESCO (2002:35) they are the psychological and self-imposed internal consequences of the external situation of women's lives. Leonard and Papa-Lewis (in Greyvenstein, 1989:95) define internal barriers as being psychological in nature, consisting of aspects of the personality, values and attitudes of the individual. However, the so-called internal barriers, can be classified as external barriers because, it is society that generates a belief in females that they lack ability, which is reinforced by organisational systems that prevent them from developing self-confidence in public-sphere activities through a lack of opportunity. Therefore what is normally referred to as internal barrier is in reality the result of 'gender conditioning' which begins with little girls and young women and is designed to prepare them for their future role in life. Low self-confidence is thus the result of a system that curtails self-confidence-building experiences in women from an early age (Niemann, 2002:182).

According to the person-centred or individual perspective, the paucity of women is attributed to psychosocial attributes, including personality characteristics, attitudes and behavioural skills of women themselves. The problem is vested in the individual and she is called to adapt herself to the traditional, male concept of management within the academy. Personal barriers include limited aspirations and lack of motivation in the field of management, fear of success, and women's low potential for leadership (Sinclair, 1998:98).

3.2.1 Fear of success

Although it is asserted that women have an inherent fear of success. Cubillo (1999:550) claims that women do not actually fear success per se, but rather the social consequences of conspicuous success in traditionally male spheres. Carr-Ruffino (1993:7) is of the opinion that women tend to avoid success for fear that society may regard them as unfeminine. In competitive situations, this avoidance or fear of success limits women's aspirations of leadership roles. Contributing factors could include the fact that women

are more easily discouraged by a sequence of failed promotion attempts and therefore cease to apply for promotion, consequently being seen as fearful of success.

Women also encounter problems insofar as being assertive is concerned. The reason is again based on societal expectations. The male role carries with it the aura of superiority and competence, whilst the female role is associated with subordination and incompetence. In the workplace, women often feel incompetent in performing their management tasks because of the perceptions staff hold of women, such as that they are dependent, emotional, non-competitive, and lacking in confidence or ambition (Niemann, 2002:183).

Carr-Ruffino (1993:17) asserts that women would rather wait to be discovered and chosen, invited or persuaded to accept a promotion position. This is often referred to as the '*Cinderella Syndrome*', whereby women feel unworthy for management positions unless their competency is discovered by someone else. Women also tend to base their success and achievement on luck and not their own ability (Cubillo, 1999:550).

Women often avoid taking risks, and this can to a large extent be attributed to gender role stereotyping, as the play activities of girls do not include risky games and they are brought up to conform to what is expected of them (Carr-Ruffino 1993:17 ; Niemann, 2002:182).

3.2.2 Lack of aspiration and motivation

Although women have made great progress in the area of leadership and management, many of them still limit their aspirations because of lack of confidence and fear of success or fear of their ability to lead (Sinclair 1998:99). According to the author, this is the result of a system that operates to exclude women from the centre of events and has a profound effect on how they think and feel about themselves and their leadership. As a result, are most likely to 'internalise' the messages of institutional and societal discrimination, and end up believing that these messages about them are true.

Another oft-mentioned internal barrier is the general assumption that women do not aspire to management positions and moreover lack the motivation to do so. Thus women

are said to be less instrumental, less interested in career advancement, and generally less committed to work. For instance, Davidson and Cooper (1992:42) argue that women managers are more likely than men to be job oriented rather than career oriented and more concerned with the intrinsic rewards of the task at hand than with future career benefits.

Research concerning this aspect is inconclusive. A study conducted by Crompton *et al.* (1996:267) indicated that there are few sex differences in the overall responses to people's motivation to work. The main sources of motivation for both men and women were found to be intrinsic to the work itself, that is, a sense of achievement and an enjoyment of the job.

The counter-argument is that although women have similar career ambitions and aspirations for leadership positions as men, they do not have the same opportunities. Studies have proven that competence level is normally not viewed as an issue in this case, because it has been shown that the perceived effectiveness of women as managers and leaders is as high, if not higher than that of their male counterparts (Crompton *et al.*, 1996:267). However, the author states that studies have shown women to have lower aspirations than men and that even when women aspire to attain promotion positions, their aspirations are for positions ranked on the lower levels of management.

Women do have aspirations, according to stereotypical female experiences, but that a variety of organisational and social barriers limit these aspirations. Low aspiration and motivation in women should therefore not be viewed solely as an internal barrier, but also as an external barrier to women's participation in leadership and management. The lack of aspiration and motivation is therefore also a by-product of external obstacles to women's advancement.

3.3 EXTERNAL BARRIERS

External barriers are further subdivided into societal/cultural barriers and structural/organisational barriers. They are found in society and in the workplace environment respectively.

3.3.1 Societal / cultural barriers

Bourdieu's (cited in Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:8) gender perspective on male domination is used to illustrate how subtle power mechanisms maintain and reproduce the unequal gender structure in societies, that is, female subordination and male domination. According to this approach, the social basis of male domination is often concealed through powerful ideological mechanisms such as the naturalisation of gender inequality, so that women experience their subordination as natural and inevitable. However, gender and the relations between men and women are not naturally given, but rather socially constructed. It is culture and society that create the perception that masculinity is superior and dominant and the categories associated with femininity inferior and subordinate (Sinclair, 1998:84).

Bourdieu's (in Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:22) explanation is that human beings perceive the world from the perspective of some fundamental dualistic concepts, such as black/white, high/low, inside/outside, public/private, strong/weak. These dualistic concepts structure people's patterns of thinking, action, behaviour, and organisation of life, work and activities. The most fundamental distinction is the gender distinction, which is related to other basic contrasts, both in relation to how masculinity and femininity are viewed and in relation to which characteristics, activities and roles are attributed to men and women. According to these dualistic principles masculinity is associated with activity, authority, strength, aggressiveness, and activities and work in the public sphere. Femininity, on the other hand, is associated with passivity, humility, weakness, obedience, and activities and work in the private, domestic sphere. Women and men are thus attributed different roles, activities and tasks, which legitimise the segregation between the sexes and the subordination of women.

The socially constructed segregation between men and women is perceived as natural because the organisation of the social world is structured according to these dualistic gender principles, which, through socialisation, are incorporated into bodily behaviour and cultural schemes of perception, thinking, classification and action. The male domination is thereby naturalised in that the structures of the social world are incorporated into the *habitus* of the individuals, and therefore the mental schemes of the individuals reflect the world outside in such a way that the historical and cultural

conditions are perceived as natural. Women, as the dominated gender, therefore use the same dualistic categories of perception, evaluation and practice as the dominating men who have constructed these categories in their own interests and who make these categories appear natural. This means that women evaluate themselves according to criteria that view women as inferior. When women internalise their own subordinate status and consider themselves to be of lesser value, their sense of their own rights is diminished. For example, women exclude themselves from spheres or activities that could exclude them anyway via reference to the dichotomy of masculine/public and feminine/private and related values (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:9). Furthermore, society has certain expectations with regard to male and female behaviour (Basow, 1992:266). Behaviour that is incongruent with societal expectations is disapproved of, frowned upon, and even punished. Social role theory suggests that males and females develop different traits and behaviours because of the different roles society expects and sometimes forces them to play. There are many societal factors that pose a barrier to women's advancement, but three main ones are highlighted in this study.

The culture-centred approach is concerned with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to women and men. These gender-based roles – though irrelevant to the workplace – are nonetheless carried into the workplace. Higher education institutions therefore reproduce gender differences “*via their internal structures and everyday practices, because of the cultural perceptions which determine the attitudes and behaviours of individual men and women and form barriers to the participation of women in senior management*” (UNESCO, 2002:31).

Societal barriers are more important and more serious than personal barriers and yet people usually pay more attention to personal or internal barriers because, as Basow (1992:267) posits, it is easier to ‘blame the victim’. Among the identified societal barriers, the following are focused upon: gender role socialisation, gender stereotypes, and the role of culture.

3.3.1.1 Gender role socialisation

Gender refers to patterned, socially produced distinctions between female and male, masculine and feminine, whilst sex is classified as biological qualities that define whether

one is male or female. This usually involves the subordination of women, either concretely or symbolically. Gender is a pervasive symbol of power between the two sexes, with men possessing more power than women (Wilson, 1995:107). Gender is a daily accomplishment that occurs in the course of our participation in our lives.

Gender is a set of master rules, some of which concern attitudes towards women in terms of their worth, which see them segregated to a secondary labour market with low-pay and low-status jobs. Women's entry into the workplace is restricted by a set of societal values. They are filtered into a narrow range of occupations that tend to mirror assumed domestic roles of caregivers, cleaners and food preparers (refer to 2.2). Many of them are prevented from working long inflexible hours by their dual roles of breadwinner and homemaker (Wilson, 1995:108).

In this section, the focus falls on the most important gender roles attributed to women and the description of the contexts within which the expectations of these roles and the gender division of labour are transmitted and reinforced, as well as how these contribute to the perpetuation of female subordination. In most societies men and women perform different roles as a result of the established dichotomy between femininity and masculinity.

Gender roles are internalised and transmitted through the socialisation process of boys and girls – a process that begins at birth and which influences their self-perceptions and expectations of how women and men should be and behave. The internalisation of values and norms relating to specific gender roles is first of all consolidated in the family or kinship group and is further transmitted and reinforced in contexts such as educational institutions, the labour market, and in marital relationships (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:9).

Gender socialisation begins early in life. Soon after the birth of their children, parents start treating boys and girls differently: with boys they are rougher, talk louder, and use adjectives like 'big' and 'strong', while with girls they tend to be much more cautious, talk more quietly and in 'hushed tones', and tend to use adjectives such as 'tiny', 'precious' and 'beautiful' (Simmons, 1996:178). Thus begins an extensive, lengthy and sometimes difficult lesson in gender. By the age of two or three, children can readily

identify themselves as male or female and have a stable gender identity with a knowledge of gender stereotypes (Bingham, 1994:34).

Not only do children learn what types of behaviours are appropriate to their gender, they also learn that power and privilege are not equally distributed in society. According to Bingham (1994:34), children perceive fathers as more punishing and controlling and more in charge in the home than mothers. For instance, fathers may get the most comfortable chair in the house, larger and better portions of food at mealtimes, and a private space such as a desk, office or chair.

Research consistently shows that from an early age girls are socialised into a maternal role to care for and nurture others, and are concerned with sustaining social relationships, whilst boys are socialised into an employment role, to take an active role in the labour force and to compete for positions of power and status, and are more concerned with dominance (Bingham, 1994:36; Gilligan, 1982:65; Klenke, 1996:168). Boys are taught how to perform certain tasks and are praised for their independence and achievements. Fathers, in particular, stress competence, task performance, achievement, career advancement and occupational success for their sons, but reinforce dependency behaviours in girls.

Gender role socialisation perspectives suggest that socialisation agents such as families, schools, peers and the media teach women as little girls to be emotionally oriented and reserved in interaction with others, while little boys are taught to be outgoing and achievement oriented (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:6). It is through this process that children, from infancy, learn about the relationship between biological sex and social roles. This learning is shaped by societal, cultural and ideological beliefs. As Klenke (1996:170) asserts, in the social construction of gender, it does not even matter what men and women actually do, nor does it even matter if they do exactly the same thing; the social institution of gender insists only that what they do is perceived as different. To this day, in many situations and childrearing practices, the biological sex of the child frequently determines which activities she or he will be exposed to or permitted to experience. By the time boys and girls reach middle childhood, gender stereotypes play an instrumental role in shaping their perceptions of female and male leaders (Eagly, 1998:6).

As adults, males are concerned with achievement, competition, status and power in the workforce and elsewhere (Basow, 1992:268). Although most young women plan on both motherhood and employment, the former is still considered more important than the latter. Because employment is of secondary importance in traditional female socialisation, girls tend to opt for jobs that require little commitment and training for example, clerical/secretarial work, social work, nursing and teaching jobs, which are easiest to combine with motherhood (refer to 2.2).

As a result of the above, boys are encouraged to prepare for their future role of employment through education, mentorship and vocational training to a greater extent than girls. In preparation for becoming future breadwinners, boys also take salary considerations in a more serious light than girls. As mentioned previously, employment is of secondary importance in traditional female socialisation (Motsemme, 2002), and since motherhood is closely linked to marriage, young women are encouraged to focus on finding a mate.

According to CIDA (2001:3) socialisation and sex stereotyping are seen as the guiding forces behind all of women's behaviour. The socialisation perspective predicts that, without specific training to eliminate gender effects, gender will continue to affect perceptions of leadership in stereotypical ways. However, Klenke (1996:168) claims that it does not necessarily follow from this that one can easily establish the extent to which these differences translate into educational differences. It is not clear which comes first; in other words, do differences in gender socialisation within the family translate into educational differences and work role differences, or do changes in the workplace and education system 'filter down' to the family, producing differences in the gender socialisation process? There is no real certainty on how it all began. What is known is that throughout history, both sexes – and the community as a whole – have trained children to conform to the roles implied by the division of labour by sex (Carr-Ruffino, 1993:3).

3.3.1.2 Gender stereotyping

According to Wood (1999:258) gender stereotypes involve broad oversimplified generalisations about men and women leading to categorised judgment of people as either feminine or masculine. Klenke (1996:167) refers to stereotypes as descriptive shortcuts applied to categories of people: women and men, blacks and whites, poor and rich. Although these stereotypes may in fact be based on a grain of truth, in reality they more often conceal more than they reveal (Klenke, 1996:165). Most stereotypes are not based on personal experience but are a result of our socialisation together with hearsay or images we receive through the mass media.

Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:4) define stereotypes as “*assigning identical characteristics to any person in a group regardless of the actual differences among members of the group*”. This is the way in which humans process information and it begins from the moment of birth as people try to figure out how the world works. Stereotypes are sometimes based on experience and can be the outcome of accurate perceptions of an experience. The forming of stereotypes can be an adaptive, shorthand way of dealing with complex events, but it can also blind people to individual differences within a class of people. In such a case the forming of stereotypes becomes maladaptive and potentially dangerous (Walker, 1990:45).

According to Klenke (1996:167) gender stereotypes are based on the assumption that women lack the attributes, abilities, skills and motivation required for leadership roles. Behaviours such as emotionality, dependency and sensitivity associated with the female gender stereotype are perceived as incompatible with requirements for leadership. Klenke (1996:168) states that women who choose jobs typically pursued by men often experience doubts about their ability to do well. Women in general are less competitive, less aggressive and less able to behave as leaders than men, largely because they have not had men’s extensive experience in competitive sports (Bingham, 1994:37; Crompton *et al.*, 1996:108; Klenke, 1996:167).

Human beings possess a set of beliefs that are accepted implicitly, but of which they are unaware, because they cannot even conceive of an alternative conception of the world. For example, for most people conceptions about the gender role for men is a non-

conscious ideology. People have difficulty thinking of men as people who stay at home to take care of children and other domestic chores. Society call men who are nurses 'male nurses', but there is no such term as 'female nurses'. Society frowns upon men wishing to be nursery-school teachers or social workers, but to us there is nothing unusual about women wishing to follow these careers (Wood, 1999:250).

Stereotypes also work to some extent like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Often when people meet someone of whom they have stereotyped ideas, they tend to look for indications of behaviour that confirm their notions and disregard all behaviour that disagrees with their notions. Thus the stereotypes become a reality. In the workplace, for example, if a manager believes that blonde women are hot-tempered, h/she might not give them positions of responsibility for fear that they will be too emotional. Thus, due to one manager's stereotypical ideas, and not because of information on how blonde women actually act, such women's career possibilities are limited (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:5).

Complicating this is the fact that people who are less likely to experience prejudice as a result of stereotyping often do not believe that it does happen, nor do they have empathy with those for whom it is more common. Sometimes even the victims are blamed for being victims (Sinclair, 1998:99). Furthermore, when people are raised in societies with abundant stereotypes, they are likely to accept the stereotypes uncritically. Much like the self-fulfilling prophecy, people unconsciously set up social situations in such a way that their suspicions about a group are met, and instead of being open-minded, they go out of their way to gather confirmatory evidence for the stereotypes. For example, it is often claimed that women lack motivation to succeed because they do not 'plan their careers' or do not keep their eyes open for the next step to promotion (see also 3.2.2) (Davidson & Cooper 1992: 42).

Basow (1992:9) gives two theories regarding the origin of gender stereotypes, namely the 'kernel of truth' theory and the 'social role' theory. The kernel of truth theory is based on the assumption that there are real differences in behaviour between the sexes, which are merely exaggerated by stereotypes. According to this approach, therefore, the differences exist first and the stereotypes simply reflect them and are thus just simple generalisations. This is also the argument put forward by Klenke (1996:167). In a study conducted by

Martin (cited in Basow, 1992:9) on male and female students regarding personality traits, it was found that there were major similarities in the 27 sex-type traits between the sexes. Thus, although there may be minor gender differences with regard to personality traits, the fact is that people expect there to be many more differences than there actually are.

Social role theory implies the existence of a hierarchical relationship between the roles ascribed to men and women, with one gender (men) dominant and superior and the other (women) subordinate and inferior. According to this theory, gender differences in leadership result from a variety of role-related phenomena including gender role expectations, differential socialisation experiences, and the extent to which leadership situations differentially create role conflict for male and female leaders (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:5).

Klenke (1996:165) goes on to state that according to gender role socialisation theory, observed differences between male and female leaders result from differential childrearing practices. The premise underlying this perspective is that socialisation practices have encouraged the development of personality characteristics and behaviour patterns in women that are antithetical to leadership (Powell, 1990:2).

According to Makosana (2002:11), female leaders often have to make an effort to accommodate their behaviour to the sometimes conflicting demands of the female gender role. This often results in leadership styles that differ from those of men. Gender roles thus have different implications for the behaviour of female and male leaders, because the female and male roles have different content and also because there is often inconsistency between the predominantly communal qualities that perceivers associate with women and the predominantly agentic qualities that they believe are required to succeed as a leader.

People thus tend to have dissimilar beliefs about leaders and women. They therefore evaluate women less favourably in terms of their potential for leadership and actual leadership behaviour, since leadership ability is more stereotypical of men than women. Nevertheless, the degree of perceived incongruity between a leader role and a female gender role, according to Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:9), would depend on the exact definition of the leader role, as well as the activation of the female gender role in a particular situation.

According to Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:9) and Klenke (1996:170) perceived incongruity between the female gender role and typical leader roles tends to create prejudice toward female leaders and potential leaders that takes two forms: The first type of prejudice stems from the descriptive norms of gender roles, that is, the activation of descriptive beliefs about women's characteristics and the consequent ascription of female stereotypical qualities to them, which are unlike the qualities expected and desired in leaders. The second type of prejudice stems from the injunctive (or prescriptive) norms of gender roles, that is, the activation on beliefs about how women ought to behave (Klenke, 1996:171).

If female leaders violate these prescriptive beliefs by fulfilling the agentic requirements of leader roles and failing to exhibit the communal, supportive behaviours that are preferred (or expected) in women, they can be negatively evaluated for these violations, even though they may also receive some positive evaluation for the fulfilment of the leader role (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:9). Thus, role congruity analysis suggests that female leaders' choices are constrained by threats from two directions: conforming to their gender role can produce a failure to meet the requirements of their leader roles, while conforming to their leader roles can produce a failure to meet the requirements of their gender roles.

A variant of the role theory, according to Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:9), focuses on the difficulty faced by women enacting both a gender role (that is, wife and/or mother) and an organisational role (that is, leader). This model predicts that women are particularly vulnerable to role conflict and the negative consequences associated with it, such as stress. This situation is stressful for women, because as 'good girls' they learn behaviours appropriated to the role of mother and wife, but later when they are in leadership positions, they are confronted with conflicting expectations of colleagues, subordinates and society.

However, it has been established that more women are participating in the workforce and aspiring to leadership positions in non-traditional careers and in education (Hammoud, 1993:6). Furthermore, the definition of a family has changed to include descriptions of

the increasing incidence of phenomena such as single-parent families and dual-career families (Wood, 1999:25).

3.3.1.3 Role of society and culture in gender conceptualisation

Culture consists of structures and practices that uphold a particular social order by legitimising certain values, expectations, meanings and patterns of behaviour. The meanings of gender, too, are reflected in and promoted by these social structures and practices. These meanings are passed between people through a process of communication that seeks to persuade people that these are natural, correct ways for men and women to be and to behave (Wood, 1999:26).

According to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, 2001:1) culture is part of the fabric of every society – “*it shapes the way things are done*” and our understanding of why this should be so. Expectations about attributes and behaviours appropriate to women or men and the relations between women and men, i.e. gender, are shaped by culture. Gender identities and gender relations are critical aspects of culture because they shape the way daily life is lived in the family, and also in the workplace and the community at large.

Gender functions as an organising principle for society because of the cultural meanings given to being male or female. This is evident in the division of labour according to gender (refer to 2.2). In most if not all societies, there are clear patterns of ‘women’s work’ and ‘men’s work’ and cultural explanations of why this should be so (CIDA, 2001:3). But the patterns and explanations differ from one society to another. Margaret Mead (cited in Wood, 1999:26) reported three distinctive gender patterns in New Guinea societies. One focus of her studies was Apath men, whom she found nurture others, especially young children, while another study focused on the Mundugumor tribe, which socialises both women and men to be aggressive, independent and competent, with mothers spending very little time with newborn babies and weaning them early. The Tchambuli society socialises women to be domineering and sexually aggressive, while men are considered delicate and are taught to wear decorative clothes and curl their hair so that they will be attractive to women. Among the Tamanq villages in Nepal, for example, as asserted by Wood (1999:27), both men and women do what is normally

considered gender-specific tasks. For instance, men do much of the cooking, while women and children, although expected to do household chores, are also encouraged to do heavy manual labour and work as porters carrying up to 70 pounds (\pm 32 kilograms) of trekking gear for Western travellers.

In some cultures, a person's gender is considered changeable (Wood, 1999:27). Thus someone born male may choose to live and be regarded as female, and vice versa. In other societies, notably some Native American groups, more than two genders are recognised and celebrated (Wood, 1999:27) and individuals who have qualities of multiple genders are highly esteemed. In the USA gender varies across racial and ethnic groups. In general, African-American women are more assertive than European-American women, and African-American men are more communal than their European-American counterparts (UNESCO, 2000:18).

However, CIDA (2001:2) states that societies and cultures are not static but are continually being renewed and reshaped, and as with culture, gender definitions change over time. Change occurs as communities and households respond to various social and economic shifts such as, *inter alia*, new technologies, development projects, changes in the law or government policy, and family planning practices. As mentioned in the previous chapter, prior to the industrial revolution, family and work life was intertwined for most people (see 2.4.1). Men and women participated in the labour of raising crops or running businesses, and both sexes were involved in homemaking and childrearing (Wood, 1999:30).

The industrial revolution gave birth to factories and to paid labour outside the home as a primary way of making a living. This brought about the division of life into separate spheres of work and home. As men took jobs away from home, women increasingly assumed responsibility for family life. Consequently, femininity was redefined as being nurturing, dependent on men for income, focused on relationships, and able to make a good home. Masculinity was also redefined to mean emotional reserve, ambition, success at work, and especially the ability to provide an income (Wood, 1999: 33).

Some examples of cultural practices that uphold gendered meanings are firstly the custom whereby a woman gives up her surname and takes her husband's upon marriage

(although this practice is no longer universal). This practice carries forward the message that a woman is defined by her relationship to a man, rather than by her individual identity (Ankerbo & Hoyda 2003:12). Secondly, within families, too, parents routinely allow sons greater freedom and behavioural latitude than they allow their daughters – a practice that encourages boys to be more independent than girls. Daughters, much more than sons, are taught to do more housework and care for younger siblings, thus reinforcing the idea that women are supposed to be concerned with the home and family (Basow, 1992:230).

These socially endorsed meanings are also communicated through other structures such as institutions that serve to announce, reflect and perpetuate gendered cultural views. Schools, for instance, reinforce cultural prescriptions for gender. Research has shown that teachers tend to encourage dependence, quietness and deference in female students, but reward independence, assertiveness and activity in boys (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003; Klenke, 1996; Paechter, 1998; Singh, 2000; Wood, 1999). Furthermore, other studies have reported that teachers are more likely to encourage academic achievement in male students than in female students (DESA, 1997:14; UNESCO, 2002:45).

The language people use is also important in emphasising particular aspects of reality while neglecting others. In Western society, language negates women's experiences by denying and dismissing women's importance and sometimes their very existence. Male generic language purports to include both women and men, yet specifically refers only to men. Examples are nouns such as businessman, chairman, mailman and mankind, and until recently pronouns like 'he' used to refer to both men and women (Wood, 1999:108).

One of the effects of male generic language is that it makes men seem more prominent than women; people come to perceive men as more visible than they actually are, while women become invisible (Wood, 1999:108). Men are regarded as the standard and women as the exception. Other ways of defining men as the standard and women as the exception include spotlighting, which is the practice of highlighting a person's sex. Terms such as 'ladydoctor' and 'woman lawyer' define women as the exception in professions and thereby reinforce the idea that men are the standard.

The culture and the roles that are learned mean that women must behave in certain ways; they are hired for their gender-based characteristics and so certain jobs are labelled women's work. Women's work is rarely seen as skilled, but the work of men has historically been valued higher than jobs that require traditional skills training. According to Wilson (1995:112) the structure of power in organisations ensures the concentration of women at the bottom (see 2.2).

Traditionally masculine traits have been viewed more positively than feminine traits. Such masculine traits include strength, dominance and activity, while feminine traits relate to emotionality and sensitivity to the needs of others. According to Basow (1992:7) Western culture has almost always valued stereotypically masculine traits. However, feminists and non-feminists have recently placed increased value on certain stereotypically feminine traits (Simmons 1996:89). This, she asserts, might be because of the women's movement during the 1970s, which seemed to emphasise women moving into traditionally male roles and adopting traditionally male traits. However, men moving into traditionally female roles and adopting traditionally female traits was never recognised.

As mentioned in 3.3.1.2, the tasks assigned to each gender vary across cultures. This shows that particular gender roles are not biologically given (Wilson, 1995:110). Any differences in behaviour that do exist are induced by the environmental pressures and the reality of the social and economic context. No evidence forces people to accept that men and women behave differently because they are different biologically. Gender roles are socially constructed. People accept that women are different because they have been socialised to believe that this is the case. Through structures and communication practices, societies create and sustain perspectives on what seems normal and right. Messages that reinforce cultural views of gender pervade society's daily lives, and people seldom pause to reflect on whether they are as 'natural' as they seem to be.

3.3.1.4 Gender and the ideology

Gender involves more than different personality traits and social roles – it is also a reflection of the differential power relations between the sexes. Women are associated with powerlessness and subordination, whilst men are the dominant and powerful ones.

Nearly all societal institutions reflect this gender dynamic. The previous section focused on the role of socialisation practices, culture and gender stereotypes in reinforcing women's low status and invisibility in positions of authority. The next section shows how ideology further maintains the status quo.

The following are examples of how ideology works: women are rarely given jobs that require physical strength because they are thought to have less strength than men and to be unwilling to lift or carry heavy objects. Yet in most undeveloped and developing countries where, for example, water needs to be carried, this task tends to be women's work. Another example is the job of a nurse, which, although it is traditionally a woman's job, requires as much expenditure of energy for lifting as the aforementioned example. In the context of the home or nursing, nobody questions whether or not women should be carrying children and lifting the elderly or sick, and in South Africa, women are now also employed in occupations such as mining, building construction, and other manufacturing industries.

In 3.3.1.2, mention was made of the roles women (and girls) are expected to perform. These ideologies reflect the cultural norms of society. The normative belief is that a woman's main role is as wife and mother, over and above all other roles she may perform. These roles have formed the basis for constructing gender identity expectations about a woman's sexual role (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:89).

Women and girls are expected to devote considerable time to domestic chores. Altering this parental belief is not easy. It will take a great deal of effort to convince parents that it does not really benefit their daughters to keep them from school or deny them the opportunity to reap the full benefits of education. In the same vein, there is a need to question what is sometimes taken as 'natural', that is, men's and boys' aggressive behaviour.

3.3.2 Structural/organisational barriers

UNESCO (2002:31) states an alternative perspective on women's lack of progress to decision-making structures, that is, the structure-centred paradigm. This perspective advances the view that it is the disadvantageous position of women in the organisational structures (few numbers, little power, limited access to resources) that shapes and defines the behaviour of women. The underlying premise of this approach is that men and women are equally effective insofar as leadership is concerned, but the 'problem' is vested in the structure, and the remedy is a fundamental change to eliminate inappropriate discrimination in institutional policies and practices. The following factors, amongst others, can be identified: work-family arrangements, discriminatory appointment and promotion practices, male resistance to women in management positions, and absence of or non-enforcement of policies and legislation to improve women's limited opportunities for leadership and management training.

3.3.2.1 Work-family conflicts

Due to a lack of policies catering for mothers in the working environment, many employed women are forced to choose between doing their jobs and raising their children. Employees with domestic responsibilities (mainly women), especially childcare concerns, are at a disadvantage insofar as their professional careers are concerned. They have to arrange their working life around the availability of childcare. Should something go wrong with these arrangements, for example when a child falls ill, they are the ones who have to take a day off or even resign from the job.

Even in the absence of problems, employed mothers stress most about domestic factors. This stress takes its toll on the woman's physical and mental health. Although research has shown that work seems to interfere more with family life than vice versa, it is imperative to note that work-home conflicts are not inevitable (Palm-Forster, 2000:83). Therefore, without more plentiful and affordable childcare and structural changes in the workplace to allow for parental leave, coupled with flexible hours and more career-track part-time jobs, women's subordinate status in the workforce is unlikely to change.

Another point to note is that work-family conflicts affect men as well as women, although research has mainly focused on the latter. However, to the extent that less is expected from fathers than mothers with respect to domestic responsibilities, men experience less work-family conflict than women (Basow, 1992:275).

3.3.2.2 Discrimination and sexual harassment

Sex discrimination may take various forms and may result from different behaviours and actions. Discrimination is 'direct' if the employer, because of the employee's sex, marital status or gender reassignment, treats that employee less favourably than he/she treats or would treat employees not displaying those characteristics.

According to Wood (1999:258) there are four basic stereotypes of women which lead to sex discrimination and they operate both in society and in organisations. Firstly, women are defined as sex objects. This stereotype depicts women in terms of sex and/or sexuality. Frequently, it is expressed in the form of expectations that a woman's appearance and actions should conform to cultural views of femininity. For instance, flight attendants, hostesses and receptionists are required to display a pleasing appearance and beauty. In addition to this, conversations between women and their co-workers and supervisors often highlight appearance and obscure performance, reflecting the cultural tendency to judge women by appearance more than competence.

Secondly, women have been stereotyped as mothers. This has both indirect and literal forms. The indirect version of this stereotype is manifest in expectations that women employees will listen to, support and help others. Klenke (1996:170) posits that in organisations, a woman is often referred to as an earth mother who brings baked cookies to business meetings and keeps the aspirin bottle in her desk drawer. As a result of this stereotype, women are often seen as a source of comfort, which results in the tendency of co-workers to communicate with women more than with men when support and sympathy are needed. Stereotyping women into the role of mother is a source of job segregation by gender, which is a form of discrimination. Most women function to support and/or provide care to others, hence the jobs into which they are segregated generally have the least prestige and the lowest salaries, for example, teaching, nursing, clerical or sales positions (Wood, 1999:259). Furthermore, women employees who have

children are often classified as ‘not serious professionals’. They are often stereotyped as being less committed to work and are excluded from opportunities for training and advancement.

This stereotype often becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy in that, for instance, if a manager decides not to offer Ms Moffat a new assignment because he assumes she is occupied with childrearing, then Ms Moffat is deprived of professional experience and development and she will not have the opportunity to learn what she needs to advance in her job. Later, when the manager is looking for someone who has background and experience in a certain area, he/she notes that Ms Moffat is not qualified. The manager then attributes this to her being a mother/woman (Klenke, 1996:170).

Thirdly, women may be stereotyped as children and therefore viewed as less mature, competent and/or capable of making decisions than men. Stereotyping women as children often transpires under the guise of ‘protecting women’. An example of this stereotyping is the fact that not long ago, married women were barred from obtaining bank loans or opening accounts without their husbands’ consent. Stereotyping women as children may restrict women’s job opportunities, so they are less able to demonstrate the ability to grow professionally (Wood, 1999:264).

Finally, women leaders are often stereotyped as not womanly, that is, as unfeminine, manly, or ‘hard’ women. According to this stereotype, it is unfeminine to be independent, ambitious, directive, competitive and tough at times – hence a woman who engages in such behaviour may be labelled ‘iron maiden’.

The above stereotypes contribute to gender inequities in that when employers label women as mothers, sex objects or children, they tend not to perceive them primarily as employees and therefore tend not to pay them as well as males, who are defined as serious workers and as family breadwinners. This practice qualifies as discrimination based on gender.

Gender discrimination and sexual harassment are along the same continuum. Overt and covert discrimination, which results in women with talent and ambition failing to fulfil their potential while men with equivalent ability do so, is the consequence of a toxic

organisational context where sexual harassment and discrimination are supported, accepted and taken for granted as part of the organisational culture (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:35).

Sexual harassment is a crucial issue for women in higher education institutions. Men's use of sexuality in exerting control or exercising power over women at home, in the workplace and in other arenas has been at the centre of the feminist struggle for at least the last century (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:33). Today sexual harassment is identified by feminists as one manifestation of the larger patriarchal system in which men dominate women, and it includes sexual violence in the form of prostitution, rape and child abuse (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:33).

Although behaviours described as sexual harassment are centuries old, the term itself is of relatively recent origin. It is said to have originated in the mid 1970s in North America and subsequently to have been adopted in the UK in the early 1980s. According to Bingham (1994:3) it was only in 1975 when the New York Times published an article with the headline '*Women begin to speak out against sexual harassment at work*' that the media began to use the term.

Originally terms like 'sexual coercion' and 'unwanted sexual attention' were used, but eventually the term 'sexual harassment' increasingly came to be used, thereby marking a broadening of attention from more extreme forms of sexual violence (in particular rape) to include the full continuum of male abuses of power against women. The power of the label enabled women to single out a piece of (previously undifferentiated) everyday experiences, and to identify it as a problem shared by many women – a problem which demanded changes in male behaviour. This is clear in, for example, British feminist Sandra McNeill's description of the situation in 'Women and Work', which raised the topic of sexual harassment (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:34):

We discovered we had all suffered from sexual harassment, from plumbers to university lecturers. As woman after woman cited incidents we breathed out a sigh of relief. We had (almost all) been isolated. Felt nutty almost in complaining, blamed ourselves for reactions we 'have provoked', or suffered in

confused silence. Now we knew it was a common problem... we must begin to collectively fight.

Sexual harassment is a complex social problem. One reason for this is that it is difficult to construct consensus about which behaviours are harassing in nature and which are not. Most employees view sexual behaviour at work as benign or even positive. Men are more likely than women to view sexual harassment at work favourably (Bingham, 1994:24). Therefore the behaviour that one individual defines as sexual harassment depends on that person's gender and sometimes culture, with women consistently defining more experiences as harassment than men. Wilson (1995:213) defines sexual harassment as:

Repeated and unwanted verbal or sexual advances, sexually explicit derogatory statements or sexually explicit remarks made by someone in the workplace which are offensive to the worker involved, which cause the worker to feel threatened, humiliated, patronized or harassed, or which interfere with the worker's job performance, undermine job security, or create a threatening or intimidating job environment.

According to Thomas and Kritzing (1997:34), "*Sexual harassment refers to unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power*". Sexual harassment is a form of employee conduct that undermines the integrity of the employment relationship while also undermining morale and interfering with the productivity of the victims and their co-workers. The authors go on to say that sexual harassment is the blatant sexualising of women by men and the exploitation of an unequal power relationship. It is part of a process of covert discrimination against women.

Wilson (1995:235) states that in each act of sexual harassment there is the perpetrator who feels powerful and the victim who feels powerless. Most of the evidence suggests that sexual harassment is disproportionately perpetrated by male supervisors/managers upon their female subordinates. The organisational hierarchy should therefore be seen as a structure of gender power. Men are in a location where power resides, while women are in a location where there is none.

Bingham (1994:34) posits that sexual harassment pollutes the working environment. Not only millions of women but also some men suffer. As a result of this pollution, employees take time off, are less efficient, and, in the worst cases, resign from their jobs. The victim's health can be damaged, resulting in anxiety, tension, irritability, depression, inability to concentrate, sleeplessness, fatigue, headaches and other manifestations of stress at work. A person under stress is likely to work more erratically and make more mistakes. In addition, since sexual harassment is an act of aggression, it contributes to the ultimate goal of keeping women subordinate at work. Sexual harassment is about dominance. As Wilson (1995:230) explains, superordinates can often be identified by the exercising of familiarities, which the subordinate is not allowed to reciprocate.

It is difficult to measure the incidence of sexual harassment by the number of formal complaints, due to anxieties about the consequences of grievance procedures and policies on harassment. Two surveys conducted by Hearn and Parkin in New York have reported fairly high levels of explicit sexual activity at work. Half of the male respondents admitted to making sexual advances at work. A second survey established that 11% of women workers reported that they had been subjected to persistent unwanted advances (Wilson, 1995:230).

Sexual harassment can be explained according to, *inter alia*, the organisational model, which is based on the opportunities presented by power and authority relations between men and women, which derive from the hierarchical structure of organisations, with men domineering and competitive and women affiliative. These differences result in distinct communication styles for men and women. Sexual harassment can be seen as the outcome of these different communication styles. According to this model, and as mentioned previously, young children are taught that power and privilege are not equally distributed in society. Fathers, for instance, are perceived as more punishing and controlling than mothers. This model explains why women may feel less comfortable and receive less professional support and fewer intellectual challenges from male colleagues. Harassment is an example of men asserting their personal power based on sex (Bingham, 1994:38; Wilson, 1995:231).

Wilson (1995:230) argues that sexual harassment is best thought of in relation to sex-role spill-over. When the sex ratio is skewed in either direction, sex-role spill-over occurs.

Thus women in a male-dominated job experience one kind of sex-role spill-over in that they are role deviants who will be treated differently from their male colleagues. They become aware of this differential treatment and think it is directed at them as individual women rather than as work-role occupants. This is supported by evidence that women who enter male preserves are most likely to be harassed (Wilson, 1995:230).

3.3.2.3 The influence of the workplace environment

One of the main variables that contribute to workplace discrimination is the workplace environment. The general work atmosphere, and the values (institutional culture) that are promoted, determine workers' feelings of comfort and sense of belonging. Men tend to perceive the workplace as one where women have equal opportunities, while women perceive the workplace as being inhospitable (UNESCO, 1998:26). In a study of middle managers and CEOs at Fortune 500 companies in the USA, 56% of the men but only 25% of the women believed a woman could become a CEO based on performance alone (Basow, 1992:285). In the same study, half the men but only one-third of the women believed that men and women work well together and that men accept women as peers. A national study of over 800 employees by Belkinin in the USA (in Basow, 1992:285) found that 55% of the women but only 33% of the men reported that most men do not take women seriously at work. These differences might stem from the difficulty any privileged group has in acknowledging how they benefit from unearned privilege, whether that privilege be due to gender, race, religion, sexual orientation or other factors. Because most workplace settings are designed for men, with others having to fit in, women are more disadvantaged in traditionally male environments and therefore perceive themselves, and are perceived by others, as not fitting in.

3.3.2.4 Exclusion from networks and lack of mentoring programmes

According to research conducted in the USA in the 1990s by means of interviews with CEOs and human resource professionals in the Fortune 500 service companies, women's exclusion from informal communication channels was identified as a critical barrier to their advancement into formal leadership positions in private companies and other institutions (Ramsay, 2000:1). This same study found that exclusion from networks prevents women from gaining the knowledge needed. Networks are meant to be systems

of communication whose participants make contact with a variety of colleagues for the purpose of mutual work benefits.

According to Graev (1998:3), networking is crucial in achieving success in any professional career. However, when men decide to network only amongst themselves, they deny women the opportunity to develop and achieve success in their careers. These exclusive, informal word-of-mouth networks, known as the 'good old boys' clubs' also contribute to the glass ceiling. If one is not part of the club, one just does not move up in the company. This occurs in a number of ways: Firstly, qualified women are prevented from receiving promotions since managers typically refer others only to people they know well, that is, the men in the exclusive network. Secondly, women are denied access to information about job openings, as well as their organisation's political environment. Unaware of the opportunities available to them, women are at a distinct disadvantage, which ultimately prevents them from attaining management positions.

Not only do men belong to an 'old boys' network', but they also are more likely than women to have a mentor, "*someone who takes you under his/her wing and guides your career*" (Wilson 1995:105). Having a mentor is critically important for socialisation into a profession and for professional advancement. Yet women in male-dominated fields are unlikely to find mentors due to a lack of women in positions high enough to serve as mentors, and also due to the fact that men are often reluctant to assume that role with women for fear of possible sexual attraction or office gossip, or they may be less certain about women's career commitment. Moreover, the male-female client dyad replicates the gender power structure that disempowers women (Wilson, 1995:105).

Even men who do not have a personal mentor relationship are likely to have male role models – people whom they admire and aspire to be like. Given the prevalence of men in positions of achievement, men have little difficulty finding such models, but because women in positions of achievement are harder to find, aspiring women are at a disadvantage. Yet having a successful female role model has been particularly important for women, especially when it comes to integrating work and family lives (Basow, 1992:289). Overall, the atmosphere of most working environments serves to maintain the status quo of men's superiority and dominance and women's inferiority and submission.

3.3.2.5 Leadership and management styles

The concept of leadership, according to Kouzes and Posner (1995:91), encompasses many facets such as vision, as well as the capacity to inspire, organise, deal with and exercise power, to assume responsibility, and perhaps, most importantly, to serve society at large in some particular way. Feminine leadership continues to constitute a controversial area of the debate in terms of empowerment for women. However, there is a growing belief that feminine leadership is emerging as a distinct force in management. DESA (1997:3) states that women tend to bring to governance and other public-sector affairs a perspective that in some measure reflects their social and cultural positions and the prevailing gendered division of power. Attributes women bring to public life include a particular concern for justice and the ethical dimension of politics, a talent for setting priorities and accomplishing complex tasks, an awareness of value consensus and agreement, and a concern for future generations.

Whether men and women behave differently in leadership roles is a much-debated question. Although there is general agreement that women face more barriers to becoming leaders than men do, especially in respect of leader roles that are male dominated, there is much less agreement on the behaviour of women and men once they attain such roles (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:3). This is usually discussed in terms of leadership styles. Differences in style can affect people's views about whether women should become leaders and advance to senior positions in organisational hierarchies.

Explanations range from biological determinism to culture and the environment. According to Klenke (1996:174) most research conducted prior to the 1980s emphasised differences between male and female leaders, and often these differences have been used to support the belief in superior male leadership qualities.

Interest in the impact of gender on leadership is relatively new. According to Vinnicombe (1999:1), the first studies were conducted in the USA in the 1970s when male managers at nine insurance companies were asked to characterise 'women in general', 'men in general' and 'successful managers'. Successful managers were

overwhelmingly identified exclusively with male traits. Many similar studies carried out subsequently also demonstrated that the successful managerial stereotype remains male.

Unlike the women managers in the 1970s and 1980s, not all female managers today sex-type the successful manager as male. However, nobody, male or female, ever identifies the successful manager as feminine. Male, and to a lesser extent, female managers continue to describe successful managers as possessing masculine traits, such as self-confidence, competitiveness, decisiveness, aggressiveness and independence (Klenke, 1996:170).

The approach maximising differences between male and female leaders has been labelled 'beta bias' whilst the one minimising or ignoring these differences is referred to as 'alpha bias'. Researchers from both schools of thought have cited empirical evidence and proposed theoretical explanations to support their respective positions. This has led to widely held and divergent representations of the role of gender in leadership.

In 1982, psychologist Carol Gilligan added her observation that men are most comfortable in hierarchical structures of organisations while women prefer web-like structures, and this largely unconscious difference in perception explains many of the tensions between the sexes. Gilligan (1982:45) notes that a man's wish to be alone at the top and a consequent fear that others will get too close contrasts with a woman's wish to be the centre of connection and a consequent fear of being too far out on the edge. As one woman remarked of a London borough council, "*It continually shocks me how male working culture is not about delivery. They are about status, position, about being, not doing. Women want to see results, are prepared to be flexible and make changes in themselves*" (DESA, 1997:4).

Klenke (1996:171) has stated her belief that "*women's vision for their societies often differs from men's because they understand clearly the impact of distorted priorities on their families and communities*". The vision of women is one of inclusion not exclusion, peace not conflict, integrity not corruption, and consensus not imposition. They encourage participation, share power and information and attempt to enhance followers' self-worth. The feminine style is based on using female characteristics in leadership. According to Klenke (1996:167) women have a tendency to show a more democratic and

participative style when compared to men. Westman (2002:12) states that it has been demonstrated in some studies that women's friendliness, openness, awareness and understanding have a higher appreciation by the staff in everyday life than the command-and-control attitude of men. According to DESA (1997:4) women tend to maintain relationships with people inside the organisation and schedule time for sharing. Men, on the other hand, identify themselves with their job, have difficulty sharing, and maintain a complex network of relationships with people inside and outside their organisation.

The masculine style is based on the principles of using male characteristics as a resource for performing the leadership task. Men, as Westman (2002:11) posits, use legal authority and hierarchical command-and-control positions to succeed in leadership. They rely on the formal authority of their position for their influence base.

However, it is also stated by the author that the tendency of women leaders to be more democratic than males declines when women are in male-dominated jobs. Apparently, group norms and masculine stereotypes of leaders override personal preference so that women abandon their feminine styles in such jobs and act autocratically.

Men's leadership style is more task oriented (based on goal orientation) than people oriented. According to this style, decisions are made at the top of the hierarchy, because people at the top of the hierarchy know the best solutions. Dixon (in Westman, 2002:13) has described this style as 'macho management', which means that men use authority, power and knowledge. Recently it has been realised that although women can bring new abilities to an organisation, everything is still going well in the traditional way and there is therefore no need to change the leadership style of men. However, by upholding the masculine style, an organisation might paralyse innovations and possibilities for development (Vinnicombe, 1999:12).

However, Eagly (in Klenke, 1996:166) has cautioned that people should refrain from interpreting the tendency of women to lead more democratically as either an advantage or a disadvantage, since a democratic leadership style may enhance leader effectiveness under some circumstances, while the autocratic leadership style may facilitate a leader's effectiveness under a different set of circumstances. Klenke (1996:167) therefore concludes that leadership styles dichotomised along gender lines are less obvious.

Many managers, both male and female, agree that sex differences in management and leadership styles do exist. Interestingly, both describe women's differences in positive terms. Yet when researchers ask managers to describe their own management style, they usually find no significant differences between genders (Vinnicombe, 1999:2).

According to DESA (1997:3), women tend to champion specific types of issues, and they appear to bring distinctive styles to leadership. Such similarities, as the author asserts, can be traced to the different positions women hold in society, the ways in which different societies constrain women or enable them to fulfil their human potential, and the distinct roles that society expects them to play in relation to men, rather than any supposedly 'innate' female or male qualities. Although women's particular concerns and styles may vary from one society to another and also within societies, they tend to bring to public and private sectors a perspective that somehow reflects their social and cultural position and the prevailing gendered division of power (DESA, 1997:4).

According to Klenke (1996:170) the effects of gender differences are more likely to be felt in the laboratory than in the field. The reasons for the above finding are, firstly, that participants used in laboratory studies are typically undergraduate students who have no other information about the leader except his or her sex, and they therefore base their evaluations upon readily available stereotypes. Secondly, laboratory experiments are conducted to show cause-and-effect relationships, and the statistics used to detect such relationships focus by design on differences rather than on similarities. Thirdly, when looking at the influence of gender, it is easy to forget that in real life, other characteristics such as education and experience also contribute to differences between male and female leaders. Furthermore, other factors such as race, occupation, ethnicity, religion and social class determine how people are evaluated (Klenke, 1996:171). Thus, gender is a more salient cue in laboratory studies and tends to exaggerate male-female differences, but in real-life settings, where leaders and followers engage in ongoing interactions with multiple opportunities to observe each other's behaviours and engage in informed performance evaluations, there has been frequent failure to find differences between male and female leaders. In other words, laboratory experiments strip leaders of their social roles by treating sex/gender as the single most important variable on the basis of which leaders are evaluated. Furthermore, the gender differences observed in contrived settings

tend to be more in line with gender stereotypes than those obtained in real-life contexts/situations. This implies that leaders who perform similar functions do not differ much in terms of leadership style.

The culture of the institution or organisation, the chief executive officer or manager's leadership style, and the institutional culture also play a powerful role in how men and women leaders are viewed and/or treated. Thus men and women holding comparable jobs, but in different organisations, are likely to react differently, not because of differences in personality or gender, but because of contextual pressures (Vinnicombe, 1999:4). Furthermore, women in a male-dominated system often think they are there because they have worked hard for their positions and have internalised the views of men at the top. Their perception is often that there might be room for only or two of them at the top. As a result they strive to keep other women down. These women, therefore, have described coldness, envy, distance and isolation from their female subordinates. This is often referred to as 'the queen bee syndrome' (Vinnicombe, 1999:5).

Another important factor is that men's tasks in the workplace are gender typed, for example construction work is typically considered 'men's work', while social work is considered 'women's work'. Therefore people may expect that the nature of the task is likely to have an effect on the performance or effectiveness of male and female leaders. We would therefore expect males to be more likely to assume leadership roles when dealing with 'masculine' tasks, while women are more likely to take the lead in situations involving 'feminine' tasks. However, this is not always the case, since even in the so-called women's jobs, such as nursing, men are found in leadership and management positions.

Whether a task is gender linked or neutral is likely to influence people's evaluation of the leader. Vinnicombe (1999:4) cites an international survey by Cranfield comparing male and female managers in the private and public sectors, which clearly showed that women are no better or worse leaders or managers. It all depends on the man or woman in question, as well as the institutional culture.

Powell (1990:1) is also of the opinion that there are no significant differences between the values and leadership styles of male and female leaders or managers. The sex

differences that have been found are few, are found more in laboratory studies than in field studies, and tend to cancel each other out. Klenke (1996:180) also asserts that gender stereotypes continue to persist, despite clear evidence that male and female leaders are similar in terms of many personality traits and job-related behaviours. The damage caused by stereotypes is detrimental to both men and women, because stereotypes reinforce a set of beliefs about each group, which, even if it is statistically valid, inaccurately characterises many individuals within each group (refer to 3.3.1.2). Thus gender types constitute normative beliefs to which people tend to conform or are induced to conform.

Despite this focus on women's leadership styles, there is little agreement on how women actually lead. These debates reflect the common cultural debate about difference and similarity, which has been especially important in feminist writings (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:4). Experts who have written about this topic have generally maintained that either differences or similarities prevail. The advocates of differences have claimed that the leadership styles of women and men are different, mainly along the lines of women being less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative, and more oriented to enhancing others' self-worth (for example Book, Helgesen & Rosener, cited in Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:4). However, social scientists have typically either claimed that female and male organisational leaders do not differ or have minimised the importance of those differences that have been observed (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:4).

Given that men have historically held the great majority of leadership and management positions in organisations, it is tempting to assume that the existence of differences between men and women would automatically favour men. It doesn't. In today's organisation, teamwork, flexibility, trust and information sharing are replacing rigid structures, competitive individualism, control and secrecy. The best managers are said to be those who listen, motivate, and provide support to their people. Many women seem to do these things better than men (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001:10).

3.3.2.6 'The glass ceiling'

In 1986, two Wall Street Journal reporters coined a phrase to describe the invisible barrier blocking women from top jobs in corporate America (Graev, 1998:1). They called this barrier the 'glass ceiling'. According to this phenomenon, even though the women can see the top, they cannot reach it. This barrier, based on intentional and unintentional attitudes and organisational bias, is glass-like in that it is simultaneously invisible and strong, subtle enough to remain transparent, yet strong enough to keep women from the upper levels of the corporate ladder (Davidson, 1999:2). Among the reasons cited by Graev (1998:2) for the existence of the glass ceiling are:

- *the belief that women are too easily diverted from their careers by family considerations;*
- *stereotypes about women's ability to function in the tough, competitive world of business;*
- *a caste system that relegates women to roles peripheral to the core business activity.*

The authors concluded, however, that "*the biggest obstacle women face is that men at the top feel uncomfortable beside them*". According to Davidson (1999:2) the glass ceiling can be largely attributed to cultural biases instilled at a young age through gender-role socialisation – the process whereby people are taught to regard certain physical and behavioural traits as being characteristic of, or appropriate for, males and females (see 3.3.2.2). The belief that men make better managers than women is quite pervasive within most companies. In a survey conducted in 1990, where Fortune 500 CEOs were asked to identify barriers to women's advancement in the corporate world, stereotypes and misconceptions were among the answers most frequently cited. Survey respondents claimed that women were essentially too emotional and not assertive or tough enough for business, and that they lacked quantitative and decision-making skills. Even if a particular woman clearly does not possess the traits stereotyped to be female, employers are still reluctant to promote women into senior management positions, believing that women should be subservient to men. For instance Ann Hopkins, an employee at a consulting firm, Price Waterhouse, was refused a promotion not because she was too 'emotional' or too 'unassertive,' but rather because she was too 'macho' (Graev, 1998:2).

Davidson (1999:8); Madden (1999:6) echo Graev's (1998:3) sentiments by stating that one of the major barriers facing women managers today is the continued biased attitude towards women based on sex-role stereotyping of the managerial position, that is, the perception that the characteristics required for success as a manager are more likely to be held by men in general than by women in general. In other words, 'to think manager, think male'.

In the USA, Brenner *et al.* and Schein *et al.* (cited in Davidson, 1999:3) carried out fifteen-year studies on the relationship between sex-role stereotype and requisite management characteristics. These surveys revealed that, unlike women in the 1970s, American female managers and female management students no longer sex-type the managerial position, but view women and men as equally likely to possess characteristics necessary for managerial success. However, American male management students viewed the management position in the same way as the current US male managers and male managers in the 1970s. All three male groups believed that, compared with women, men were more likely to possess characteristics necessary for managerial success. Therefore, all else being equal, the perceived similarity between the characteristics of successful managers and men in general increases the likelihood of males rather than females being selected for, or promoted into, a managerial position.

Graev (1998:1) states that the glass ceiling is so strong that in America, of the two hundred female senior executives surveyed in 1991, none believed they would be able to overcome the barriers to reach the top. This situation persists despite the equal willingness of men and women to put in time necessary for career advancement. It is therefore imperative that measures be taken to increase fairness in the workplace by facilitating the upward movement of qualified women into what lies beyond the glass ceiling: the top stratum of corporate management (Graev, 1998:1).

3.4 SUMMARY

The previous chapter focused on the internal and external barriers to women's advancement to leadership and management positions. These barriers are responsible for the under-representation of women in senior management and leadership positions.

Internal barriers range from women's fear of success and lack of confidence, aspiration and motivation, to women's possession of the Cinderella syndrome. External factors encompass gender role socialisation, cultural stereotypes and ideology at societal level. At the organisational level, external barriers range from discrimination and sexual harassment, men's and women's perceived different leadership styles, as well as the existence of the glass ceiling.

Problems facing women are multifaceted. No single reason can explain women's lack of participation in decision-making structures in higher education institutions, and no single strategy or initiative can adequately help women address the problem or remedy the situation. The problem should therefore be approached from several perspectives, namely policy changes, raising awareness of the problem, improving the skills and competencies of women, changing the higher education sector's structures and procedures, changing the attitudes of men and women, as well as creating a more enabling and woman-friendly environment (UNESCO, 2002:14). This is the focus of the next chapter. The table below gives an overview of the main issues discussed in the preceding chapter; the barriers women's advancement in higher education institutions. The data will later be synthesised with the empirical investigation in appendix E and will further be used as a foundation for the final chapter; chapter 7.

Table 3.1: Barriers to gender equality of women in higher education, as identified in the literature: a summary

Theme	Obstacles
<p>Internal barriers Fear of success</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear of the social consequences of conspicuous success in traditionally male spheres (3.2.1.) • Fear of success limits women’s aspirations of leadership roles (3.2.1.) • Women are discouraged by a sequence of failed promotion attempts (3.2.1.) • Society does not expect women to be assertive; this limits them (3.2.1.) • Women wait to be chosen, discovered, invited or persuaded (3.2.1.) • Women associate success with luck and not ability (3.2.1) • The male role carries with it the aura of success (3.2.1.1) • The female role is associated with subordination and incompetence (3.2.11) • Women are perceived to be incompetent, dependent, and emotional and lack confidence (3.2.1.) • As a result of stereotyping by society, women often avoid taking risks (3.2.1.) • Girls are brought up to conform to what is expected of them (3.2.1.) • Women feel unworthy in management positions (3.2.1.)
<p>Lack of aspiration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are perceived to be less instrumental and less interested in career advancement, and less committed to work (3.2.2) • Both men and women’s motivation to work is said to be intrinsic, that is, based on a desire to achieve (3.2.2) • Women lack the opportunity to succeed in a male dominated world (3.2.2) • Women tend to aspire for lower positions (3.2.2) • Women are just as competent as men (3.2.2) • Organisational barriers limit women’s aspirations (3.2.2) • Women are said to lack aspiration to management positions (3.2.2)

<p>Societal/Cultural barriers Gender role socialisation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender roles are internalised and transmitted through the socialisation of boys and girls (3.3.1.1) • Socialisation is first consolidated in the family and then reinforced by educational institutions (3.3.1.1) • Socialisation agents teach little girls to be emotionally-oriented and reserved and little boys to be outgoing and achievement-oriented (3.3.1.1) • Girls are socialised into a maternal role and to care for others and boys are socialised into an employment role and to compete (3.3.1.1) • Subtle power mechanisms maintain male domination and female subordination (3.3.1.1) • Male domination is often naturalised (3.3.1.1) • Masculinity is associated with the work, public sphere and femininity is associated with the private, domestic sphere (3.3.1.1) • Women consider themselves of lesser value and lose their sense of their own rights (3.3.1.1) • Society has different expectations of men and women and sometimes forces these expectations and roles on both sexes (3.3.1.1) • Higher education institutions reproduce gender differences as a result of cultural influences (3.3.1.1) • Employment is of secondary importance to girls in traditional female socialisation (3.3.1.1) • Women often choose jobs which are easier to combine with motherhood (3.3.1.1) • Young women are encouraged to focus on finding a mate (3.3.1.1) • Socialisation has encouraged behaviour in women that is antithetical to leadership (3.3.1.1)
<p>Gender stereotyping</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are assumed to lack the attributes, abilities, skills and motivation required for leadership roles (3.3.1.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are perceived to be emotional and sensitive (3.3.1.2) • Women are said to not plan their careers (3.3.1.2) • Women do not keep their eyes open to promotion opportunities (3.3.1.2) • Men are hardly conceived of as child-rearers or homemakers (3.3.1.2.) • Women are often viewed as sex objects / mothers/children (3.3.1.2) • Women employees with children are perceived as ‘not serious professionals’ (3.3.1.2) • Men and women are often punished for behaviour that conflicts with these basic gender roles (3.3.2.1.) • The relationships between men and women are hierarchic in nature (3.3.1.2) • People tend to have dissimilar beliefs between leaders and women (3.3.1.2.) • Women are often evaluated unfavourably in terms of leadership potential (3.3.1.2.) • Leadership ability is more stereotypical of men than women (3.3.1.2.) • Women are negatively evaluated for meeting leadership roles and for failing to meet leadership role requirements (3.3.1.2) • Women often experience stress due to enacting both a gender role and an organisational role (3.3.1.2)
The role of society and culture in gender conceptualisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman’s identity is defined by her relationship to a man (3.3.1.3) • More freedom and latitude is given to boys than to girls (3.3.1.3) • Schools reinforce gender stereotypes (3.3.1.3) • Women are rarely given jobs requiring physical strength but are expected to engage in certain tasks requiring lots of energy (3.3.1.3) • Schools reward quietness and dependence in girls and assertiveness and activity in boys (3.3.1.3) • The language often used dismisses and denies women’s importance and even existence (3.3.1.3)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men are taken as the norm and women as the exception (3.3.1.3) • Men are perceived as more visible than women (3.3.1.3) • Environmental pressure is responsible for differentiation in gender roles (3.3.1.3) • Women and girls are expected to devote considerable time to domestic chores (3.3.1.3) • Male generic language makes men seem prominent (3.3.1.3) • Male traits are viewed more positively than female traits (3.3.1.3) • Women's work is seen as unskilled, and men's work historically valued higher than women's (3.3.1.3)
<p>Institutional barriers Work-family conflicts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because of lack of policies catering for mothers-women are forced to choose between housework and employment (3.3.2.1) • Women have two roles: homemaker and bread-winner (3.3.2.1) • Inflexible working hours, lack of adequate parental leave and lack of child care facilities affect women's status in the work place is unlikely to change (3.3.2.1) • Less is expected of fathers in terms of domestic responsibilities (3.3.2.1)
<p>Discrimination and sexual harassment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discrimination and sexual harassment are a result of power and authority relations between men and women due to hierarchical structures of the organisation (3.3.2.2) • Men are domineering and women are affirmative (3.3.2.2) • Men assert their power based on sex (3.3.2.2) • Sexual harassment may take various forms and may result from different behaviours and action (3.3.2.2) • Women are often not viewed as serious workers or breadwinners (3.3.2.2) • Institutions often support discrimination and sexual harassment or take it for granted (3.3.2.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual harassment is a crucial issue for women in higher education as it is one of the major manifestation of the patriarchal system (3.3.2.2) • It is a problem to construct a consensus about which behaviours are harassing and which are not (3.3.2.2) • Women and men define sexual harassment differently (3.3.2.2) • Sexual harassment contributes towards keeping women subordinate (3.3.2.2) • It is difficult to measure the incident of sexual harassment due to anxieties about the consequences of the grievance procedures and policies on harassment (3.3.2.2) • Sexual harassment undermines integrity of employment relationships (3.3.2.2) • Discrimination prevents women from fulfilling their potential (3.3.2.2) • Women often take leave or resign due to sexual harassment (3.3.3.2.) • Sexual harassment often results in anxiety, tension, health deterioration, irritability, depression, inability to concentrate, and stress at work (3.3.2.2)
Workplace environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men perceive the workplace as one where women have equal opportunities and women perceive workplace as inhospitable (3.3.2.3) • Workplaces are designed for men, others must 'fit in' but women think they do not fit in (3.3.2.3) • Women think they are not taken seriously (3.3.2.3)
Exclusion from networks and lack of mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are often excluded from gaining the knowledge and contacts needed for job appointment and promotion opportunities (3.3.2.4) • Women's exclusion means they are denied opportunities to develop and achieve success in careers (3.3.2.4) • Women are not informed of job openings and their organisation's political environment (3.3.2.4) • Few women leaders mean fewer women mentors and role models (3.3.2.4)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male/female mentor replicates the gender power structure that discerns power for women (3.3.2.4) • Qualified women are often denied promotion since men only refer others to people they know well-other men (3.3.2.4) • Men belong to ‘old boys networks’ and they are more likely to have a mentor (3.3.2.4) • Women in male-dominated fields are unlikely to find mentors because of a lack of women in high positions (3.3.2.4) • Men are often reluctant to mentor women for fear of sexual attraction or office gossip (3.3.2.4) • Having a successful female role model is important especially when it comes to integrating work and family life (3.3.2.4) • Men have little difficulty finding a role model because of the prevalence of men in positions of achievement (3.3.2.4)
Leadership styles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women tend to bring to governance and other public sector affairs a perspective that reflects their social and cultural positions (3.3.2.5) • Men more often associated with leadership than women (3.3.2.5) • Women face more barriers to becoming leaders than men (3.3.2.5) • Successful managers are described as those possessing masculine traits such as self-confidence, independence and aggressiveness (3.3.2.5) • Men are said to be comfortable in hierarchical structures while women prefer web-like structures (3.3.2.5) • Masculine style based on male characteristics deemed necessary to succeed in leadership (3.3.2.5) • Women leaders encourage participation, share power and enhance followers’ self-worth (3.3.2.5) • Women tend to show a more democratic and participative leadership style (3.3.2.3)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Men tend to rely on legal authority and a hierarchical command-and-control attitude (3.3.2.5)• Women in male-dominated jobs tend to use autocratic style of leadership (3.3.2.5)• Leadership styles dichotomised along gender lines are less obvious (3.3.2.5)• Women's leadership style reflects their cultural and social position and the prevailing gendered division of power (3.3.2.5)• Male and female leadership styles are determined by gender stereotypes (3.3.2.5)• Differences in men and women's leadership styles are more pronounced in the laboratory than in real life situations (3.3.2.5)
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<i>CHAPTER 4: EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR ENHANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION</i>
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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter focused on the continued existence of barriers to gender equality and identified factors responsible for women's continued under-representation at management and decision-making level in the workplace and in society as a whole. Gender inequalities seem to exist because of discrimination in the family and societal institutions, together with traditional norms that perpetuate stereotypes, as well as practices and beliefs that are detrimental to women. Economic institutions and policy can exacerbate gender inequalities instead of mitigating them. Similarly laws and policies play a significant role in determining the extent of gender inequality that exists in a society. They can either serve to protect women's rights or reduce them (Johnson, 1999:50). Without transformations in economic relations or the implementation and enforcement of legal rights and protection, gender equality and the empowerment of women can remain an elusive goal.

Although much has been achieved, the struggle for employment equity for women still continues. Statistics reveal that women lag behind on the equity barometer. Inequality in the workplace is still a sad reality. It will take immense effort and commitment from men and women, as well as the government, before equality and equity are achieved. Ensuring equality of opportunity for women may entail a series of steps to create conditions necessary for equality of opportunity. This will be the focus of the next section.

4.2 EMPOWERMENT, EQUALITY AND EQUITY: GROUNDING PERSPECTIVES

There is a lack of clarity and consensus with regard to the differences between equity and equality. The two terms mean different things to different people; however, an attempt will be made to assign distinct meanings to these terms.

According to the United Nations (2001:3), *“equality is the cornerstone of every democratic society that aspires to social justice and human rights”*. The term equality is often defined as a situation where women have the same opportunities in life as men, for instance equality of education and employment, which might not necessarily lead to equality of outcomes. *“The World Bank defines gender equality in terms of equality under the law, equal opportunity and equality of voice, which refers to the ability to influence and contribute to the development process”* (Grown *et al.*, 2003:3). The United Nations Human Development Report (cited in Grown *et al.*, 2003:3) refers to gender equality in terms of capabilities (education, health and nutrition) and opportunities for women (economic and decision-making). According to UNESCO (2000:5) gender equality between men and women entails the concept that all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotyped, rigid gender roles and prejudices.

Gender equity, on the other hand, means that the different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have become the same, but rather that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they were born male or female. Gender equity means fairness of treatment for men and women according to their respective needs. This might include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities (UNESCO, 2000:5).

Wolpe *et al.* (1997:40) claims that *“gender equality is concerned with the promotion of equal opportunity and fair treatment for men and women in the personal, social, cultural, political and economic arenas”*. Gender equity entails meeting women’s and men’s, girls’ and boys’ needs in order for them to:

- *Compete in the formal and informal labour market*
- *Participate fully in civil society*
- *Fulfil their familial roles adequately.*

Equality is non-negotiable with respect to the rights of citizens before the law. All citizens, men and women, have to be treated equally. But equal treatment in all cases, in a society scarred by discrimination; also has the potential of reinforcing inequity” (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:40). According to the author,

Equity, on the other hand, is more contextually defined and can mean both equal treatment and preferential treatment, for example women as bearers of children have certain demands made on their time and bodies. They need preferential treatment to allow them to cope with biological demands. Maternity leave, flexi-time at work, flexible career advancement and so forth are essential. Failure to affect these preferential treatments would perpetuate the under-representation of women in the workplace, particularly in the skilled professions.

In view of the lack of a clear distinction between the two terms and the fact that they are often used interchangeably, they will also be used interchangeably in this study.

The concept of empowerment is related to equality but is distinct from it. Empowerment is a multidimensional process that has a cognitive, psychological, economic and political element. The cognitive element means awareness and understanding of one’s life conditions. The psychological element refers to increased self-esteem and self-reliance, which are motivating factors that contribute to women’s actions. The economic elements refer to women’s capability to earn a living, whilst the political elements relate to women’s ability to mobilise social change and participate fully in social organisations (UNESCO, 2000:55).

Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:30) define empowerment of women as the process of removing the discriminatory barriers that are frequently legislated against them or perniciously maintained as an integral part of prevalent social practices. According to Grown *et al.* (2003:4) empowerment is a process that marks change over a period of time and requires that the individual being empowered is involved as a significant agent in that change process. The core issue of women’s empowerment therefore encompasses the respect for women’s rights as an indivisible part of human rights, the education of women, and the support they need for more effective socio-cultural and economic roles

by the removal of discriminatory barriers to their full participation in economic, social and political life (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:3).

Experts agree that an empowered woman is one who has the agency to formulate strategic choices and to control resources and decisions that affect important life outcomes. The core of the concept of women's empowerment lies in the ability of the woman to control her own destiny (Grown *et al.*, 2003:4). According to Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:12) three important factors included in the empowerment process are resources, agency and achievements. Resources can be seen as enabling factors such as education and employment, whilst agency includes the ability to make strategic choices and decisions that affect important life outcomes. The final element, achievement, addresses what the empowered individual or group is able to achieve, given the available resources and choices.

Women's empowerment is often referred to in terms of practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs refer to basic immediate needs such as health, water, food, care and employment. This approach does not challenge existing traditional gender roles and structures and will therefore not be pursued in this paper, since it does not contribute towards the changing of women's subordinate position. Strategic gender needs address women's unequal power relations in society. This can be done by means of several strategies, including the abolition of the gender division of labour, the guarantee of equal wages, and the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and access to childcare (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:15).

Singh (2000:11) posits that empowerment is important not only as an individual process but also as a collective one. Individual actions can challenge and affect gender norms, and their outcomes can start a chain reaction by influencing and motivating other people's desires and choices, subsequently culminating in collective action. Women themselves must change public policy from a position of strength. Their voices should be heard and their needs met (Baker, 2000:38).

For women to be empowered there has to be a change in the various areas in which inequality occurs. Change needs to occur at an individual, social and institutional level. No one tactic or orientation will accomplish the whole task. People's approach towards

the problem depends on their personal preferences and their diagnosis of the problem. Their approach relies on whether they view women's oppression as due to, for example, gender socialisation, value differences between masculine and feminine culture, the power inequality between men and women, or capitalism, which relegates women to the role of property and cheap labour (Basow, 1992:339).

Several legislative frameworks have been put in place to address gender inequality and inequity. But equality cannot be achieved through legislation only. Women need to join hands to ensure that they are accorded the rights that are so clearly contained in the constitution and other relevant legislation. Unless human rights are given form and substance, they will remain idle aspirations.

4.3 LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

“However strong are women's aspirations, and however much they support each other, progress will be extremely slow unless and until there is public recognition that a problem exists and needs to be tackled” (Finch, cited in Singh, 2000:35).

Singh (2000:35) posits that gender equity policies and programmes should be backed and supported by appropriate legislation and infrastructure. Similarly, special programmes for women are necessary, but they need to be supported at governmental and institutional level by antidiscrimination legislation and regulations. The provision of legislative and infrastructural support is a tangible recognition for creating an enabling environment for women.

The following international, national and institutional legislative frameworks, amongst others, are in place to create an enabling environment for women:

4.3.1 International legislation

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

This is a United Nations convention, which was adopted in 1979 and came into force in 1981. It is the most powerful bill of rights for women worldwide and has created an international standard against which the treatment of women can be measured in all spheres of life, including the educational, civil, political, economic, social and cultural spheres. In December 1995 South Africa ratified the United Nations CEDAW. Article 10 of this convention calls for all state parties to “*take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education...*” These rights include, *inter alia*, the right to “*the same employment opportunities, including the right to be judged by the same criteria as men, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service*” (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, cited in Singh, 2000:35).

The Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender Development (1995)

The 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development provides a framework for Commonwealth governments (of which South Africa is one) and identifies for planners and implementers fifteen areas considered desirable components of gender equity (UNESCO, 2000:11).

The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) (1946)

This is a central intergovernmental body for policy and the monitoring of the advancement of women in all member states of the United Nations. It is a functional commission of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), to which it reports.

The Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women (1995)

The Beijing Declaration and its Platform of Action, the final document of the fourth United Nations World Conference (Beijing conference), adopted a three-pronged strategy for enhancing action in favour of gender equality. The strategy consists of: (i) *mainstreaming gender perspective in all policy-planning, programming, implementation and evaluation activities*; (ii) *promoting the participation of women at all levels and fields of activity*; and (iii) *developing specific programmes and activities for the benefit of*

girls and women that promote equality, endogenous capacity-building and full citizenship.

Following the Beijing conference, the South African government adopted the Platform for Action aimed at achieving gender equality. This included focus areas such as women and violence, women and health, and mechanisms to promote the advancement of women in South Africa in general. According to Manzini (1999:3) government action in the context of the Beijing Platform for Action was further strengthened by its ratification, without any reservations, of the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1995.

4.3.2 National legislation

In 1994, in his opening speech to Parliament, then-President Nelson Mandela said:

Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us take this on board that the objective of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realised unless we see in visible and practical terms that the conditions of women in our country have radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society.

Since then, the Government of National Unity (GNU), led by the ANC, has sought to develop and refine an effective overarching policy on women to guide government departments in trying to mainstream women's issues, in order to draw them out from the sidelines of policy discussions and place them in the foreground. Women parliamentarians have made a real attempt to promote gender equity. In addition, the office of the Deputy President has established an Office on the Status of Women (OSW) to oversee and co-ordinate policy on women. Parliament has also passed legislation to create a National Commission on Gender Equality, which commenced its work in 1997. The task of the commission is to promote gender equality in society and to ensure that government and other non-statutory bodies implement their commitment to gender

equality. The following laws, policies and programmes, amongst others, have been enacted and enforced:

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP office held consultation sessions with women parliamentarians in an effort to bring gender issues to the forefront. It also created a women's empowerment programme, which included a section on women in its White Paper in 1994. Moreover, it produced a draft policy for women's empowerment in 1995, which set out guidelines for government departments to ensure the participation and empowerment of women in their work (Manzini, 1999:3).

The Constitution of South Africa

The constitution of South Africa is founded on values such as non-sexism (section 1(b), and while section 9 states that nobody, not even the state, is allowed to discriminate against any person on any grounds, including gender. The constitution is supported by various laws and policies.

The Employment Equity Act (No. 55, RSA 1998)

This Act was put in place to give effect to sections 9(2) and 9(4) of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. It promulgates regulations on affirmative action and discrimination in the workplace with the aim of establishing equal opportunities for all employees and job applicants. More specifically, employers must:

- *identify and eliminate employment barriers*
- *grant equal employment opportunities to all employees*
- *ensure that all employees are treated with respect*
- *ensure equal representation of all people at the various levels, and*
- *secure the positions held by people belonging to designated groups.*

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4, RSA 2000)

This Act prohibits unfair discrimination in all spheres of society and includes a special section dealing with particular manifestations in relation to gender, for example discrimination on the grounds of pregnancy. One of its subsections also grants all citizens a certain responsibility referred to as “*social commitment to the promotion of equality*”.

Despite these major governmental attempts and international conventions aimed at promoting gender equity, South Africa, with its long history of male domination, still exhibits one of the highest levels of gender inequality, preventing half its human resource potential from taking up their rightful positions in the labour market.

4.3.3 Implications of the legislation for higher education

A major mechanism to attain equity in the higher education system, as required by the government, is redress, which constitutes one of the most significant components of the transformation agenda. Applying the principle of equity implies, on one hand, a critical identification of existing inequalities, and on the other hand a programme of transformation with a view to redress. Such transformation includes not only the abolition of all existing forms of unjust differentiation, but also the introduction of measures of empowerment to bring about equal opportunity for individuals and institutions (McElroy, 2000:4).

Many higher education institutions have successfully drafted or are in the process of drafting policies to address the various ways in which women experience discrimination on campus. Examples include institutional policies regarding sexual harassment and violence against women, equal opportunity in hiring female academic and administrative staff, and equitable salary and benefit levels for female employees. However, there are still institutions that have not yet begun creating policies to address these issues, or have made only limited progress in this regard. In response the government has drafted the following laws, amongst others, to ensure the elimination of gender inequality in the higher education sector in particular.

The White Paper on Education and Training (RSA, 1995b)

This document alludes to ‘*a critical identification of existing inequalities*’ and states that “*transformation with a view to redress*” should take place. According to this document, such transformation involves the abolition of all existing forms of unjust differentiation, as well as instituting measures of empowerment (section 1.18). It specifically identifies the following implications for educational institutions:

- *imbalances between the sexes must be identified and rectified (section 3.43);*
- *strategies for increasing the representation of women in professional leadership and management positions must be proposed (section 3, 43); and*
- *the entire education system must be liberated from sexism, sexual harassment and violence (section 3.44).*

Further Education and Training Act, 1998

This Act deals with private and public education and training institutions. Its preamble refers to discrimination and equality issues, as well as the past marginalisation of women. Section 8 requires public further education and training institutions to establish a governing body (known as a council) which must develop a strategic plan addressing past imbalances and gender matters. Members of the council must, if practically possible, be broadly representative of the community served by the institution in respect of gender and other matters.

In terms of section 16, the council must determine a code of conduct and disciplinary measures and procedures that are applicable to students and which address, amongst other things, sexual violence and sexual harassment.

National Education Policy Act, 1996

This Act requires the Minister of Education to formulate a national policy that includes measures to address past discriminatory practices. In terms of section 4, the policy must take into account the right to protection against unfair discrimination and the right to

equal access to education institutions. In particular, the policy must seek to achieve “*equitable education opportunities and the redress of past inequality in education provision, including the promotion of gender equality and the advancement of the status of women*”.

Higher Education Act, 1997

This Act establishes the Council on Higher Education and regulates public higher education institutions. In addition to the preamble referring to equality and discrimination issues, the membership of the Council must take into account representivity issues, and, in terms of section 8, there must be equal numbers of male and female voting members.

In terms of section 31, each public higher education institution must have an institutional forum to advise the institution’s council on issues affecting the institution, including gender equity policies and the fostering of an institutional culture that promotes tolerance of and respect for fundamental human rights.

The National Plan for Higher Education (RSA, 2001)

This document also encompasses major equity drives that will financially penalise any institution that fails to improve access for the designated groups. Redress, therefore, forms a very important aspect of this plan. Strategic objective 9, section 30, is “*to ensure that the student and staff profiles progressively reflect the demographic realities of South African society*”, while “*increasing the representation of blacks and women in academic and administrative positions, especially at senior level*” is stipulated as a priority (RSA, 2001).

4.4 EMPOWERMENT AT PERSONAL LEVEL

The empowerment of women, just like barriers to the advancement of women, can be looked at from three perspectives: the personal, the societal/cultural and the structural/institutional. Regardless of the perspective, changing the self is an important part of any alteration in the social order. There are several ways to achieve such change, including education, explicit training, psychotherapy, and behavioural changes.

4.4.1 Non-sexist education

One strategy aimed at personal change, according to Singh (2000:45), is a need to ensure full and equal access to formal education, specifically for women and girls. In developing countries specifically, donor agencies can play a significant role in raising the level of literacy, by making and granting resources contingent on the adoption of equity principles in their distribution. Improving access to education requires legislative backup to support changes in cultural attitudes. Formal requirements for gender balance in the provision of financial assistance and scholarships can prove effective in increasing the participation of women in higher education. According to the UNESCO Secretariat (1993:24) the introduction of women's studies in countries such as India, the Caribbean and the United States has been a positive stimulus to the advancement of women.

The expansion of educational opportunities for girls and women is a means of enhancing human capabilities, such as the ability to read and write. It is also a means of enhancing women's opportunities in terms of having access to jobs, gaining economic independence, and improving their positions in the family, the community and the labour market. Education is therefore a means of promoting gender equality and growth, although it must be emphasised that education is not a guarantee of the achievement of gender equality (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:29). For instance, in Latin America the participation of boys and girls in the school system has been on an equal footing for decades, but when it comes to the labour market, statistics show that women's participation in wage labour is low and their wages are way below those of males (UNESCO, 1998:47). This is partly due to a continuation of the reproduction of unequal gender patterns that occurs in the education system.

Although education is a crucial element in the development process, it is, ironically, also responsible for maintaining and reproducing discriminatory gender patterns, which keep women in subordinate positions (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:20). In order to overcome gender inequality in society, the education system in many cases needs to undergo radical changes.

As Hammoud (1993:21) asserts, the special attention paid to the education of women and girls in development policies, activities and projects arises from the knowledge that

ensuring basic education for all, especially women and girls, and thus achieving gender equality, are important elements in promoting development and the advancement of people's quality of life, as well as a means of empowering women themselves. For this reason, in order to transform the structural basis of female subordination, it is necessary to implement long-term, systematic strategies at all levels of society, from raising awareness of gender issues in the home, media, school and higher education system, to changing attitudes towards women in the labour market and the national political sphere.

4.4.1.1 At school level

According to UNESCO (2000:26), although significant progress has been made in providing education for all, gender disparities continue to persist in enrolment, literacy, access, and quality of education. To this end, the World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal, set out to put more effort into eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and to achieving gender equality by 2015, with a special focus on ensuring full and equal access for girls to high-quality basic education. Basic education empowers entire nations, because educated citizens have the necessary skills to ensure the effective functioning of democratic institutions.

However, focusing exclusively on issues of educational access, without considering the necessity of change in the content of schooling, will not create gender equality in the educational system. Educational institutions are powerful ideological institutions that contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequality through curriculum content and teaching practices (UNESCO, 2000:27).

The school can be regarded as the formal agent of gender socialisation. Lemmer (cited in Niemann, 2002:183) claims that socialisation is the means by which culture and the notion of appropriate gender roles are transmitted. Social expectations of gender-appropriate behaviour are based largely on stereotypical beliefs and are transmitted to children by means of the curriculum. Such a curriculum operates both at an intentional and an unintentional level: on the intentional level certain bodies of knowledge and skills are imparted, while the unintentional level (often referred to as the 'hidden curriculum') refers to 'other things' that a child is taught. Thus, in transforming education, teachers need to understand how they are responsible for transmitting aspects of the hidden

curriculum that reinforce gender differences. There is a need to be quite explicit when it comes to the values and understanding of gender that learners should be taught through schooling (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:85).

(a) Construction of a gender-sensitive curriculum

The curriculum provides the basis for future accessibility of employment opportunities and most other aspects of all life chances. It is also a major mechanism in establishing and maintaining forms of control over learners and educators (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:49). The curriculum is the key consideration for promoting a gender equity agenda. It therefore needs to promote critical thought as opposed to acceptance of the status quo in a racist and sexist society.

In order to achieve gender equality in the school system, it is important that the school curriculum be changed to make it gender sensitive, so that gender relations can be improved. This type of curriculum aims at eliminating gender stereotypes and constructing new ways of viewing and establishing social relations between women and men. Textbooks should also be rewritten to include crucial issues concerning gender, in order to provide schoolgirls with female role models (UNESCO, 2002:3).

Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:23) are of the opinion that some of the issues on which an anti-sexist curriculum should focus include an examination of women's subordination throughout history; women's contribution to and participation in history-making; the value of work commonly performed by women, such as domestic work; the importance of women in processes of decision-making, participation and organisation; the incorporation of a woman's way of knowing; and a focus on women's experiences. All these issues have previously been ignored or neglected.

As reported by Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:22), an example of a course in gender studies can be found in Tanzania. This is a combined course for all students and incorporates the following subjects: domestic science, agriculture, household repair or maintenance, car and machine repair, typing, and bookkeeping. The course is an attempt to eliminate gender stereotypes and barriers in that the division of labour is abolished by having both girls and boys participate in the same activities that would previously have been

categorised as either typically male or female activities. By having boys and girls participate in the same activities, they learn the same skills, and barriers between them might be removed. Another strategy might be to offer boys and girls alternative role models, thereby blurring masculine and feminine roles in the process, thereby socialising boys into accepting and respecting the equal status of girls, while girls' personalities and individualities are strengthened.

Other strategies include encouraging continual interaction between boys and girls, which has the added value of increasing understanding between the two groups. This approach means that grouping on the basis of gender is discouraged and the creation of groups of both boys and girls is promoted instead. Another strategy is to encourage girls to pursue leadership positions in the school and also to encourage girls not to accept traditional statements about some subjects being only for boys, while others are only for girls (Chanana, in Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:21).

Teachers also play an important role in the socialisation process through the reproduction of gender roles. They therefore have a significant influence on the attitudes, perceptions and values of students. Furthermore, as mentioned above, teachers need to be aware of the fact that while they may consciously teach an overt curriculum, a hidden curriculum that may be less conscious operates in the classroom and educational institutions in general, and perpetuates dominant ideologies (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:73). The challenge is for all teachers to make these ideologies conscious and to challenge their inequities and realise that equal treatment of boys and girls is an essential strategy for eliminating stereotypes and enhancing equality.

It is at school level that the values and ideas already established before the learner arrives at school are redefined and reinforced. New values may be transmitted, but girls and boys of school-going age have already acquired traditional gendered forms of behaviour which may lead to oppression. These negative behavioural patterns need to be addressed and confronted by teachers (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:77).

(b) Teacher training

Teachers are themselves the products of the social context and therefore may not be capable of seeing their part in the play. It requires training for them to acknowledge firstly their positions in society as women and teachers, and secondly their discriminatory behaviour towards, and different expectations of, girls and boys. This type of training must specifically aimed at making teachers aware of their position in society, as well as their part in the transmission of sexual stereotypes in their interaction with students, allowing them to perceive and analyse school practices in the light of gender values, to detect the relationship among gender values transmitted by school experiences (those that predominate in the social environment and those that orient their personal experiences), and to set priorities for transformational actions and for the identification of short-, medium- and long-term goals (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003:21).

The centrality of these teachers' training, as stated by Ankerbo and Hoyda (2003:23), is to get teachers personally and actively involved and to strengthen their self-esteem, thereby encouraging them to collectively reflect on the problems. For these programmes to be effective, and to make all men and women at all levels in the education system aware of teachers' roles as reproducers of gender inequality, it is necessary to also implement these training programmes at teacher education colleges.

In South Africa, the curriculum offered to trainee teachers varies between institutions. However, according to Wolpe *et al.* (1997:84), there is no indication that courses offered in universities would alert students to the problems associated with gender differences or infuse an understanding of societal factors. Some institutions such as Wits University, the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape are reported to include something relating to gender in courses dealing with racism, oppression and class, but gender issues are not likely to be dealt with in depth.

Teachers, although they are the main agents of reform, will need the support of the community. Students do not learn about gender in isolated classroom contexts. School-based programmes that teach boys' and girls' knowledge and skills for equal gender relations should therefore engage parents and communities. As mentioned previously, although the manifestation and form of gender learning differs from one culture to

another, the fundamental principles remain the same. It is argued by *Wolpe et al.* (1997:78) that schooling should set out to alter cultural practices and values and interrogate socially sanctioned practices that devalue women and deny them basic human rights. Other efforts to implement this training should be initiated at the political level in order to disseminate the ideas and knowledge. Other related initiatives can be implemented in educational systems and higher education systems. This is highlighted in the next section.

4.4.1.2 At higher education level

(a) Increasing the quantity and quality of female postgraduate students

The problem of low participation by women in higher education cannot be addressed by merely improving conditions of entry and employment of women in the higher education sector. Many universities are unable to recruit women lecturers because of a shortage of women in the graduate programmes, which are the primary pool for the recruitment of women into universities.

Access to higher education has undeniably changed over the past three decades. Worldwide, the number of women receiving tertiary education has increased tremendously. This does not, however, mean that women have the same access to the same type of education as men. In some countries where women constitute a higher proportion of students than men, women tend to be disproportionately enrolled in higher education in non-degree courses (Kelly & Slaughter, 1990:4). In Lesotho, for example, where women constitute over 63% of all students in higher education, only about 49% are enrolled in universities. In Poland, where women constitute 58% of all tertiary-level students, 50% are university students. In Argentina, women constitute 53% of higher education students, with 46% attending universities. These figures are similar in Iceland, Hungary and Norway (Kelly, cited in Kelly & Slaughter, 1990:4).

In South Africa, as reported by Budlender (1996:172), an analysis of students enrolled at universities in 1993 showed that women comprised just over half (51%), with the subject choices being social science, education, business, healthcare and health sciences, languages and psychology. These subjects accounted for 68% of women at universities. As the above statistics show, women are attending higher education institutions, and at

universities they comprise sometimes half or even more of the student population. Therefore, access to higher education is not a problem, but what is at issue is the nature of the courses women study and the level of their studies, particularly at universities (Wolpe *et al.*, 1997:129).

At present, as stated above, a gender balance in undergraduate studies in most countries has been achieved, but there is still a shortage of women in postgraduate studies. An important step towards ensuring a better gender balance would be to create a pool of women able to seek employment in the higher education sector. Leonard (cited in Singh, 2000:47) posits, however, that even in countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, where women comprise one-half of undergraduates and one-third of postgraduate research students, women's needs are ignored and higher education remains geared to men's needs rather than women's. Difficulties encountered by female students include domestic commitments, residence problems, career profile and discipline.

The following table shows the number of female students in postgraduate degree courses in Universities in South Africa in 1992 as compared to the number of male students. HBU and HWU stand for Historically Black Universities and Historically White Universities.

Table 4.1: Gender distribution (percentages) in postgraduate courses, 1992

Gender	Postgraduate Diploma and Bachelor's Degree			Honour's, Master's and Doctorate		
	HBU	HWU	UNISA	HBU	HWU	UNISA
Male	57	58	48	62	64	62
Female	43	42	52	38	36	38

(Taken from Wolpe *et al.* (1997))

HBU and (HWU) stand for 'historically black universities' and 'historically white universities', respectively. As is clear from the table, the number of female students at honours, masters and doctorate levels declines dramatically.

Most development agencies are conscious of the need to improve the proportion of women in postgraduate studies. Overseas agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Association of Commonwealth Universities have taken steps to ensure that their award schemes are structured in such a way that the proportion of women postgraduates is increased (UNECOSO, 2000:45). In Australia the Council of Australian Postgraduate Associations (CAPA) is also committed to improving conditions for postgraduate women so as to enhance their participation in the academia. This is achieved through the promotion of access and equity issues for a diverse range of postgraduate women. CAPA promotes affirmative action and lobbies various government agencies about access and equity issues in higher education so as to ensure that women postgraduate students are supported in their studies, as well as towards future employment both within and beyond the academic sector.

CAPA is also involved in lobbying the government and university bodies to allocate scholarships to a diverse range of women, particularly to indigenous women and to women from developing countries. It also lobbies for institutional recognition of and appropriate support for women who encounter sexual harassment, the promotion of masculine pedagogic principles and teaching styles, and the victimisation of women who undertake study in those disciplines where women have been traditionally excluded, for example, engineering and the sciences (Singh, 2000:49).

Institutions of higher learning need to address the numerous problems faced by women postgraduate students in particular, in order to improve their entry, performance and completion rate. Positive steps would include increasing the scholarship and award quota for women postgraduate students, as well as raising the level of consciousness of the unique problems faced by women postgraduate students.

(b) Introducing women/gender studies

Women's studies, and more recently gender studies, are taught in most foreign universities. Most of the studies are academic in nature and encompass important work illuminating the problems faced by girls and boys, men and women, in various facets of life, especially in education and employment.

Women's studies also play a significant role in enhancing the participation of girls and women at all levels of the education system. Women's studies programme may be developed as a vehicle for achieving change in higher education institutions through activities required to promote the advancement of women, both within and outside higher education institutions. Women studies play an interventionist role by initiating the gender perspective in the generation of knowledge, as well as in policy design and practice. The underlying assumption of this approach is that teaching and research in women's studies provide empirical means by which the gendered nature of universities can be revealed (UNESCO, 2000:13).

Makerere University in Uganda was the first institution in the Sub-Saharan region to establish a Department of Women and Gender Studies, which offers a Master's degree in gender studies. The department has since extended its scope to include undergraduate and PhD courses, as well as short courses at national and regional levels. Makerere has moved one step further to incorporate gender in its whole function.

A Centre for Women's and Gender Studies also exists at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. This centre is concerned with improving women's working conditions at this institution, as well as providing training for new generations of women researchers and intellectuals and incorporating and empowering ordinary women within the context of the university (Salo, 2003:2).

According to Salo (2003:3) the modules offered cover diverse areas such as gender and the law, gender and nationalisation, women's health, gender and development, and gender and technology. The modules on feminist theory are offered at both the honours and masters level. The centre has also developed a string of international relationships and multiple collaborative projects with other universities, with students coming from as far as Swaziland, Tanzania, Lesotho, Namibia, Zambia, the USA, Holland and Finland.

Change in gender relations in higher education institutions can be achieved through the activities and programmes of women's studies.

4.4.2 The provision of explicit training

One oft-used method of achieving personal change is through explicit training, which might include training in problem solving, mathematics, career planning and self-defence. Some men, as Basow (1992:341) has stated, could benefit from training in sensitivity to women's concerns and effective listening techniques. Furthermore, men can be retrained in perceptions of pornography, and both sexes can benefit from training in assertiveness where they are taught to discriminate between passive (particularly common among women), assertive and aggressive (particularly common among men) behaviour. A study by Lewittes and Benn (cited in Basow, 1992:341) found that undergraduate women who attended these sessions of behavioural training in assertiveness later increased their participation in mixed-sex discussion groups when compared with control groups of women. According to UNESCO (2002:11) evaluation reports of training programmes point to positive outcomes such as increased consciousness of the issues facing women, the formation of networks, increased motivation, increased knowledge and competencies, and significant career moves.

Women should also be trained to resolve conflict resulting from traditional gender stereotyping. A change in male attitudes would assist women in this matter. Women must be trained specifically to resolve role conflict internally and to define life goals according to their own value system (Wilson, 1995:112). Research on the effects of women studies indicates that after such courses, women tend to gain self-confidence, self-esteem, assertiveness, and instrumental-active traits. They become less traditional in their sex-role attitudes and they can even become more motivated with respect to future jobs (De vries, 1997:11).

Significant changes for women will only happen if the women are actively involved in the change processes and if their own needs and priorities are addressed. The participation of women in the training processes is an important element in the generation of collective action and organisation. If women organise and act collectively, they gain more strength and are thus able to exert more pressure to create social change. These special programmes, as Onsongo (2002:9) and Dines (1993:26) state should be backed at government and institutional level by South African anti-discrimination legislation and regulations.

4.4.3 Psychotherapy

According to Basow (1992:339) a more traditional means of empowering at personal level has been psychotherapy. This method is aimed at increasing the individual's self-awareness and bringing about behavioural and emotional change. Psychotherapy is reported to be more beneficial to most people, since people can benefit greatly from learning more about themselves and their behaviour. However, traditional psychotherapy has been criticised for blaming women as victims of their oppression by looking for personal solutions to social problems. Moreover, the hierarchical nature of the therapist-client relationship may reinforce women's powerlessness. As a result of these problems, there has been a shift towards a new approach, namely feminist therapy (Basow, 1992:339).

Feminist therapy emphasises awareness of gender roles and stereotypes, as well as sexism. It addresses issues such as equality, anger and dependence, with the aim of achieving self-empowerment. The therapist-client relationship is non-authoritarian and the therapist serves as a role model for gender role transcendence. Different types of feminist therapy exist, but they all recognise that the social context is an important determinant of human behaviour, and that gender roles and statuses are determined by society, are not natural, and are disadvantageous to both sexes, but especially to women (Basow, 1992:331).

For these goals to be achieved, feminist scholarship needs to become much more accessible to women and girls. Feminist work should be published in the popular press and be included in primary and secondary school teaching, as well as higher education curricula. The media must also refrain from presenting women as victims and should rather report stories of triumphant women who have successfully resisted patriarchal femininity (Wilson, 1995:238).

Because feminism refers to equality between the sexes, men as well as women can be feminist therapists or clients of feminist therapists. Still, there is some support for the argument that each sex might benefit more from same-sex therapists, since the therapist's

role as a model can be one of the most powerful aspects of therapy, which can be enhanced in a same-sex dyad.

As mentioned above, men as well as women can benefit from feminist therapy, although men may question the suitability of this therapy. Some therapists have therefore recently coined the term 'gender-aware therapy', which sensitises clients to feminist therapy and knowledge about gender (Basow, 1992:340).

4.4.4 Accomplishing behavioural changes

Another way of achieving individual attitude change is by focusing on ways to change behaviour. Both men and women can try out the role of housekeeper, and women executives can learn how to deal with situations they have never before encountered. Thus both parties might end up re-evaluating previously held beliefs (Smookler, 2000:1). Women may go out to work and husbands may stay home to do the laundry. Since behaviours and attitudes interact, such behavioural changes might increase individuals' level of awareness. It has to be emphasised that all these changes occur on the individual level and thus touch on only one part of the problem. Hence, they are often slow and limited to a few highly motivated people. The other point to remember is that in order to reject an old, extreme behaviour or attitude, a new equally extreme behaviour or attitude may temporarily be needed (Basow, 1992:342).

Downing and Roush (cited in Basow, 1992:342) propose a five-stage model of feminist identity development in women. Stage one is passive acceptance in which women not only deny or are unaware of sexism, but also believe that traditional roles are beneficial. Stage two is revelation, in which a woman becomes aware of sexism, frequently accompanied by anger and bipolar thinking (for example, men are bad, women are good). In stage three, the embeddedness-emanation stage, women become immersed in women's culture and feel connected to other women. In stage four (synthesis) women begin to transcend gender roles and recognise individual differences among men and women. Stage five is the active commitment stage, where an individual commits herself to working for social change. Although this model's relevance to men has been questioned, it has received some empirical support. It is important to note that part of feminist

identity is a commitment to social change. The subsequent section focuses on such change.

4.5 EMPOWERMENT AT SOCIETAL LEVEL

Basow (1992:285) posits that changes in individual consciousness only go so far. To be effective, individuals must join together to urge changes at social and institutional levels. One advantage of the group approach is that groups provide much-needed support for their members, since working for change can be a frustrating and sometimes isolating process.

Since gender is socially constructed, it first needs to be socially deconstructed and then reconstructed, with equality rather than subordination as the model. Change on the social level must incorporate changes in people's basic ideology, socialisation practices, and relationships with others (CIDA 2001:1).

4.5.1 Changing the ideology

Ideology is a broad term used to signify the value systems, attitudes and beliefs that surround power relations. The whole element of ideology makes people understand why it is that even when women are bringing in the bulk of resources, they continue to uphold male power and continue to participate in their own subordination. This ideology is deeply embedded in the consciousness of women (Batliwala, 1997:2).

Various institutions and structures in society such as the family, the educational system, the religion and several others such as the social, economic, legal and political structures constantly reproduce power relations, because inherent in these institutions and structures is this ideology. The ideological element is embedded in the institutions and structures and they therefore reinforce the ideology, and through this, equitable access and control of resources. This is what Batliwala (1997:3) refers to as power. The author refers to empowerment as a process that changes existing power relations by addressing itself to the three dimensions, namely material, human and intellectual resources. It is a process that must challenge and change the ideology, which is the set of ideas, attitudes, beliefs

and practices in which gender bias or social bias like class, regionalism and communalism are embedded.

To change the ideology, therefore, the above institutions and structures need to transform. If they fail to do so, the ideology will continue to influence them. With regard to transformation of the ideological environment, the way people think is a highly integral and critical task of the empowerment process.

The important role played by the liberation movements, amongst them the South African Women's Charter and the Women's Lobby, in changing the ideology of our culture cannot be overemphasised. Most people agree that people need equality and freedom of choice – goals espoused by the women's liberation movements – but these are not always achieved. In South Africa, too, efforts to bring about gender equality include the appointment of women to leadership positions in different political arenas and in government. Initiations such as gender mainstreaming, capacity-building programmes and men's discussion groups create spaces for consciousness raising and self-reflection that ultimately lead to stronger, more effective and equitable organisations. These efforts are all indications of women's optimism in challenging their position in society.

Furthermore, there have been numerous changes in areas such as childrearing practices, creativity and achievements. Although these changes are at a snail's pace, it is clear that gender ideology has become more egalitarian. This bodes well for future changes. The importance of men's involvement in the promotion of gender equality cannot be overemphasised (United Nations, 2001:45). The formation of structures like Men for Change in the Free State province in South Africa, as well as the co-operation between men and women in the Gender Forum of the Free State province, are some of the very important developments towards the engendering of men and their increased involvement in the transformation process.

According to Basow (1992:343), even though women tend to have more egalitarian values than men and an increasing awareness of the disparities in status between men and women, women generally do not have a group consciousness, i.e. a sense of identification with each other. And without this sense of identification, organising and bringing about change can be very difficult. Women have just started recognising that the discrepancies

between what should exist and what does exist are the result of the inadequacy of social institutions and structures rather than their individual failures.

However, more is needed than egalitarian beliefs, especially in the face of organised resistance. Hensel (1991:3) warns that an egalitarian ideology can be a hindrance to social change if it is accompanied by an ideology of individualism. In other words, merely believing that women and men should have equal rights is unlikely to lead to social change if people also believe that individuals get what they deserve based on individual merit. This belief also leads women to believe that they can bring about change on their own, without the assistance of other people and without the transformation of structures and institutions. Women should organise themselves, raise their consciousness about their empowerment, and use their critical understanding to struggle for greater access to resources (Batliwala, 1997:3).

Batliwala (1997:4) stresses that for women to be empowered; empowerment has to operate both at the intrinsic and the extrinsic level. It is a process that must challenge the ideology – the set of ideas, attitudes, beliefs and practices in which gender bias or social bias are embedded. She refers to empowerment as a process that changes existing power relations by addressing itself to three dimensions, namely material, human and intellectual resources. However, transforming the ideological environment can be a difficult process, but it should not be difficult for women as the oppressed group, since people who are oppressed somehow know that they are oppressed and only need a social environment that permits them to articulate the oppression.

In the same manner, according to Batliwala (1997:40), the envisaged change must happen at both an extrinsic and intrinsic level. The extrinsic level refers to the things in the external environment, which means women in greater control of resources. The intrinsic process, on the other hand, refers to women gaining self-confidence and an understanding that their capacities have to change and not uphold male power, privilege and prestige.

4.5.2 Changing socialisation practices

People learn sex roles through socialisation. Therefore, radical changes are needed in this area if real change is to be achieved. Childrearing practices should foster non-sex-

typed functioning, such as encouraging girls to be independent and boys to be emotionally sensitive. Parents should also refrain from emphasising the importance of gender in children's lives, including matters of choosing particular toys, games, clothing and colours for boys and different ones for girls.

Another socialisation force that needs to change is the language people use, which should become less discriminatory (for example, Ms and Mr rather than Miss, Mrs and Mr) and more egalitarian (for example, chairperson rather than chairman). The media plays a critical role in developing and eliminating stereotypes and biases that affect the way women are viewed by society and in the workplace. It is therefore recommended that media organisations closely examine their gender demographics at all levels and review their coverage of accurate gender portrayals and possible distortions (Redwood, 1996:6).

As discussed previously, changing sex-typing in schools is also imperative. Present school practices, as well as the organisation, textbooks and curricula, all perpetuate sex-typing. As mentioned in 4.4.1.19 (a), the curriculum, for example, needs to promote critical thought as opposed to acceptance of the status quo in a sexist society. The curriculum should be aimed at eliminating gender stereotypes and constructing new ways of viewing and establishing social relations between men and women. Textbooks, too, should be rewritten to include critical issues concerning gender. The same goes for teachers' training. Courses offered by higher education institutions should alert student teachers to the problems associated with gender differences and/or should infuse an understanding of societal factors (4.4.1.1[b]).

Laws banning any form of discrimination in any educational institution could help to remedy the situation, provided they are enforced. This is clearly explained in the White Paper on Education (1995b) (see 4.3.3), which stresses that transformation should involve an abolition of all existing forms of unjust differentiation, as well as provide measures of empowerment. Furthermore, the changing of regulations does not necessarily change attitudes and behaviour. Thus, change can be affected in the schools, but it can also be thwarted by teachers' attitudes and practices.

The obvious need to change both women's and men's attitudes towards gender equality, as well as the role of gender stereotypes in shaping these attitudes, is a key topic

underlying women's empowerment and gender equality endeavours (UNESCO, 2000:54). However, changing attitudes implies changing perceptions, beliefs, language, understandings and expectations, all of which are embedded in one's experience, inherited socio-cultural value system(s), prevalent modes of thinking, peer pressure, personal hopes and fears and much more, and are often difficult or impossible to express. Education, culture and communication obviously play an important part in all of this. Therefore, as mentioned above, for change to be brought into effect at societal level, school textbooks, the attitudes of teachers and parents, the toy industry, the music and video industry and the mass media, which all have an impact on an individual's attitudes and are prominent in perpetuating sexist stereotypes in practically all societies today, need to change. Only a concerted, consolidated effort and multidisciplinary approach can eradicate this problem at its roots (UNESCO, 2000:55).

Just as socialising agents and forces currently construct traditional roles and attitudes in children, these same agents and forces can just as easily construct non-traditional roles and attitudes too (Basow, 1992:345).

4.5.3 Changing relationships in the family

Most people believe that men's attitudes towards women have changed for the better in the last 20 years; men think they have changed more than women think men have changed (Belkin, in Basow, 1992:344). For example, 57% of women aged 18 to 44, but only 35% of comparatively aged men, believe that men are only willing to let women get ahead if women still do all the housework at home.

For equality to be attained there should be a greater balance in the division of labour between the sexes, especially in the home, with men participating in childrearing. Without the equal division of labour, women end up with a low status in the public sphere and specifically in the workplace. Although many men are increasing their participation in household chores and childcare, the burden of these activities still fall disproportionately on the shoulders of women (Smookler, 2000:8).

It requires more than goodwill to change the division of labour in the home. Due to the nature of the workplace and the traditional gender socialisation, men and women are

steered into their different roles in society, with men engaging in employment outside the home and being viewed as breadwinners, whilst women are relegated to childcare activities. However, this pattern is starting to change, with young women increasingly taking up employment outside the home and being committed to career development, while young men increase their interest in family life (Basow, 1992:344). But until socialisation and institutional practices change, it will be hard to attain gender equality within relationships.

To remedy this situation and to elevate women's status, women need to take an active stance in holding men to these chores rather than 'over-functioning' in that area. Furthermore, as Lerner (in Hensel, 1991:3) posits, women must refrain from doing all the emotional work in a relationship. They need to pressure their men by being able to communicate their rights, their true feelings, and their needs, preferences and frustrations in an uncompromising manner. Like all rights, if enough women exercise this one, it will eventually be accepted. Men, on the other hand, must stop reinforcing helpless, dependent behaviour in their female partners, for example women who expect to be driven around by their male partners even if they are able to drive, or those who do not see the need to learn to drive because their male partners can drive them to where they need to be.

4.6 EMPOWERMENT AT INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

As has been indicated in the previous sections, men (and all things masculine) are associated with power and status, whilst women (and everything feminine) are associated with powerlessness and low status (see 3.3.1.1). Nearly all societal institutions reflect this gender dynamic. Thus business, law, politics and the military are run primarily by men and also from a male's point of view, using a value system compatible with the male role, that is, dominance, competition, aggression and personal insensitivity. To truly change gender stereotypes, the patriarchal system needs to be changed and societal institutions should be made more reflective of, and responsive to an entire community. (Basow, 1992:329). Corporations could implement mandatory manager and supervisor training programmes to eliminate stereotypes and biases around women. Situational approaches and role playing would increase the sensitivity of people in authority to the barriers that working women have to face. Presumably, by challenging supervisors' and

managers' notion that women are inherently unsuited for positions of authority, these programmes would encourage them to stop discriminating against women when granting promotions (Graev, 1998:4).

4.6.1 Moving towards equity

Feminism is said to underline the belief that women and men are equal and should be valued equally while having distinct rights (Basow, 1992:329). In this regard, feminist discourse is aimed at finding the same opportunities and privileges for women that society affords to men. Since it is a movement that strives to end women's subordination, equalise men and women and balance the life phenomenon, feminism is of value to the educational situation and empowerment of women.

There are three main types of feminism: liberal feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism. Liberal feminism stresses the equality of opportunity between the sexes and is therefore sometimes referred to as "equal opportunity feminism". Socialist feminism is the most traditional and conservative of all three. Its main aim, according to Basow (1992:329), is to secure for women economic, political and social rights equal to those of men within the existing system (such as with respect to education).

Liberal feminism is sometimes referred to as the assimilation model, in which women are encouraged to assume the lifestyles and characteristics of the mainstream male culture and consequently learn to be competitive, aggressive and insensitive towards men. Furthermore, this model ignores class and race distinctions because only a small group of women (mainly white and middle class) can hope to compete with men on male terms, as women are generally still expected to fulfil social functions and take care of domestic functioning even when they are qualified for higher positions (Bernard, cited in Basow, 1992:330).

Socialist feminism is based on the traditional Marxist view of society Rodriguez, with its emphasis on changing the economic system as a precondition for the establishment of gender equality (Watkins, Rueda & Rodriguez, 1992:121). As opposed to liberal feminism, socialist feminism emphasises the necessity of changing the economic system as a precondition for the establishment of gender equality. According to this model,

economic and sexist oppression is mutually and fundamentally reinforcing, and class and structure influence gender subordination. An example of this is the fact that wealthy white men exploit the working class, and that men exploit women (Graev, 1998:4).

In contrast to socialist feminism, radical feminism emphasises the importance of both economic and sexist oppression. The argument here is that men's oppression of women is primary and forms the basis of all other forms of oppression (Watkins *et al.*, 1992:121). According to this model, women's oppression is the result of sexism, and unless sexism is uprooted, it will give birth to racism, class hatred, ageism, competition, ecological disaster and economic exploitation. The goal of radical feminism is therefore to abolish class and gender inequality and create a new culture based on a more balanced synthesis of male and female modes of power. Therefore, to bring an end to the oppression of women by men, woman-centred systems and beliefs must be established. However, change must occur at both the individual and institutional level (Basow, 1992:332).

Thomas and Kritzinger (1997:108) argue that for women to fight free of their embodied oppression they need to understand that their task is nothing less than to create a "*viable feminist pedagogy of transformation*": a political or personal transformation. Thomas and Kritzinger (1997:08) are of the opinion that "*The feminist revolution will not be complete until women can be whole and strong and rise up in that power that comes from deep within, from knowing why we are, and say conclusively, stop this wickedness at once. We will not stand for it one more second*".

Thus, women should develop into active agents and, as subjects, become and remain aware of the politics of bribery and intimidation practised by patriarchy against women, so that both no longer work as effectively. This awareness must be passed on to their daughters, sons and husbands (Thomas & Kritzinger, 1997:109).

Although it is extremely difficult to integrate all three forms of feminism, given the different analyses that underlie each view, some feminists agree that the main aim can be stated as: *Working to gain equal rights in the short term (liberal feminism) while trying to transform society in the long term (radical and socialist feminism)* (Jaggar, cited in Basow, 1992:333). Women must be accorded the right to full opportunities for employment and possibilities of promotion in all spheres of work. Women must work for

the same pay for the same job as their male peers. Furthermore, women must be free to participate in national liberation movements, trade unions and other organisations (Amien & Farlam, 1998:156).

Feminism is concerned with more than women's employment; however, its relevance in this study is restricted to women's demand for equality in the workplace and the participation or non-participation of women in paid employment. The radical and socialist movements campaigned for women's right to work, and to be treated as fairly and receive the same pay as men (Smookler, 2000:1).

Full equality for women will only be achieved when women have successfully fought against discrimination and the subservient role they have to play in society, and for an improvement in women's economic position. Furthermore, education for vocational training should be accessible to all girls and women, and society must change its attitude towards women and respect their positive contribution throughout the ages for the betterment of humanity.

4.6.2 Networking and mentoring

Eggins (1997:95) refers to professional networking as being primarily about women in similar fields or on similar career paths meeting to make and share contacts. Members of a network, whether it is formal or informal, are likely to have common experiences and aspirations; most importantly, they share information and advice. As mentioned in the previous chapter (refer to 3.3.2.4), women in higher education, at all levels, whether they be teachers, administrators or managers, continue to be excluded from many sources of information, and therefore networking in particular is very valuable.

The other benefit of networking, as postulated by Ramsay (2000:8), is to ensure that the policy debates, priorities and directions of the sector are enhanced by the views and experience of the senior women in the sector. In addition, this formal, effective and public voice ensures that the presence of senior women can no longer be overlooked at the individual or collective level, achieving audibility and credibility for women across the sector. The network programmes increase the likelihood of women progressing to senior positions/levels and also equip them with the capabilities required to succeed in

the challenging circumstances often faced by women in these positions (Eggins, 1997:92).

According to Singh (2000:12) relationships that develop in the context of networks are more likely to be two-way and mutually beneficial, and therefore more attractive to and effective between women than the more traditional and hierarchical mentoring relationships. Furthermore, networks provide an immediate source of information, advice, support, insights and understanding about what is happening in the workplace at both institutional/organisational at international and national level. They also counteract the isolation identified in the literature as a debilitating feature of the professional lives of women in leadership and management positions (refer to 3.3.2.5).

Women in senior management and leadership positions in higher education institutions in Australia established a women's network in 1995 known as the Australian Technology Network (ATN), which has forged a range of international linkages. One of these links is with women senior managers in South African higher education institutions (one being y Peninsula Technikon; currently University of the Western Cape after the mergers). These links at the individual and small group level have been expanded into entire network-to-network relationships, which should benefit participants, their institutions, and the higher education sectors of both countries (Ramsay, 2000:8). Collaborative activities envisaged in the longer term include cross-cultural research development between senior women in higher education institutions in South Africa and Australia.

The Colloquium of Senior Women Executive Managers in Australian Higher Education is a national group of women in senior management positions in Australian universities that was formed in 1995 with the full support of all universities in the Australian United National System of Higher Education. Its formation was considered timely and useful given the continued under-representation of women at more senior levels, both within individual higher education institutions and across the higher education sector nationally. The colloquium has worked closely with the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) to push their agenda through a plan of action, which has been endorsed by the AVCC (UNESCO, 2000:60).

According to Singh (2000:12), while this network has demonstrably established conditions, processes and initiatives that have increased the likelihood of women progressing to senior level, these women have also been equipped with the capabilities needed to succeed in such challenging circumstances. These programmes and other similar ones target the transformation of organisational cultures by questioning the status quo, and develop in the participants both the confidence that this is possible and the attributes needed to sustain such changes over time. These networks encourage women to access the most senior academic and administrative positions in the universities and assist them to acquire the skills and knowledge required to perform their duties effectively. The networks could therefore be characterised as learning communities. As Ramsay (2000:16) has stated: *“If women’s leadership development is pursued in isolation and without efforts to dismantle existing barriers to women’s progression to senior level, the result may well yet be highly skilled women who nevertheless remain on the margins of the leadership and management of their institutions”*.

In Africa, the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) is a membership organisation that brings together African women ministers in charge of education systems, women vice-chancellors of African universities, and other senior women policymakers. It was founded in 1992 in Kenya and has both male and female members. FAWE’s aim is to stimulate broad policy reform and create an environment conducive to increasing parental demand for girls’ education. Together with national chapters such as the Forum for African Women Educationalists South Africa (FAWESA), FAWE has focused on important initiatives in this sector (UNESCO, 2000:60).

For many years now, a range of programmes and initiatives have been put in place to challenge the overall disadvantages women face in terms of the context in which their careers are defined in the workplace generally and in the higher education sector in particular (Ramsay, 2000:7). Amongst these efforts, organisational mentoring programmes have become particularly common. Some commonly identified benefits of mentoring, as stated by Wilson (1995:33), Singh (2000:45) and Eggins (1997:110), relate to individual career planning and effectiveness, improving job performance, lowering employee turnover, enhancing creativity, and acculturating women into organisational leadership positions. Others are much broader in their scope and include developing networks and dealing with the organisational climate and senior colleagues.

A mentor is seen as a wise and trusted teacher, counsellor and sponsor, and is usually a person of greater experience and seniority in the occupational world the protégé is entering. The protégé sees embodied in the mentor what he or she wants to become, and therefore role modelling is central to the concept of mentoring (Bowen, in Greyvenstein, 1989:106). Wilson (1995:33) states that mentoring can help a protégé find his/her own feet more quickly and establish a clear sense of career direction and purpose. In addition, mentoring often rejuvenates the mentor and may also serve to advance his/her career.

The mentoring programme, which is usually facilitated, benefits individuals who are mentored, those who provide mentoring, and the organisation. Furthermore, Eggins (1997:111) claims that the problem in most organisations is that it is often difficult to find mentors, because many organisational cultures are not conducive to informal mentoring. As a result, some organisations have established formal mentoring programmes. Eggins (1997:111) mentions an example of a formal mentoring programme in one American corporation that is based on 'mentoring circles' as opposed to one-on-one relationships. The circles typically consist of six to ten protégés and two to four upper-level mentors. The advantage of this type of mentoring programme is that whereas formal relationships are said to have a narrower, work-specific focus, informal mentoring programmes extend to psychosocial support.

Mentoring implies a relationship between a new and/or younger adult and an older, more experienced adult who supports, guides, and counsels the younger person as he or she becomes integrated into the world of work (Wilson, 1995:22). It can be either a formal policy of an institution or an informal private arrangement between two people.

While researching power, Wilson (1995:32) found that those individuals with mentors had more power than those without. A British study by Arnold and Davidson (in Wilson, 1995:32) also confirmed that the majority of male and female managers in this study found that their mentors were important in introducing them to the formal network of power relations in the organisations in which they worked. Wilson also found that people who were mentored reported higher levels of satisfaction and career mobility, as well as a higher rate of promotion than those not mentored, regardless of their sex or level.

Singh (2000:67) posits that mentoring is a cost-effective form of staff development, providing assistance with career development and often with conflict resolution, both of which enhance staff morale. It provides an avenue for staff across a wide range of areas and levels to share knowledge and experience, and thus increases knowledge of the organisation.

Although mentoring has been used more often as a strategy for the development of women, research by Eggins (1997:111) have shown that the concept of mentoring can be seen as a barrier to women in educational management due to the prejudice aimed at denying them access to influential powerbases and information networks. Male members usually choose a male as their protégé, and because there are very few women in senior positions who can act as role models or mentors for women, women often find it difficult to find mentors. There is a contrasting view that women can secure mentors as often as men, and successful cross-sex mentoring does occur. But same-sex role models are advocated as being more effective due to the fact that they are an example of women management and they provide personal support (Singh, 2000:12). Both male and female mentors can buffer women from discrimination and help them advance. A female mentor, by being a role model, can help women identify with female models while giving a positive incentive through illustrative success.

Ramsay (2000:6) has also reported that a woman with a male mentor can be at a disadvantage because of the problem of dependency and the fear of not meeting the mentor's expectations, causing the mentoring relationship to end. Taking the above into consideration, the implication might be that cross-sex mentoring further perpetuates women's inferior relationship to men and can thus be seen as more detrimental to women than it is beneficial. However, Singh (2000:12) states that some mentorship programmes have reported some outstanding successes, with promotions, research grants and better employment opportunities being awarded to those women with mentors.

To some extent an earlier emphasis on formal and informal mentoring programmes to counteract the barriers to women's advancement has now been overtaken by an increasing focus on the establishment of networks. While networks and channels of communication may include programme elements such as mentoring programmes, it is

particularly significant that all such networks offer opportunities for non-hierarchical mentoring between peers (Ramsay 2000:5).

One form of mentoring that has been used in the context of higher education is work shadowing. According to David Lodge (cited in Eggins, 1997:101):

A shadow is someone who follows another person about all day as he/she goes about his/her normal work. In this way, a genuine inward understanding of that work is obtained by the shadow, which could not be obtained by a simple briefing or organized visit. Ideally, the shadow should spend an uninterrupted week or fortnight with his/her opposite number, but if that is impracticable, a regular visit of one day a week throughout the term would be satisfactory.

The benefits of shadowing, as explained by Eggins (1997:105), are that the shadow is afforded the opportunity to reflect on best management practices, to gather formal and informal information, and also to acquire some knowledge and skill, which can add to his/her personal portfolio. Shadowing also values personal staff development and provides a low-cost, credible alternative to external courses and more standard forms of human resource development.

4.6.3 Fair appointment and promotion procedures

Ramsay (2000:6) claims that women fail to make headway in higher education institutions and other organisations because they lack proper information about opportunities and the procedures/processes for employment, further training and promotion (Singh, 2000:110). Ramsay (2000:6) argues that the selection procedure is usually done according to stereotyped gender roles and not according to qualification and competence level. Women are therefore placed in the lower ranks of hierarchy or in promotion positions that have a low decision-making/autonomy status. Niemann (2002:189) posits that in order to address the under-representation of women in senior management positions, competent women must be appointed to fill vacancies, and a non-sexist procedure for selection, interviewing and appointment must be adopted.

It would also be helpful if promotion exercises were clearly enunciated and made known to women who do not succeed in promotions. Candidates should be informed of whether they failed to present themselves well or whether they failed to fulfil the promotion criteria. If the latter, they should be told which criteria they failed to fulfil and how far short they fell from the required standards. Transparency at all levels would greatly help women's cause, giving them clear standards by which to assess themselves (Singh, 2000:110). Onsongo (2002:9) points out that lack of transparency and accountability in hiring and promotion procedures allows male managers the freedom to reproduce the institution in their own image (men are more comfortable with and appoint others like them, namely other men).

In spite of the difficulties women face in gaining access to education, there are women who are well qualified for senior academic and administrative positions who nevertheless fail to be selected. To quote Zamora (in UNESCO Secretariat, 1993:20), "*A man is preferred because he is a man*". Discriminatory appointment and promotion practices constitute barriers in institutions without policies that ensure equal opportunities for men and women.

Information on all aspects of promotion criteria should be made known to all members of staff. Recruitment, appointment and promotion to senior management positions should take place through competitive procedures that take the form of advertising in the mass media (Osongo, 2002:9).

In order to ensure women's accessibility to senior management positions, organisations should also make an effort to create an environment that encourages women to move into management, and to modify practices to increase their rate of selection and promotion in order to achieve a critical mass at all levels of the organisation (DESA, 1997:8). It should be emphasised that women should be in the position where they are eligible for promotions. This can be achieved by, *inter alia*, ensuring that women are qualified for these positions, providing special in-service training in management and leadership, and not offering management and leadership training only to people who already hold these positions (as is usually the case).

4.6.4 Taking Affirmative Action measures

The provision of legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender, amongst other things, does not 'level the playing field'. This means that although both sexes currently have equal access to opportunities, as a result of years of subordination and oppression women still find it difficult to compete on an equal footing with men. Special measures therefore have to be implemented to put men and women on an equal footing from where they can equitably make use of equal opportunities. One option for achieving this is through affirmative action (McElroy, 2000:2).

Affirmative action is the deliberate taking of positive steps to design and implement procedures that ensure that the employment system provides equal opportunities to all (Redwood, 1996:5). According to Hove (1997:2) affirmative action is described as an *"insistence on action programmes to promote parity between citizens by increasing participation of disadvantaged groups or individuals in the educational and economic structures of society"*. Affirmative action thus stands for gearing towards equality where there is a history of past instances of injustice and disadvantage.

In the context of gender, affirmative action means a fair discrimination in favour of women. Given the past and continuing disadvantages experienced by women in most sectors of society, it is necessary that they be given the opportunities of which culture and traditions have deprived them. According to Onsong (2002:9) institutions should require that women be represented at all levels, especially in key decision-making committees responsible for establishing promotion criteria, selecting conference representatives, and allocating funds, research awards and support facilities within the institution. For this to work, there is a need for political will and decisions that will change the status quo, as well as a commitment to making full use of the rich talent the nation has to offer.

Higher education institutions should use affirmative action as a tool to help ensure that all qualified individuals have access and opportunities to compete, based on ability and merit. Properly implemented, affirmative action does not mean quotas that allow the preferential treatment, employment or promotion of unqualified people. Rather, it means opening the system and casting a wide net to recruit, train and hire people who may not

look like corporate executives have traditionally looked, and who may not think like corporate executives have traditionally thought (McElroy, 2000:5).

There are two prominent forms of affirmative action, namely 'hard' and 'soft' affirmative action. Hard affirmative action is often referred to as equality of opportunity. It is said to be the foundation of affirmative action because it implies the absence of all obstacles that prevent a person from seizing an opportunity or simply having the freedom to decide to act in a particular way. This type of affirmative action is aimed at "levelling the playing field" for all individuals and groups (McElroy, 2000:4).

Soft affirmative action is aimed at repairing past discrimination practices by society, even though such reparations may include discrimination against individuals who previously belonged to advantaged or preferred groups.

South Africa can be regarded as an example of a system where, as a result of its past history of racial and sexist discrimination, both soft and hard affirmative actions are desperately needed. However, since 1994 (and even before, when the 'struggle' was underway) liberation has been geared towards racial discrimination. This means that gender discrimination has been relegated to second position (Ramphela, cited in Moseitse, 1998:69). Therefore, it is important that women now unite and call for a fight against sexism and for the application of hard and soft affirmative action.

Affirmative action measures have been introduced by law to correct the under-representation of women at management level (Niemann, 2002:180). The inequalities of the past have been addressed through the constitution, and new legislation has been introduced to deal with inequality in the workplace, for example the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997), the Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998) and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000), as mentioned in 4.3.2.

Affirmative action is primarily geared towards opening avenues for many marginalised groups, including women. It is not only about appointing people into positions in an effort to enhance representativeness, but is a holistic approach aimed at developing,

empowering and establishing an environment conducive to the representativeness brought about through the implementation of affirmative action programmes.

4.6.5 Providing for equal pay

Although the past few decades have seen major advances in ‘equality’ between men and women in the area of employment, the wage gap between the two sexes has continued to exist and, in some cases, has increased over time (Delpont, 2000:5). Some people argue that women generally have less training, experience and job commitment than men, hence the pay gap (Carr-Ruffino, 1993:14). This gap has narrowed when one compares it with the situation facing women entering the labour market in the 1970s. Increased levels of qualifications among women have undoubtedly played a role in bridging the gap. Carr-Ruffino (1993:14) states that it is highly unlikely that women who have made it to the vice-president’s level have less training, experience and commitment than their male counterparts. Some studies even indicate that most women who make it to these positions have higher qualifications than their male peers.

A recent salary survey conducted by workinfo.com, in partnership with the Graduate Institute of Management Technology, Equity Skills News and Views and others, found that in South Africa, while race issues have been largely addressed, men still earn more than women. This is contrary to the country’s progressive legislation. UNESCO (2000:55) advises that, in order to eradicate these salary discrepancies, women themselves have to stand up and do something. They have to know their rights and stop being afraid to stand up for themselves. Delpont (2000:4) gives the example of a woman who took a respectable chain store to court for refusing to employ her because she was pregnant, and also cites the case of an Afrikaans female *dominee* (church minister) who was victimised by church elders, and whose conditions of service were far less favourable than those of her less senior male colleagues, until she threatened legal action.

Since it is not always possible for employees to find out how their rate of pay compares to that of their colleagues, companies should be required to have transparent salary scales. If a woman suspects she is being paid less than her male counterparts, she should approach her human resources department and enquire about the rates for certain types of work or the rate per hour. According to Delpont (2000:5) men are not afraid to say “my

value is higher than that", and ask for more. Women, on the other hand, accept things as they are, and prefer not to rock the boat.

If a woman thinks she is losing out, she is entitled to petition her Human Resources department or the Minister of Labour, or even approach the Centre for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA).

Women's rights in the workplace are established by legislation, but women need to know these rights and insist on them. Moreover, equality cannot be achieved through legislation only. Women need to join hands to ensure that they are accorded the rights that are so clearly contained in the constitution and other relevant legislation.

4.6.6 Reorganising work and family

Family and home responsibilities have been researched as a major barrier to women's advancement. The relationship between family and career causes conflicting roles and expectations (Hensel, 1991:3). In most cases the difficulties are attributed to a woman's dual responsibilities as wife/mother and professional (refer to 2.2). In some cases the traditional role is accepted and the professional role becomes secondary. Chitnis (in UNESCO Secretariat, 1993:21) mentions that in India many academic women put family responsibilities first and are attracted to an academic career because of the convenience of school holidays. In the same vein, Omar (cited in UNESCO Secretariat, 1993:20) states that women in Malaysian universities, who are quite well represented at middle management level, are less concerned about their poor promotional prospects than men, since they consider their primary responsibilities to be to their families.

One way to bring about institutional change is by narrowing the gap between work and family functions. For a truly egalitarian society, women need to be truly integrated into the occupational world and men need to be truly integrated into the domestic sphere. Very few nations have attempted this and as a result, almost everywhere, in developing as well as developed countries, women must bear the double burden of working out of and in the home. According to Hensel (1991:3), when both men and women share domestic and subsistence activities, sex roles tend to be relatively egalitarian since men develop a more communal responsibility and can no longer be paternalistic and distant (see 2.4.1).

As mentioned previously, this was the case with primitive hunting and gathering and horticultural societies and is currently the situation in Sweden.

While Sweden is not completely egalitarian, it has come further than any other country in egalitarian ideology and national policy and can serve as an example to most countries (Bude; Moen Forest; Pogrebin; Safilios-Rothschild, cited in Basow, 1992:349). The Swedish government has strongly emphasised men's role changes. Textbooks have been reformed, school curricula have been changed, and non-sexist parent education has been developed. Nearly all boys learn homemaking and childcare skills, and preference is given to male applicants for preschool teachers' training. In addition to this, the government has offered a system of incentives to employers who combat traditional sex-typing of occupations while also providing grant-in-aids education and training for women and taking care of childcare costs. Fathers and mothers are entitled to nine months of childcare leave at 90% salary, or child sick leave (10 days per year). The percentage of mothers with young children who participated in the labour force in 1986 was 86% compared to 57% in the United States. Not surprisingly, Sweden ranks number one in the world in terms of the status of women ('The Status of Women', in Basow, 1992:349).

As asserted by Carr-Ruffino (1993:15), Redwood (1996:6) and Onsongo (2002:9), other important changes would include adopting work/life and family-friendly policies. These include adequate paid leaves of absence for either parent; help in obtaining affordable quality childcare within the institution; elder care; and a flexible job structure such as flexitime, telecommuting, job sharing, part-time arrangements at certain stages, and work in home offices. Family-friendly policies improve productivity and reduce costs by relieving workers of non-job-related worries and allowing them to focus on their career objectives.

4.6.7 Providing leadership and management training

In both private and public sector organisations, the need for management and leadership training is well established. It is, however, important to take account of actual rather than assumed training needs when programmes are being developed (Johnson, 1999:5). It would be best to let women themselves suggest training needs. Johnson posits that not

much has been written about the specific training of women bureaucrats, but emphasises that there is an important need for gender training in bureaucracies. Johnson (1999:5) describes three main forms of management training:

- a. *Programmes in career development and management skills directly assisting women to understand the demands on them if they are to become successful managers*
- b. *Programmes assisting both men and women personnel in adjusting to a new understanding of more egalitarian gender roles and culture*
- c. *Programmes seeking to train human resources officers and other organizational decision makers to cope with the specific demands placed upon them by new regulations, a changing workforce and increasing recognition that firms must learn to foster a sense of inclusion if they are to make best use of their human resources.*

Johnson (1999:6) points out that although women-only training programmes seem to impart some knowledge and skills to women managers, the disadvantage is that they seem to exclude and isolate women further in male-dominated management ranks. The exclusion of men weakens the possibility of gender integration in management roles. Joint management training for both women and men, on the other hand, increases leadership skills and knowledge amongst both women and men, as intended. The author further claims that these programmes have a significant impact on skills development and fundamental management competencies. One danger of these programmes might be the possibility of officially heightening the expectation among women for a direct and immediate link between their increased participation in mixed-sex management training programmes and their advancement into and through the ranks of management, especially the higher levels of management.

Women's perceived lack of appropriate competencies and skills, both social and managerial, is an important barrier to their ability to compete on an equal footing with men. Training programmes for women thus represent an important strategy for enhancing their knowledge about higher education and also sharpening their skills and competencies in a range of activities such as research and management, which are valued in higher education (Singh, 2000:11). Training programmes that aim at empowering women and

promoting individual and social change must make gender a central issue if discriminatory and unequal gender relations are to be changed. If education and training are to empower women, they must entail the development of instrumental and analytical skills and the acquisition of knowledge in order to promote critical awareness and reflection of their life situation. For empowerment to happen, the skills and the knowledge that should be central to the programmes must have emancipative potential for empowerment to happen. For example, women should learn about the law, the legal system and how to make it work, as well as their rights as human beings (Singh, 2000:55).

Leadership and management training programmes, special seminars and workshops are necessary to equip women with management skills and to prepare women for top management positions (Dines, 1993:26; Singh, 2000:13). Onsongo (2002:9) is of the opinion that this will go a long way towards changing the way in which women perceive themselves and give them confidence in their own capacity to be effective leaders. Dines (1993:26) rightly agrees that these special programmes for women will offer them the opportunity of a *metanoi* – a change of heart at the level of the unconscious. Only a deep-seated change at this level, the author asserts, will have a lasting impact on the way in which women perceive themselves and will give them confidence in their own capacity as leaders. According to Singh (2000:13), because the problems facing women are complex, no single reason can explain the poor participation of women in educational institutions and no single strategy or initiative can adequately help women address the problem or remedy the situation. Leadership programmes therefore attempt to address this problem from several perspectives: policy changes, raising awareness of the problem, improving skills and competencies for women, changing the institution's structures and procedures, changing men's and women's attitudes, and creating a more enabling woman-friendly environment.

The University of Western Australia's (UWA) Leadership Development for Women (LDW) programme showcases a typical programme for women comprising core leadership concepts, issues and opportunities within the UWA context; skills development workshops covering areas nominated by participants; information sessions focusing on aspects of university life such as the budget process, decision-making structures and promotion systems; mentor networks; action leadership projects; the

opportunity to participate in special projects, thereby extending skills and knowledge gained; forums and informal networking; opportunities to meet recognised UWA leaders; and networking through lunchtime discussions and occasional dinners (Singh, 2000:16).

The LDW programme was established in 1994 in response to the continuing under-representation of women at senior levels of the university's decision-making structures (De Vries, 1997:1; Singh, 2000:16). The programme is aimed at enabling women to develop leadership skills and knowledge in order to increase their participation in positions of leadership and in the university's decision-making process, to contribute to the culture change in the university, and to encourage and welcome women's involvement in leadership positions. It is reported that at the UWA in 1994 women constituted 22.0% of academic appointments and 56.6% of general staff (administrative, technical, research-only and professional) appointments, with women being clustered at the lower levels in all cases (De Vries, 1997:2).

Certain positive outcomes of this leadership programme, both for participants and institutions, have been identified. As De Vries (1997:3) reports, women participants have been reported to have enhanced skills that have enabled them to undertake leadership positions, re-value their own skills, formulate viable career goals, develop an understanding of leadership concepts, increase their organisational management knowledge, increase their understanding of the cultures of institutions, strengthen networking opportunities, and find greater access to promotions or professional advancement.

Likewise, the evaluations of the UWA programme between 1994 and 1997 indicated that the LDW participants were more successful in achieving promotion than all other staff groups, and that retention rates were higher for all LDW groups in comparison to women who did not participate in the LDW programme, as well as men. According to De Vries (1997:1) participants also reported many other significant changes such as greater participation in networks, increased visibility, becoming mentors to other staff, participation in special projects, taking on secondments, and increased committee involvement. LDW women are enjoying greater success and are enhancing their contribution to the university community.

The figures in the following tables are based on a 'snapshot' picture of staff levels in 1994, with a comparison of these levels of the same staff in 2000. This is compared with LDW participants, for whom the snapshot picture of level can be taken at the time of entry to the programme compared with their level in 2000.

Table 4.2: Comparison of the 1994 LDW cohorts' promotional success with other female, male and total staff promotional success from 31 March 1994 to 31 March 2000

Employment Changes							
Staff group	Promoted	Same	Regressed	No longer employed	Total number	Percentage promoted	
Academic							
1994 LDW group academic	14	2	0	3	19	74	
1994 Other female academic	38	57	3	103	201	19	
1994 Male academic	177	242	1	281	701	25	
1994 Total academic	229	301	4	387	921	25	
General							
1994 LDW group general	6	3	0	2	11	55	
1994 Other female general	203	134	13	540	890	23	
1994 Male general	151	104	27	403	685	22	
1994 Total general	360	241	40	945	1586	23	

(Source: De Vries, 1997)

Table 4.3: Comparison of LDW cohorts' promotional success with other female, male and total staff promotional success from 31 March 1995 to 31 March 2000, illustrating 1995, 1996, 1998 and 1999

Staff group	Percentage Promoted			
	1995	1996	1998	1999
Academic				
LDW group academic	26	29	13	20
Other female academic	17	14	13	7
Male academic	23	21	13	8
Total academic	22	20	13	8
General				
LDW group general	50	30		13
Other female general	22	20	29	8
Male general	24	19	16	9
Total general	23	20	16	8

(Source: De Vries, 1997)

Table 4.4: Promotions achieved by the 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998 and 1999 LDW participants up to March 2000

Programme year	Number of Promotions		Total
	General staff	Academic staff	
1994			
1995			
1996			
1998			
1999	4	2	6
Total	2	3	5

(Source: De Vries, 1997)

Note: Staff members who have since left the university were classified according to their position at the time of leaving. Staff members who have achieved more than 1 promotion are only counted once.

A total of 56 women have achieved promotion, which is 37% of the overall group.

Table 4.5: Number of academic and general staff members, by position or level at time of entry into LDW, who have received a promotion as at March 2000 (includes all LDW cohort groups)

Academic staff		General staff	
Original Position	No. of promotions	Original level	No. of promotions
Associate Lecturer		4	
Lecturer		5	
Senior Lecturer		6	
Associate Professor		7	
Professor		8	
Total		9	
		10	

(Source: De Vries, 1997)

The results show that LDW participants have increased success in promotion as compared to women who have not participated in the programme, as well as men.

4.6.8 Establishing a Gender Management System (GMS)

The gender management system (GMS) approach addresses two main concerns in the quest to achieve gender equality and equity. The first is the technical task of engendering policy, programmes, projects and the day-to-day operations of universities. The second is putting in place a change management strategy that would create an enabling environment for gender mainstreaming in the sector and commit all relevant stakeholders to effective implementation (Williams & Harvey, cited in Singh, 2000:77).

The goal of a GMS approach is to create gender relations that are equitable for both men and women whatever their class, race, nationality, age and other attributes. It also shifts the focus from addressing gender issues as ‘women-only’ issues to characterising the struggle for gender equality as a shared concern and a responsibility of both men and women.

According to Singh (2000:77), in the higher education sector, GMS determines how persistent inequalities between men and women are demonstrated. The governance structure of universities becomes critical in instituting a gender management system, as it is this professional bureaucracy that provides the context and the environment within which the GMS will be implemented. As such the process of mainstreaming gender must consider the influence exerted by this structure, culture, and decision-making style to ensure successful change and transformation.

Makerere University provides a positive example of a higher education institution that has attempted to implement the GMS approach to mainstream gender into all aspects of its management and administration, with the aim of bringing gender sensitivity to the governance and administration of the university and achieving greater gender equality across a number of dimensions.

The overall objective of the Makerere University GMS is to ensure gender sensitivity in the governance and administration of the university, so that its delivery of services to its stakeholders can lead to sustainable human development in Uganda, with men and women sharing responsibilities and enjoying the benefits equitably. The initial phase envisages a series of gender awareness workshops for the management of the university.

The aim of such workshops is to: (i) analyse the issues that have given rise to concerns about gender inequality in university governance, management and administration; (ii) explore women-specific issues in diagnosing gender inequality at Makerere; and (iii) develop an appropriate action plan for a gender management system to support the mainstreaming of gender in this university.

The success of GMS implementation has depended upon: (i) support and involvement of top management; (ii) sensitisation and training of top management; (iii) exposure of top management of the university to all aspects of GMS gender issues and concepts, staffing, training and development, career development and employee relations, student enrolment and support, curriculum and instruction, research and outreach, public space and campus security, engendering of the university budgetary process, and a gender-inclusive language; and (iv) delivery of service to stakeholders – students, staff and wider society – that leads to sustainable development, with men and women sharing responsibilities and enjoying the benefits equitably (Kwesiga, cited in Singh, 2000:79).

In South Africa, in 1984, a group of feminist women and men at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) approached the management of this institution to challenge the status quo of women on campus. The dissatisfied staff formed the Women's Commission in 1987 to investigate women's conditions of employment at the institution (Salo, 2003:4). A series of negotiations with the university administration resulted in substantial changes in the conditions of work for women on campus. These changes included staff employment conditions, parental leave benefits, housing subsidies for women, and equal pay for equal work. As a result of these changes women were further encouraged to address the more subtle forms of discrimination such as sexual harassment and other forms of sexism. Consequently, the Gender Equity Unit (GEU) was established in the University of the Western Cape in 1994.

The UWC became the first higher education institution in South Africa to show a commitment to the eradication of sexism on campus. The primary aim of the GEU is to advise administration on gender policies and practices in recruitment, conditions of employment and student affairs, amongst others.

Through the involvement of the GEU in the institutional processes, women were increasingly appointed to senior management and academic positions from the late 1990s. As reported by Salo (2003:5), the GEU also runs a mentoring programme for women. The GEU has also established that archaic structures of governance can sometimes prevent the implementation of progressive legislation. Based on this, the GEU set out to examine the lack of fit between bureaucratic structures of the university and the process of transformation.

4.6.9 Eradicating sexual harassment

Eradicating sexual harassment involves a major challenge to attitude. Formal procedures for dealing with such complaints have to be devised. Positive measures are needed to ensure that effective redress is not only available, but will take place in all instances of harassment (Wilson, 1995:240).

It is the employer's responsibility to ensure, as far as reasonably practical, the health, welfare and safety of employees. Management should make clear its policies relating to sexual harassment. It is also important that grievance procedures be clarified and communicated to the institutional community. These policies and procedures should be included for information and discussion in affirmative action programmes and should also be covered in supervisory training where managers and subordinates will be working for or with all members, both male and female (Wilson, 1995:241).

Wilson (1995:238) presents some ideas about what women can do at a personal level to combat sexual harassment in the work situation:

- *Ask the harasser to stop or make it clear that the behaviour is unwelcome and go public.*
- *If you have been harassed, find others and collectively tell the offender that his behaviour is unwanted and ask him not to repeat the behaviour.*
- *Use teaching evaluation forms to make clear to staff which behaviours, e.g. sexist comments, you find unacceptable.*

- *The names of chronic harassers can be made public or be passed through the institutional community grapevine. Embarrassment over such exposure might motivate change.*
- *Ask for key individuals to be trained, for example wardens in residences, tutors, lecturers and faculty supervisors.*
- *Write a pamphlet for distribution among students and staff on what harassment is, how to avoid it, and what their rights are.*

Sexual harassment is not just an issue for women. As long as it remains a concern for women alone, little will be done to ensure that men are made aware of their unwanted and unsolicited attention. It is up to women to raise men's awareness of the feelings and perceptions of women and girls.

Institutions should create an atmosphere in the working environment as well as in educational institutions in which women can, without delay, report any acts of sexual harassment. They have to break the silence about sexual harassment, about sexual exploitation, about sexual abuse, and about unwanted sexual attention. Males should be given a clear indication of when certain behaviour is inappropriate or offensive and this must be done consistently, frequently and as a matter of urgency (Thomas & Kritzing, 1997:78).

Another strategy would be for each institution or school to have a sexual harassment officer, consultant or 'listener' to whom students and staff may go directly to discuss the concerns they might have regarding grievance procedures and policy regarding sexual harassment.

4.7 SUMMARY

Since 1994, the year of the first democratic elections in South Africa, gender-sensitive policies and practices have become national concerns along with racial and economic justice. This chapter focused on the various anti-discriminatory laws promulgated and the national gender machinery to address the social and economic marginalisation of South African women. In addition, several gender-sensitive laws such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Act on the Promotion of Equality and the Prevention of

Unfair Discrimination, aimed at promoting equality and gender and racial access to the workplace, were referred to.

Although significant progress has been made when it comes to enhancing women's access to higher education, various socio-economic, cultural and political obstacles continue to impede their full access and effective integration in many places in the world. Overcoming these obstacles remains an urgent priority in the renewal process for ensuring an equitable and non-discriminatory system of higher education based on the principle of merit. Further efforts are required to eliminate all gender stereotyping in higher education, to consider gender aspects in different disciplines, to consolidate women's participation at all levels and in all disciplines in which they are under-represented, and, in particular, to enhance their active involvement in decision-making and leadership processes.

In light of the above, women should be accorded the same rights and opportunities as men. The under-representation of women in management implies that much still needs to be done for women to be appointed to senior administration and senior academic positions. It is therefore extremely important that empowerment programmes for women should be relevant to the needs of women, especially in South Africa where male dominance and the subordination of women have prevailed for so long.

The table below gives a summary of the main points discussed in this chapter; empowering women for enhancement in higher education. The data will be synthesised with data from chapter three and the empirical investigation in chapter six to form addendum E which is used as a foundation for the final chapter; chapter seven.

TABLE 4.6: Possible solutions to women’s empowerment I higher education as identified in the literature : a summary

Non-sexist education	
At school level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School is the formal agent for gender socialisation and should set out to alter cultural practices and values and interrogate socially sanctioned practices that devalue women and deny them basic human rights (4.4.1.1[a]) • The curriculum as a major mechanism in establishing and maintaining forms of control over learners and educators needs to promote critical thought and not the acceptance of the status quo in a racist and sexist society (4.4.1.1[a]) • Curriculum must be changed to make it gender sensitive-eliminating gender stereotypes and re-establishing social relations between men and women (4.4.1.1[a]) • An anti-sexist curriculum should focus on the examination of women’s subordination through history, women’s participation in history-making, the value of work commonly performed by women, the importance of women in processes of decision making, and a focus on women’s experiences (4.4.1.1[a]) • Textbooks should be re-written to include crucial issues concerning gender in order to provide school girls with role models (4.4.1.1[a]) • Introducing courses that eliminate gender stereotypes by incorporating subjects such as domestic science, agriculture, household repair or maintenance, car and machine repair, typing and book keeping (4.4.1.1[a]) • Offer boys and girls alternative role models, thus blurring masculine and feminine roles (4.4.1.1[a]) • Encouraging continual interaction between boys and girls and thus increasing cooperation and respect between the sexes (4.4.1.1[a])

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging girls to pursue leadership positions in the school and take subjects that were traditionally believed to be for boys.(4.4.1.1[a]) • Teachers must understand how they are responsible for transmitting aspects of the hidden curriculum that reinforce gender differences (4.4.1.1[b]) • Teachers must address negative behavioural patterns that are established before learners come to school (4.4.1.1[b]) • During their training, teachers must be made aware of their position in society and their role in the transmission of gender stereotypes (4.4.1.1[b]) • Higher education institutions must implement training programmes aimed at making men and women aware of the teachers' roles as reproducers of gender inequality (4.4.1.2[a])
At higher education institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring full and equal access to formal education, specifically for women and girls (4.4.1.2[a]) • Provide financial assistance and scholarship to increase the participation of women in education (4.4.1.2[a]) • Increase women's access to jobs, their economic independence and improve their position in the family (4.4.1.2[a]) • Gender awareness raising should be done in the home, the media, school and the higher education sector (4.4.1.2[b]) • Creating a pool of women able to seek employment in the higher education sector (4.4.1.2[a]) • Allocating scholarships to a diverse range of women, particularly for women in developing countries (4.4.1.2[a]) • Improving conditions for postgraduate women so as to enhance their participation in the academia (4.4.1.2[a]) • Institutions should address the numerous problems faced by women postgraduate students in order to improve their entry, performance and completion rate (4.4.1.2[a])

Introducing women/gender studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women/gender studies play a significant role in enhancing participation of girls and women at all levels of the education System (4.4.1.2[b]) • Gender studies play an important role in promoting the advancement of women both within and outside higher education (4.4.1.2[b]) • Gender studies play an interventionist role by initiating the gender perspective in the generation of knowledge and in policy design and practice (4.4.1.2[b]) • Teaching and research in women studies provide empirical means by which the gendered nature of universities can be revealed (4.4.1.2[b])
The provision of explicit training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Might include training in problem solving, mathematics, career planning and self-define (4.4.2) • Training men on sensitivity to women's concerns and effective listening technique (4.4.2) • Men can also be trained in their perception of pornography (4.4.2) • Both sexes can benefit from training in discriminating between passive, assertive and aggressive behaviour. • Training can lead to positive outcomes such as increased consciousness of issues facing women, the formation of networks, increased motivation, increased knowledge and competitive and significant career moves(4.4.2) • Women must be trained to resolve conflict resulting from traditional gender stereotyping and to resolve role conflict internally and to define life goals according to their value system (4.4.2) • After such courses, women tend to gain self-confidence, self-esteem, assertive and instrumental-active traits (4.4.2) • Women must be actively involved in the change process and their own needs and priorities must be addressed (4.4.2) • women must organise and act collectively to gain strength and exert more pressure to create social change (4.4.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training programmes must be backed at government and institutional level by S.A anti-discrimination legislation and regulation (4.4.2)
Psychotherapy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminist therapy is aimed at increasing the individuals self-awareness and brining about behavioural and emotional changes (4.4.3) • Feminist therapy emphasises awareness of gender roles and stereotypes and sexism (4.4.3) • It addresses issues such as equality, anger and dependence, with the aim of achieving self-esteem (4.4.3) • The therapist serves as role a model for gender role transcendence (4.4.3) • Feminist therapy emphasises that the social context is an important determinant of human behaviour, and that gender roles and statues as determined by society, are not natural, and are disadvantageous to both sexes, but especially to women (4.4.3) • Feminist Therapy is effective in couple and family counselling and also in group counselling or for women who have experienced violence or sexual assault (4.4.3) • Feminist work should be published in the popular press (4.4.3) • Feminist therapy prefers therapy in a same sex dyad since the therapist can act a role model (4.4.3)
Empowerment at societal level	
Changing the ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideology is a set of ideas, attitudes, beliefs and practices in which gender bias or social bias like class, regionalism and communalism (4.5.1) • The establishment of women's liberation movements such as the South African Women's Charter and women's lobby, can help change the ideology of society(4.5.1) • Women should be employed in larger numbers in the political arena and the government (4.5.1) • Gender initiations such as mainstreaming, capacity building

	<p>programmes and men's discussion groups to create spaces for consciousness raising and self-reflection (4.5.1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement of men in the promotion of gender equality (4.5.1) • Women must have group consciousness in order for them to organise and bring about change (4.5.1) • Transformation of structures and institutions eradication of an ideology of individualism (4.5.1) • Change must happen at the intrinsic and the extrinsic level (4.5.1)
Changing socialisation practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child rearing practices should foster non-sex typed functioning (4.5.2) • Parents should refrain from emphasising the importance of gender in children's lives and refrain from using gender discriminatory language (4.5.2) • Media organisations must closely examine their gender demographic at all levels and review their coverage of accurate gender portrayals and possible distortions (4.5.2) • Sex-typing in schools must be eradicated (4.5.2) • Laws banning any form of discrimination in any educational institution must be instituted (4.5.2) • Change in men and women's attitude towards gender equality will promote women empowerment (4.5.2)
Changing relationships in the family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be a balance in the division of labour between the sexes, especially in the home (4.5.3) • Women must refrain from doing all the emotional work in relationships (4.5.3) • Women must communicate their rights, their true feelings and their needs in an uncompromising manner (4.5.3) • Men must stop reinforcing helplessness and dependency in their female partners (4.5.3) • Men and women must re-evaluate previously-held beliefs about their different roles (4.5.3)

<p>Empowerment at institutional level Moving towards equity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminism as a movement it strives to wards ending women’s subordination to men (4.6.1) • Women must become and remain aware of the politics of bribery and intimidation practised by patriarchy against women (4.6.1) • Feminism’s main aim is to work to gain equal right in the Short term while trying to transform society in the long term (4.6.1) • According to feminism women must be accorded the right to full opportunities for employment and possibilities of promotion in all spheres of work (4.6.1) • Women must work for the same pay for the same job as their male peers (4.6.1) • Women must feel free to participate in national liberation movements, trade unions and other organisations which benefit them (4.6.1) • Full equality will be achieved only when women have successfully fought against discrimination and the subservient role they play in society, and for the improvement in women’s economic position (4.6.1) • Society must change its attitude towards women and respect their positive contribution throughout the ages for the betterment of humanity (4.6.1)
<p>Networking and mentoring</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networking provides an opportunity for senior women’s voices to achieve audibility and credibility for women across the sector (4.6.2) • Network programmes increases the likelihood of women progressing to senior positions and to equip them with the capabilities required to succeed in challenging circumstances (4.6.2) • Relationships developing in the context of networks are likely to be two-way and beneficial and more attractive to women (4.6.2) • Networks provide an immediate sources of information, advice, support, insight and understanding about what is happening in the work place at

	<p>organisational, national and international level (4.6.2)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefits of mentoring relate to individual career planning and effectiveness improving job performance, lowering employee turnover, enhancing creativity and acculturating women into organisational leadership positions (4.6.2) • Other benefits include an opportunities to deal with the organisation climate (4.6.2) • Mentoring programmes which are facilitated benefit both individuals who are mentored, those who are mentoring, and the organisation (4.6.2) • Role modelling is central to the concept of mentoring (4.6.2) • Mentoring can help a protégé find his/her own feet more quickly and establish a clear sense of career direction and purpose (4.6.2) • People who are mentored often report higher levels of satisfaction and career mobility and a higher rate of promotion than those not mentored (4.6.2) • The concept of mentoring can be seen as a barrier to woman in education mainly due to the prejudice aimed at denying them access to influential powerbases and information networks (4.6.2) • Few women in senior positions means fewer women to act as role models or mentors for women since men usually choose another man as their protégé (4.6.2) • A contrasting view-women can secure mentors as often as men and successful cross-sex mentoring does occur (4.6.2) • Same-sex role models are seen as more effective in providing personal support and giving a positive incentive through illustrative success (4.6.2)
Fair appointment and recruitment procedures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competent women must be appointed to fill vacancies at senior management level (4.6.3) • Non-sexist procedures for selection interviewing and appointment must be adopted (4.6.3)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion exercises should be clearly enunciated and made known to women who do not succeed in promotions (4.6.3) • Candidates should be informed of how and why they failed to fulfil the promotion criteria or appointment (4.6.3) • Equal promotion opportunities for men and women should be implemented (4.6.3) • Information on aspects of promotion criteria should be made known to all (4.6.3) • Recruitment, appointment and promotion to senior management positions should take place through competitive procedures (4.6.3) • Institution should make an effort to create an environment that encourages women to move into management (4.6.3) • Institutions should provide special in-service training in management and leadership to ensure that there is a pool of women qualified for senior management positions (4.6.3)
Taking Affirmative Action measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affirmative action ensures that women are given the opportunities that culture and tradition has denied them (4.6.4) • Institutions should require that women be represented at all levels, especially key decision making committees responsible for establishing promotions criteria, selecting conference representative and allocating funds and research awards (4.6.4) • Through affirmative action, institutions should open the system to recruit, train and hire people who may not look like corporate executives have traditionally looked, and who may not think like traditional corporate executive have traditionally thought (4.6.4) • Hard affirmative action is aimed at “levelling the playing field” for all (4.6.4)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soft affirmative action is aimed at repairing past discrimination practices (4.6.4) • South Africa needs both soft and hard affirmative action (4.6.4)
Providing for equal pay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions should be required to have transparent salary scales (4.6.5) • Women should approach human resources Department to enquire about the rates for certain types of work (4.6.5) • Women must be brave enough to petition Human Resources department or the Minister of Labour or even approach the Centre for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitrations (CCMA) if they are not satisfied (4.6.5) • Women must be conversant with their rights and must join hands to ensure that they are accorded those rights that are so clearly contained in the constitution and other relevant legislation (4.6.5)
Reorganising work and family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The gap between work and family need to be narrowed functions (4.6.6) • Women need to be truly integrated into the occupational world and men need to be truly integrated into the domestic sphere(4.6.6) • Men and women must share subsistence and domestic activities (4.6.6) • Men must develop a more communal responsibility and must no longer be paternalistic and distant (4.6.6) • Mothers and fathers must be entitled to child care leave or child sick leave (4.6.6) • Non-sexist parent education must be developed (4.6.6)
Providing leadership and management training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual training needs rather than assumed training needs must be taken into account (4.6.7) • Women themselves must suggest their training needs (4.6.7) • Training programmes must focus on three main forms of management training; which are career development, egalitarian gender roles and coping with demands placed upon by new legislation and a changing workforce (4.6.7)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint management training for men and women is preferred more than women only programmes (4.6.7) • Training programmes must aim at empowering women and promoting individual and social change (4.6.7) • Training programmes must impact on skills development and fundamental management competencies (4.6.7) • The programmes should include knowledge of the law, legislation and human rights (4.6.7) • Training in leadership and management will help give women more self-confidence (4.6.7) • Training programmes will help women gain skills that enable them to undertake leadership positions, understand institutional culture, strengthen networking opportunities and increase promotion opportunities (4.6.7)
Establishing a Gender Management System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The aim of GMS is to create gender relations that are equitable for both men and women whatever their class, race, nationality, age and other attributes (4.6.8) • It shifts the focus from addressing gender issues as “women-only” to characterizing these issues as a shared concern and a responsibility for both men and women (4.6.8) • GMS determines how persistent inequalities between men and women are demonstrated (4.6.8) • GMS aims at mainstreaming gender into all aspects of management and administration (4.6.8) • GMS focuses on sensitising the governance and administration of the institution on gender and achieving greater gender equality across a number of dimensions (4.6.8) • GMS’s success depends on the support and involvement of top management (4.6.8) • GMS focuses on challenging the status quo of women and encouraging the address of the more subtle forms of

	discrimination such as sexual harassment and other forms of sexism (4.6.8)
Eradicating sexual harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal procedures for dealing with sexual harassment cases must be devised and must be widely communicated in the institution (4.6.9) • Institutions must be committed to ensuring the health, welfare and safety of all employees (4.6.9) • Grievance procedures must be clarified and communicated to the institutional community (4.6.9) • Management should make clear policies relating to sexual harassment (4.6.9) • Sexual harassment should not only be a women's concern but men also must be made aware of the unwanted and unsolicited attention (4.6.9) • Institutions should create an atmosphere in which women can, without delay, report any acts of sexual harassment (4.6.9) • Men must be given a clear indication of when certain behaviour is inappropriate or offensive and this must be done consistently, frequently and as a matter of urgency (4.6.9) • Institutions must have a sexual harassment officer, consultant or listener, whom women can approach with regard to the grievance procedures and policy regarding sexual harassment (4.6.9)

<i>CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</i>
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5.1 INTRODUCTION

Research can be conducted in various areas, but areas that are particularly vulnerable are those pertaining to sexual comparisons and gender-related behaviour, as these areas are very personal and, in more ways than one, political. As individuals are influenced by their socio-historical frameworks and by their personal experiences, research is therefore also influenced by the assumption that males are the norm and that what they do is also the norm. Females are the 'other' and what they do is almost always measured against the norm, which is what males do; whatever deviates from what males do is considered deviant (Basow, 1992:17-19).

According to Sinclair (1998:77) males are used as research subjects nearly twice as much as females. Theories based primarily or completely on men are used to represent all human beings, although they may not fit half of humanity. Male subjects are used in the majority of all research on aggression, whilst females are involved in only half of these studies, proving the bias in subject selections (Basow, 1992:19; Gilligan, 1982:74; Klenke, 1996:167). An example of such research is that conducted by Kohlberg where a longitudinal study on ethical thinking amongst 84 boys was carried out over a period of twenty years. Although he used a narrowly defined base, with women not forming part of his original sample, his later theories showed that they were included in his findings (Gilligan, 1982:76).

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The past few decades have witnessed an upsurge in the number of women entering the labour force and dominating middle management and the private sector. In South Africa the increase has been dramatic, particularly after the first democratic elections in 1994. These strides have also been noted in the education sector (Makosana, 2002:2). However, women have not been able to benefit from this increase Academia has long been dominated by men and the male perspective in policy development, performance evaluation, and interpersonal interactions generally prevails. Employment opportunities

continue to be gendered. Various writers have advanced different explanations such as racism, gendered structures, and a limited pool of suitable women candidates.

Different historical and socio-cultural factors impact on the pressure and strain experienced by women. A variety of research methods have been employed in this study to gather information and data in the area of gender equity. The interviews and individual questionnaires and their results are compared and linked to the literature study reported in chapters two, three and four, which could only broaden the scope and enhance the validity of the research.

5.2.1 Selection of research methods

An intensive literature study of the theoretical exposition and the grounding of the issues at stake were conducted, and the report thereon appears in chapters two, three and four. The latter was followed by an empirical investigation in which Creswell's (1994:140) dominant-less dominant design was applied. This model implies that the researcher presents the study within a single, dominant research paradigm with one small component of the overall study drawn from an alternative research paradigm. The dominant research paradigm is qualitative in-depth interviews, and the alternative less-dominant paradigm is a quantitative investigation by means of an individual leadership test known as the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI), designed by Kouzes and Posner (1995:46) (see Appendix E).

5.2.2 Selection of respondents

The respondents were not selected randomly. The main selection method employed was the snowball technique, in which one respondent leads the researcher to another respondent. The respondents were selected from the higher education sector, both academic and administrative. The fact that there are only a few women occupying management positions in higher education simplified the targeting process considerably. The participants' occupations ranged from deans, directors of schools, senior lecturers and lecturers in the academe to directors and managers in administration. The participants were chosen from as wide a variety of backgrounds as possible. The institutions had different cultural backgrounds with both historically white and

historically black institutions being targeted. Because of the recent mergers and incorporations, the number of higher education institutions in South Africa has been reduced. The original intention was to recruit respondents from universities as well as technikons; however, technikons no longer exist and have been transformed into universities of technology, and this was borne in mind during the selection of institutions.

In March 2004, the researcher sent e-mails to the human resources departments of various universities to request permission to conduct interviews at their institutions (see Appendix A). Some institutions referred the researcher to persons who they felt were suitable candidates, whilst others did not bother to respond. After a second round of e-mails were sent with no responses, the researcher decided to contact colleagues and other individuals that were referred to her by, amongst others, her promoters. This proved fruitful, as most of the potential respondents were prepared to participate in the research, whether or not permission had been accorded. The e-mails were followed by telephone calls to make final arrangements regarding the time and place for the interviews, as well as directions to the venues. All interviews were conducted in the respondents' offices.

Sixteen respondents from seven institutions originally agreed to be interviewed. Despite their busy schedules, 13 women from five institutions eventually availed themselves for interviewing. For the remaining three candidates who were unavailable, the following reasons were given: one was not on duty on the day of the appointment since she had other urgent business, and the remaining two candidates cancelled the day before the scheduled appointments, when the researcher was already on her way to their respective institutions. One had to attend a workshop and the other had an urgent meeting scheduled for the same time as the appointment. As a result of these late cancellations, the number of institutions was eventually reduced to five, instead of the original intended six.

Table 5.1 gives a profile of the 13 women interviewed. Four of the women interviewed were black, one was coloured, and eight were white. This figure reflects the national trend in terms of the representation of women in all sectors of the economy in South Africa, given the impediments of race, class and gender.

Table 5.1: Profile of the participants in universities

Race	Participant	Age range	Years at institution	Years in position	Position	Qualification	Faculty/ Department	Marital status	Total
White	A	35-40	19 years	2 years	Senior lecturer	PhD	Humanities	Married	1
White	D	Over 50	29 years	12 years	Director	PhD	Health Sciences	Widowed	1
Black	E	45-50	2 years	2 months	Dean	Professor	Health Sciences	Divorced	1
Black	C	30-35	2 years	2 years	Technical officer	MBA	Science Park	Never married	1
Black	F	35-40	2 years	2 years	Chief director	PhD	Vice-chancellor's office	Married	1
Coloured	H	40-45	20 years	6 years	Director	Master's	Gender Equity Unit	Unmarried	1
White	I	45-50	12 years	4 months	Dean	Professor	Humanities	Divorced	1
White	J	45-50	19 years	1 year	Dean	Professor	Centre for Higher Education Development	Married	1
Black	K	46	3 years	1,5	HOD	Professor	Health Sciences	Married	1
White	L	44	2,5	2,5	Office manager	Master's	Centre for Gender Studies: Human Sciences	Married	1
White	M	39	9 years	1,5	Lecturer (previously in management, changed career)	Master's	Economics Management Sciences	Married	1
White	B	Over 50	24 years	3 years	Departmental chair	Professor	Sociology	Married	1
White	G	Over 50	6 years	4 years	Director	Professor	Health Sciences	Married	1
									13

As the above table indicates, nine of the participants had PhDs and four had masters' degrees. The nine women with PhDs were in senior management positions. Of the remaining five women, one was a senior lecturer, one a lecturer; two were directors, and one a technical officer, although she was also acting manager of the Science Park. According to her, her job entailed project management, as well as strategic and operational management. The five women who were not in senior management positions were included because they were serving in line function management positions and in decision-making structures at the institutions. In addition, they had the potential to view women in management positions from another angle as compared to women already in senior management positions.

The average age of the respondents was 45, and the average number of years that they had been in their positions was three years. The woman with the longest service at their

institutions had been employed there for 29 years, while the most recent arrival had been employed at the institution for two years. Eight women were married, one had never married, two were divorced, one was widowed and one did not wish to reveal her marital status due to her feministic view of life.

The respondents were serving on various decision-making structures in their respective institutions, including the Faculty Management Committee, Portfolio Committee, Gender Committee, Executive Management, Committee dealing with the Advancement of Women, the Senate, the Transformation Committee, Faculty Board, Nursing Council, Education Committee, Institutional Forum, Academic Planning Committee, and the Budgeting and Strategy Group.

5.2.3 Quantitative investigation: individual Leadership Practices Inventory test

As mentioned previously, the respondents were not selected randomly, but each of the females in senior management positions in higher education institutions who were used for the qualitative investigation was first asked to complete the LPI questionnaire (see Appendix E), aimed at revealing whether the leadership style employed by women met the criteria or standard for leadership as set by their respective institutions.

As mentioned previously, the quantitative investigation in this study was the less-dominant design, as it focused on only one dimension of the study, namely the leadership styles dimension.

5.2.3.1 Data collection

The interviews were conducted between April and May 2004. In April 2004, each respondent was sent a set of five questionnaires, including a covering letter with instructions for completing the questionnaires. For respondents in the same province as the researcher the questionnaires were delivered personally. For respondents outside the province, the postal service was used. The letter also stated that the researcher would collect the questionnaire on the day of the interview. One questionnaire was to be completed by the respondent, three by her subordinates or colleagues who knew her well, and the last questionnaire was to be filled in by the respondent's supervisor. Although

the questionnaires were supposed to have been returned on the day of the interviews, only one respondent had them ready on the interview day, with the others promising to send them afterwards. Several calls were made to remind the respondents about the agreement. Six respondents' questionnaires were eventually either collected personally by the researcher or posted. The rest of the questionnaires were never returned. The results of the questionnaires were scored by the researcher and are discussed in chapter 6. The test was used to determine the leadership style employed by the respondents in their respective institutions.

5.2.3.2 Objectivity of researcher, validity and reliability

The individual Leadership Practices Inventory test is a standardised test and as such is considered to be objective, valid and reliable.

5.2.4 **Qualitative investigation: in-depth interviews**

As mentioned above, the central research strategy employed in this study was qualitative research. Qualitative research is defined as a multi-perspective approach utilising different qualitative techniques and data collection methods to social interaction. It is aimed at describing, making sense of, interpreting or restructuring this interaction in terms of the meaning that participants attach to it (De Vos, 1998:245).

The qualitative paradigm, in contrast to the quantitative paradigm, is holistic in nature, and aims at understanding social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life. Qualitative research has been described as naturalistic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 4), in contrast to the positivist paradigm, in which reality is objective, tangible and controllable. It focuses on understanding phenomena within their particular contexts, meaning that the qualitative researcher wants to understand reality by discovering the meaning that people in a specific setting attach to it. To such a researcher, behaviour is intentional and creative – it can be explained but not predicted.

A qualitative investigation embarks on a voyage of discovery rather than of verification, so the research is likely to stimulate new leads and avenues of research that the quantitative researcher is unlikely to touch upon, but which may be used as a basis for

further research. Thus, interviewing is generally used to verify knowledge obtained by means of qualitative data collection, or for exploration as a preliminary to undertaking more structured survey research (De Vos, 1998:244).

The qualitative research method was chosen because of the opportunity it affords the researcher to understand the participants in their own frame of reference and to experience reality as the participants experience it. Furthermore, the researcher wished to be able to empathise and identify with the participants in order to understand how they perceive things – an opportunity not accorded by quantitative research. By being able to talk to people, the qualitative researcher can get firsthand information and knowledge of people's social lives, uncontaminated by operational definitions and rating scales (Taylor & Bodgan, 1997:76).

As far as qualitative research is concerned, the perspective of the person lowest on the social ladder is as valid as that of the person on the highest level. Therefore, in this study, the views of women in line function management positions were as important as the views of women in senior management positions. The goal was to examine how the object of the study was perceived from different viewpoints.

To capture the meaning of people, one must study people in their context. People, settings or groups should not be reduced to variables, but must be viewed as complex. When conducting naturalistic research, the researcher does not establish hypotheses beforehand *“because it is inconceivable that enough can be known ahead of time about many multiple realities to devise the design adequately”* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:41).

In this study, the naturalistic approach allowed the women's assumptions and beliefs about the concept of gender and management to emerge from the investigation. In accordance with the tenets of the naturalistic model, hypotheses were not established prior to collecting data. The findings of this study can therefore not be generalised, but will contribute to theory building.

5.2.4.1 Objectivity of the researcher

According to Silverman (2000:119) one of the limitations of the interview is that the very adaptability gained by interpersonal circumstances can lead to subjectivity and possible bias. The researcher's subjectivity, according to Niemann (2004:29), is regarded as a hindrance by quantitative researchers, while qualitative researchers view subjectivity as a valuable instrument. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:4) are of the opinion that the experience, viewpoint, definition and interpretation of the respondent can never be ignored. It is thus important to indicate the role and position of the researcher in order to verify the extent to which the principle of 'role taking' is applicable. Role taking is regarded as a spiritual activity through which an individual imagines himself/herself in the position of another to enable him or her to understand, anticipate and interpret the behaviour or experience of the other person (Smaling, cited in Niemann, 2004:29).

The researcher is a director in the student services division of a higher education institution in South Africa. She has occupied this position for the past year and a half, after serving in a junior post in the same institution for eight years. She was promoted to the post of director only after obtaining a master's degree, but not without a fight.

Although the researcher discloses her own subjectivity in this study, she did not find it difficult to distance her own views during the interview sessions. Due to the researcher's own experience, she had an intimate understanding of the participants' problems and experiences; it was also possible for her to understand why the respondents found it easier to divulge very sensitive and intimate information.

The researcher's understanding of the issues at stake, her personal experiences, as well as the substantial evidence on the extent of the under-representation of women in decision-making and authority structures have led to the researcher venturing into the problematic nature of the experiences of women in management positions at higher education institutions.

5.2.4.2 Data collection

The collection of data involved in-depth interviews containing both structured and semi-structured components to assess gender equity amongst women in management positions at institutions of higher learning in South Africa; how they managed to acquire their positions, given the impediments of gender and its interaction with race and class, as well as their experiences once they were in those positions. The structured component was constructed around biographical and employment information. The biographical details included age, marital status, number of children and educational qualification (see Appendix B). Collecting biographic information served as the icebreaker. The employment issues included level of employment, years in the position and years at the institution, responsibilities and workload, support structures, and women's perception of the effectiveness of institutional policies for improving their lives at higher learning institutions. Even though the researcher had an interview guide, after collecting the biographical and employment information the researcher's approach was to ask open-ended questions.

The respondents signed the consent forms as an indication of their willingness to be interviewed. With the permission of the respondents, the interviews were audio-recorded. The issue of confidentiality was discussed with all interviewees. The assurance was given that all names would be either changed or deleted in the transcripts and reports. The researcher was conscious of the small size of the academic community in South Africa and she therefore took special measures to preserve anonymity. The researcher undertook to change the names of all persons and to de-link the person from any identifying details. The interviews were conducted in the respondents' offices. Prior to the interview, the researcher introduced herself in a friendly manner and explained the purpose of the study. The researcher tried to put the respondent at ease by creating a friendly atmosphere through light conversation. First, the interviewer requested the interviewee to provide biographic information and then explained the answering procedure and the fact that there were no wrong or right answers, but that the answers should reflect the respondents' personal points of view. No other information regarding the interview was given to the respondents.

The researcher and respondent were seated at a comfortable table or desk with the tape recorder placed between them in such a way that it would not distract the attention of the respondent. The duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to one and a half hours, depending on the interviewee's age, length of employment, variety of experiences and eagerness to talk about her life.

The following major questions guided this study and formed the framework of inquiry into gender equity issues in higher education institutions:

1. What factors promoted your advancement to your current position? (*cf.* 3.1.4)
2. What support systems were in place during your career progression and in your present job? (*cf.* 3.1.4)
3. What do you perceive as barriers to the advancement of women's career in the higher education sector? (*cf.* 3.1.4)
4. What are the possible solutions to gender inequality and women's lack of advancement at higher education institutions? (*cf.* 3.1.4)
5. What are your future plans regarding your career path? (*cf.* 3.1.4)

The exact words of the respondents were recorded, verbatim, as they responded to the questions. The researcher only participated in the interview when respondents hesitated, deviated or misinterpreted the question. The researcher also attempted to keep the respondents focused on the topic. The researcher took great care not to influence the participants' responses. The interviews were conducted in a conversational manner with the researcher taking care not to express approval, shock or surprise at the answers rendered.

5.2.4.3 Data analysis

According to Creswell (1994:152) several components might comprise the discussion on the plan for analysing data. The process of data analysis is *eclectic*, that is, there is no 'right way'. Data analysis requires the researcher to be comfortable with developing categories and making comparisons and contrasts. It also requires the researcher to be open to possibilities and see contrary or alternative explanations for the findings.

Silverman (2000:146) has suggested that data analysis and data collection take place concurrently. This implies that the researcher does not wait until all the data has been obtained before interpreting it. This process of data analysis proceeds from data to hypothesis to theory, which is an inductive process. Keeping the above in mind, the interview tapes were transcribed directly after the first interview. The transcriptions were then coded and analysed according to themes that arose from the data. Data relating to each of the research questions was clustered, which produced categories and themes that served as a basis for developing the summary statements discussed in the next chapter.

Questions that yielded limited data have not been discussed. Data from interviews has been used throughout to illustrate selected ideas (quotes have been linguistically edited slightly for legibility purposes). To preserve the participants' anonymity, letters of the alphabet have been used to distinguish the various participants.

In the event of any uncertainties regarding the interview, the participants were contacted telephonically and the uncertainties clarified.

5.2.4.4 Reliability

Reliability in qualitative research refers to the elimination of casual errors that can influence the results (Gotze & LeCompte, 1984:211). Smaling (1994:78) views reliability, in the sense of absence of random errors, as an aspect of methodological objectivity because the pursuit of objectivity includes avoidance of distortions.

(a) Internal reliability

Internal reliability refers to reliability during the research project. The following measures were put in place to help limit random errors during this study.

- The triangulation technique

The following two methods of triangulation were used in this study:

Method triangulation:

Both qualitative and quantitative methods (such as interviews and individual questionnaires) were used to collect data.

Data triangulation:

The researcher checked the findings against the current literature. In this study, a literature study was used to gather information concerning the topic, and since multiple methods of investigation seem to give a fuller picture, a qualitative method in the form of in-depth interviews and a quantitative method in the form of an individual LPI test were employed.

- Audit

All the information regarding the research, as well as data, questionnaires and notes, will be preserved so that they can be verified by an independent person. The researcher involved the services of her immediate supervisor, who is more experienced in research, to compare the data collected with the sub-themes and the themes at which the researcher had arrived. The researcher also kept notes and the interview guide used during the interviews to ensure that a proper audit could be done.

- Member checks

Contradictions in the findings were referred back to participants for an explanation or solution.

- Mechanisation

Tape recorders were used during the interviews to store information. The audiotapes will be held in safekeeping for a period of five years for future reference.

Although reliability is traditionally linked to quantitative research and points to stability, accuracy, consistency and repeatability of the research, the qualitative researcher's concept of reliability coheres with the above. It is defined by Silverman (2000:175) as the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions.

(b) External reliability

External reliability refers to the verification of findings of the research, when the same research is conducted by independent researchers under the same circumstances and using the same participants. To increase the external reliability in this study, the qualitative report in this chapter contains a ‘thick’ description of aspects such as the status and role of the research participants, their relevant characteristics such as their marital status, qualifications, ages, positions and ambitions, as well as the concepts, theoretical ideas and research methods that were used in the study.

5.2.4.5 Validity

Validity is another word for ‘truth’ and refers to the accuracy of a statement. It is important to determine whether research data is valid, that is, the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomenon to which it refers (Silverman, 2000:175).

Different measures can be taken to ensure the validity of collected data, and in this study the following measures were put in place:

- Validation by the respondents

According to Creswell (1994:159) the findings of the research should be validated by the respondents. In order to get consensus from the respondents pertaining to the findings derived from the information they provided, the respondents were requested to give feedback on the finalised findings. The participants felt that the findings were a true reflection of their responses.

- Validation by the researcher

Validation by the researcher can be achieved by checking the data against the current literature in order to determine the degree to which the findings fit in or do not fit in with the tradition of the literature in this domain (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:4; Creswell,

1994:160; Silverman, 2000:177). In order to determine whether the data collected during the interview sessions agreed with the gender-related under-representation of women in management positions at higher education institutions, cross-examination was done by comparing the findings with those of the literature study.

According to Miles and Huberman (1984:231-234), the validity can also be enhanced by searching for negative or extreme data, by indicating whether the researcher's attitude has changed by being subjected to the research, and by indicating differences and similarities in the data.

5.3 SUMMARY

This chapter looked at the research methods and data collection techniques, as well as the ways in which the data collected was analysed. For purposes of reporting, the results of both the quantitative investigation for each respondent and the qualitative data will be discussed in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: REPORT OF EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The semi-structured questions in chapter five will form the basis of the analysis of data. The themes that emerged from the data form the point of departure and will be dealt with under the various headings. The results of the six individual Leadership Practices Inventory tests will also be incorporated in the report. This chapter will provide the data from both the quantitative and the qualitative investigation.

6.2 QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION: RESULTS OF LEADERSHIP PRACTICES INVENTORY (LPI) TEST

6.2.1 Correlation: an overview

To a large extent, the test provided a rather accurate view of the respondents' leadership practices. There were no major differences between how respondents rated themselves and how they were rated by their colleagues on leadership practices. The ratings by the respondents and their colleagues ranged from moderate to high.

The ratings by two of the respondents, namely respondent A and respondent E, correlated fully with those by their colleagues with regard to all five leadership practices. Respondent H rated herself better than her colleagues did regarding three practices; *challenging the process*, *enabling others to act*, and *modelling the way*. For the other two practices, *inspiring the vision* and *encouraging the heart*, her rating correlated with that of her colleagues. Respondent K rated herself better than her colleagues did regarding all the practices. Respondent C rated herself better in all practices except *challenging the process*, and respondent M rated herself better in *inspiring a shared vision* and *enabling others to act*. Respondent M's ratings for *challenging the process*, *modelling the way* and *encouraging the heart* correlated with the ratings given by her colleagues.

Table 6.1: Data reporting of individual quantitative investigation (LPI test)

		Challenging the process	Inspiring a shared vision	Enabling others to act	Modelling the way	Encouraging the heart
A	Self	□ □	□ □	□ □	□ □	□ □
	Others	□ □	□ □	□ □	□ □	□ □
E	Self	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □
	Others	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □
H	Self	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □
	Others	□ □	□ □ □	□	□ □ □	□ □ □
K	Self	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □
	Others	□ □	□ □ □	□ □	□ □	□ □
C	Self	□ □ □	□ □	□ □	□ □	□ □
	Others	□ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □ □
M	Self	□ □ □	□ □	□	□ □	□ □
	Others	□ □ □	□ □ □	□ □	□ □	□ □

□ = **Low**
□ □ = **Moderate**
□ □ □ = **High**

Below follows the graphic representation of the LPI scores of the six respondents Standardised LPI test results of the six participants. Individual graphic representations of the LPI score appear in Appendix F.

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELLING		ENCOURAGING	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29
	90	27	27	26	27	28	28	27	27	28
		26	26	25	25	26	26	26	26	27
Moderate	80	25	24	24	27	27	25	25	26	26
		25	25	24	24	26	26	25	25	25
	70	24	23	23	23	26	24	24	24	24
		24	24	22	22	25	25	23	23	23
	60	23	23	21	20	25	24	23	22	23
Low	50	23	22	20	24	24	22	21	22	22
		22	21	19	24	23	22	21	22	21
	40	22	21	18	22	22	21	20	21	20
		21	19	17	23	21	21	20	21	20
	30	21	20	16	16	20	20	19	20	18
Low	20	20	17	15	22	19	18	18	19	17
		20	18	14	22	19	19	17	19	16
	10	19	17	13	21	18	17	17	18	15
		18	16	12	20	17	16	16	17	14
		17	15	11	20	15	15	15	16	13
		17	14	10	20	14	18	14	16	12
		16	13	9	19	13	17	14	16	11
		16	13	12	19	13	16	13	15	10

K – Green

H – Black

C – Blue

E – Red

M – Pink

The categories of the LPI test will now be interpreted:

6.2.1.1 Challenging the process

Most respondents were rated moderate to high in this practice, which implies that they did not fear risks, and were searching for opportunities and stepping into the unknown. This also implies that the respondents were able to challenge the way things were being done at their institutions and were willing to experiment with new approaches to their work. They were seeking out opportunities to test their abilities and skills, remaining abreast of the most recent developments affecting the institution, looking for innovative ways of improving what the institution does, and experimenting and taking risks with new approaches to their work.

The correlation between the self and others was high for respondent A, respondent E and respondent M. According to Kouzes and Posner (1995:49) this means the test can be considered moderately reliable for this item. Respondent C, respondent H and respondent K rated themselves high whilst their colleagues rated them moderate.

6.2.1.2 Inspiring a shared vision

This item was rated high for most respondents, which means that the respondents were able to communicate a positive outlook of the institution's future, were enthusiastic about future possibilities and were able to motivate others to see how their long-term future interests could be realised by enlisting a common vision, looking ahead and forecasting what they expected the future to be like (*cf.* 5.2.5).

The rating of this item had a high degree of reliability. The ratings of four respondents, namely respondent A, respondent E, respondent H and respondent K, correlated with the ratings of their colleagues. Only the ratings of respondents C and M showed some discrepancies, with both of them rating themselves moderate whilst their colleagues rated them high.

6.2.1.3 Enabling others to act

This practice was rated moderate for most of the respondents. The implication of this rating is that the respondents might have experienced some problems with regard to delegation, strengthening and empowering others, building trust, fostering collaboration and motivating others to accept responsibility. Moreover, according to Kouzes and Posner (1995:46), the respondents might have found it difficult to make others feel important, to gain the support and assistance of others, and to gain the trust of others. There were some discrepancies between how the other respondents rated themselves and how they were rated by others. Respondent H rated herself high and her colleagues rated her low. Respondent K rated herself high and her colleagues rated her moderate. Respondent C's rating of herself was moderate, while her colleagues rated her high, and respondent M rated herself low as compared to her colleagues, who rated her moderate.

6.2.1.4 Modelling the way

This practice was generally rated moderate to high. As postulated by Kouzes and Posner (1995:47), this implies that respondents might not have been clear about their business values and beliefs. They might sometimes have found it difficult to keep projects on course by behaving in a way inconsistent with these values, and they might therefore not have been able to make it easier for others to achieve goals by focusing on key priorities and breaking down major projects into achievable steps. Furthermore, respondents might have experienced problems with self-esteem, regarding themselves as role models setting an example and being consistent in practising the values they espoused.

Only the ratings of respondent A, respondent E, respondent H and respondent M and their colleagues on this item indicated some reliability. Respondent A and respondent M were rated moderate by themselves and by others and Respondent E and respondent H and their colleagues' ratings on this item were high. There were some discrepancies in the respondents' own ratings and those of others for the rest of the respondents regarding this item. Respondent C rated herself moderate whilst her colleagues rated her high and Respondent K rated herself high whilst her colleagues rated her moderate.

6.2.1.5 Encouraging the heart

The rating was also moderate to high for this practice. Although women have been found to experience some problems with delegating, strengthening and empowering others as indicated above (cf. 6.2.4), they are still able to motivate and encourage others to buy into their ideas and take ownership of projects or activities, and also encourage others to take responsibility for and be committed to what they do. The implication of this rating is also that the respondents were able to recognise and reward people for their contributions, achievements and successes.

Four respondents' ratings on this item indicated some reliability. Respondent A's and respondent M's ratings for themselves on this item were moderate, as were the ratings of others, whilst respondent E and respondent H rated themselves high, as did their colleagues. Respondent C rated herself moderate and her colleagues rated her high. Respondent K rated herself high and her colleagues rated her moderate.

6.3 SUMMARY

As a gesture of appreciation to the participants' contribution to the study, the researcher communicated the results of the individual LPI test to the respondents, together with the behaviour modifications and strategies as suggested by Kouzes and Posner (1995:50). The latter is meant to assist the respondents in improving their leadership effectiveness. Furthermore, the data will be integrated into the summary of the empirical data and used as indicators for making recommendations in the last chapter.

6.4: QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION: THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

The major questions pertaining to gender inequality amongst women in senior management positions higher education institutions (5.2.4.2) were posed to all participants. Their responses provide data rich in information. The following excerpts from the interview transcripts demonstrate the women's perspectives on their experiences in these positions. The data collected during the in-depth interviews were coded and finally categorised into themes and sub-themes, see Diagram 6.4.

Diagram: 6.4 Themes and sub-themes originating from data interviews**6.4.1 Factors that contributed to the participants' advancement****6.4.2 Support systems**

- (i) Family
- (ii) Supervisor/subordinates
- (iii) Institutional support

6.4.3 Barriers to women's advancement

- (i) Socialisation practices
- (ii) Family responsibilities
- (iii) Stereotyping
- (iv) Institutional climate
- (v) Work overload
- (vi) Leadership styles
- (vii) Sexual harassment
- (viii) Racism

6.4.4 Possible solutions to women's under-representation

- (i) Institutional commitment
- (ii) Institutional policies
- (iii) Legislative frameworks
- (iv) Leadership and management training
- (v) Networks
- (vi) Mentoring programmes
- (vii) Socialisation practices

6.4.5 Career pathing

The data from the qualitative investigation is reported according to the themes as indicated above.

6.4.1 Factors contributing towards participants' advancement

The purpose of this question was to elicit those factors that helped women to advance their professional careers in higher education institutions. Most of the respondents were confident that they had arrived at their present positions because of their qualifications, previous experiences and personal characteristics such as drive to want to achieve more, as well as hard work. None of the respondents felt that they had acquired their positions as a result of affirmative action. This is how they responded:

L: I am a hard worker. I used to have financial problems when I was still studying and I had to work over weekends and during vacations in order to finance my studies. I completed my undergraduate degree, then my master's in social work and then went on to do a degree in psychology and other courses.

B: I had to make management aware of my presence and my contribution. I have this philosophy: if I do my job, then when the time comes, I have to be rewarded. I became aware that it is no use to sit there forever because for many, many years I was in this faculty and I did not know how to play the game because there are no rules for this game. I would have been there still if I had kept quiet, I know of some of my colleagues who have been in the same positions for 18-20 years. After acquiring my PhD, I confronted management and told them that I am qualified and experienced in my job and there is no reason why I should not be promoted.

D: My knowledge and experience in nursing. I was in the school of nursing for 17 years and I became professor in 1976. I published a lot in accredited journals and I wrote a lot of textbooks on the South African situation. I believe knowledge and experience go together in one's career.

F: My academic qualification was one of the forces that promoted my advancement to this position. I have a PhD in higher education management. I also have experience in

research. I was previously in the unit for research in higher education, which involves policy research and analysis.

E: *Hard work makes me succeed. I remain focused and try to enjoy everything I do. I am always prepared to learn; in fact, I am addicted to learning. Initially, I hated management, but I was not aware that the higher I moved up the ladder, the more chances I had of acquiring a management position. When I first got a management post, I decided to do a nine-month management course. Now I am busy with an MBA degree.*

D: *Internal motivation was at the forefront. I am in a traditional male sphere, and it was hard for me to progress in the medical sciences in South Africa then; there were a lot of obstacles along the way though, but I made it.*

A: *I studied for my PhD overseas and when I came back this post was available. We were two candidates and the other one was male. I was told I was the best candidate, but the offer was given to the man. I only got the post because he declined the offer.*

C: *I first did nursing, but I was there for just two weeks, then I realised that I do not belong there. I then went and did my BSC, and when I started working, I also realised that I don't belong in the laboratory. That is when I did my MBA because I wanted to work with people. That is why I am in this position.*

J: *I think my becoming a dean was just a logical next step after I had been deputy director for a period of five years.*

K: *I am not an academic. I am a scientist. I used to head the Department of Occupational and Environmental Health. I feel I am qualified for this job and I have extensive experience, which I gained in the industry.*

M: *I am a lecturer in communication management. I obtained this post through my qualifications. I am an academic. I am qualified for this post. I have a master's in communication, which I obtained three years ago. Previously, I was a communication manager at the university. It gave me the practical experience to do the job.*

One respondent's reasons for her advancement differed from those of other respondents in that she saw her advancement to the current post as the direct result of the birth of democracy in South Africa. She responded thus:

H: I think the changes that came about in South Africa as a result of democracy had a bigger influence. I was actively involved in the gender equity unit from its inception in 1993. I was also an activist from an early age. I was, as a result of the above, called to fill in the position of gender equity officer six years ago. That made me decide to make a mid-career change from being a librarian to studying political science at master's level.

With regard to factors that contributed towards their advancement, the following tendencies came to the fore:

Respondents were qualified for their positions

Respondents had appropriate experience

Some respondents were facing obstacles in traditional male spheres

Respondents were ambitious and determined to succeed

Respondents were committed to their work

One respondent had had to confront management about her promotion

Most females serve on lower levels for longer periods than men

One respondent had made a mid-career change

One respondent was pursuing a management degree in order to be efficient in her present management position

Some respondents had to work part-time to finance their studies

Some respondents felt that they were unfamiliar with men's games

Some respondents succeeded because of their continuous quest to learn

Most respondents attributed their success to hard work

One respondent attributed her success to the changes in the political situation in South Africa in 1994.

6.4.2 Support systems

6.4.2.1 Family

There were broad variations in the way respondents rated the support they received from their families, specifically from their spouses, mothers and domestic helpers. Most participants' perceptions were that they had the full support of their husbands, mothers and helpers. This is how they responded to the type of support they enjoyed:

A: My family has been my support system, especially my husband. But we do not share the housework equally – it is my responsibility.

K: My husband and I share housework. It just depends on who likes doing what.

M: My family is supporting me, but only to a certain extent; they can only support you emotionally. They cannot take your responsibilities from you. At least they are there to talk to. My husband is supportive. He loves helping out with the housework, preparing food and doing groceries. I think he is different from other men in this regard.

L: My husband is very supportive. He was also studying whilst I was studying. My children just want attention all the time.

G: My husband played a very important role as a support system, supporting me as a wife and as a mother. He does not do the housework but he provides me with the means to get the housework done.

D: My husband was always in favour of my profession. He had a lot of understanding. He gave me the opportunity that I needed to further my career and helped me in ordinary domestic chores like fetching the kids. But he did not do groceries; only when he was forced to, and I would almost always take away the trolley from him and run with it because he would be very slow. You know how men are, there are certain things that they cannot do and if you ask them to do them, they sulk and they make it an issue.

B: *I have a very supportive husband. I am of the old school of thought. Housework is my department. It is the old triple role thing for the woman. My husband really sacrificed his career for me. He turned down several offers for me to be where I am today.*

One respondent reported that although women usually say that husbands lend them full support in household chores, in reality there is usually no such support.

E: *I feel that women will always want to give the impression that their husbands are supportive even if in reality, the women themselves are entirely responsible for almost all the domestic work and childrearing. A lot of women usually say their husbands are very helpful, but husbands are only helpful up to a certain extent. When the chips are really down, you know they will help you pick up the child from school and do this and that, but only when and if it suits them. The minute they have a meeting or something going on, you've got to make other arrangements.*

I never received support from my husband. Even when we were still married my husband did not help me with domestic chores and the children; he was the kind of man who believed that a man is just a provider.

Mothers were also cited as part of the family support system in that they played an important role of looking after the children.

G: *My mother would always stand in for me and look after the children.*

K: *My mom raised my kids whilst I was studying at the university.*

E: *My mother was a teacher and my father a clerk. But my parents died early. I strived in the extended family. But I had a lot of support from my uncles and my cousins. My oldest cousin was my role model. She was the first in the family to go to a university.*

C: *I am actually still staying at home with my mother. I am not married, but I have a seven-year-old daughter. When I was doing my MBA, in the first year, that's when my child was born. My mother looked after the child because I had to travel to Potchefstroom University every second week.*

Most respondents had helpers to assist with childrearing and housework. This is how they responded:

E: I have a housekeeper. I had to get a second mother in the house. People have been saying I spoil my housekeeper, but I had to tell them that I need her. You have to value people for what they do for you. I have been with her for 18 years.

F: I have a very helpful live-in helper. I wouldn't manage without her. She is responsible for most of the housework, except the cooking.

D: We have this wonderful lady who has been working for us for 29 years. She did not look after my child. I took the child to my friend during the day because she had a lot of work to do. She did almost all the housework.

As far as support systems are concerned, the following are the tendencies that emerged from the participants' positive responses:

- Most husbands were very supportive
- Husbands often helped with domestic chores
- Husbands sometimes transported children to and from school
- Some husbands saw their role as that of financial provider only
- Some husbands had sacrificed their own careers for those of their wives
- Some husbands chose to do only certain chores
- Some family members could only offer emotional support
- Most respondents' mothers looked after their children
- Helpers offered valuable assistance with regard to housework.

Some tendencies that emerged differed from the ones reported above:

- In most instances husbands did not really share housework
- Most women were still responsible for their triple roles
- Most husbands only helped when and where it was convenient for them

6.4.2.2 Supervisor and subordinates

Most respondents reported that they received a great deal of support from their superiors, colleagues, departments. Regarding their relationships with their superiors and subordinates, respondents reported on the sound but strictly professional relationships based on respect, co-operation and understanding. Most respondents had male supervisors. Some of them felt that the relationship would be different if their supervisors were female. This is how they responded:

C: My boss has an open-door policy. I can call him at any time, even on Sunday. I have three females and one white male reporting to me. I have noticed that he has a problem reporting to me. For him, it is more of informing me than reporting to me. I think it is about his attitude towards change. I think white males are very challenged with the changes that are taking place in this country. I also think that even if I was a white woman he would still have a problem reporting to me. I think it has got nothing to do with race, it is all about gender. But it might be also about the person's personality. My previous boss was a woman and we did not get along one bit.

D: In terms of professional support, my predecessor was very supportive in terms of my career advancement. She gave me many opportunities to advance my career. My supervisor also allowed us to work flexi-time. This was the only faculty with a woman dean then, the Faculty of Nursing Science. My boss created an atmosphere where we were allowed to come to work when it was convenient for us to do so. As long as we made sure that the job was done. I wouldn't say that was the scenario in the whole institution, but the university environment made it possible for her to create a support system for women with small children especially.

B: I have a very good relationship with my boss but I think our relationship would be different if he was a woman. We women stick together and support each other. Men have their own different agendas. They got to where they are in a totally different way. They used some tactics to get promoted.

I don't distinguish between men and women, but just in terms of their personalities and where they are in terms of development.

A: *All my colleagues are men, except one, but we have a very good working relationship. My boss is very supportive and respects me.*

F: *Our relationship is mainly work related; both with my superior and my subordinates. Gender is not an issue, although certain things can only be discussed with females because men might think you are invading their privacy. Moreover, some things can only have meaning for women, for example if a woman colleague says she did not sleep well because her child was sick.*

H: *I don't relate to male student facilitators like I relate to female students or staff members. I think it is because of our upbringing. We have this little uneasiness that will always be there. But the male students do not have a problem with me being in charge, but I think the men on campus do. I think it is because I have been working in this department for a long time. Many of them know what I stand for, even before I got this position.*

I report directly to the rector. He is a man. We have a reasonably good working relationship. I always challenge things. Some people even think I am telling them how to do their job and some think I am unnecessarily aggressive.

M: *I have been reporting to men since I started working. I must say that men just don't have the same sensitivity to women's issues as a woman boss. They expect you to work certain hours and meet deadlines no matter what, whereas with a woman, she can be lenient, for instance, when your child or an elderly parent is sick.*

E: *My predecessor was a great man. I learnt a lot from him although he belonged to the old school of thought. He was a visionary leader. He gave me a lot of support and an opportunity to grow as a person.*

G: *My boss respects me and I respect him. I think we have a professional relationship and from my side, I don't see him as a male, but I see him as my line manager and as the dean of the faculty. Regarding my subordinates, I don't bring gender into my day-to-day activities. But I think because I am female, I am overly sensitive to female issues. I*

always support female staff because I know their difficulties, I understand their problems better, but even if a male comes to me with a problem, I still try to help where I can.

K: I have a male superior, but gender is not an issue between us, or even between me and my subordinates. That is why I said to you that sometimes I even forget that I am a woman. But I am aware of women's plight and I am sensitive to women's issues, but it is not something I am conscious of all the time.

J: One of my male colleagues acted a bit strange when I started in this post. I guess it was because it is unusual for a man to have to report to a woman. But he is fine now.

One of the respondents reported a different setting with regard to her workplace in that the centre she was running was being operated differently from other departments and faculties. She responded thus:

L: I am working in the Centre for Gender Studies, which operates differently to the other departments and faculties in the institution. The centre is independent and self-sustainable. It relies on grants and sponsorships. Its focus is mainly on research and community service. My contract will end within five-months and will be renewed if funds are available. For administrative issues I report to the head of department of social work. We have a very professional relationship. I do not have any subordinates.

Only one respondent felt that differences in relationships were not as a result of gender, but rather due to the personal characteristics of individuals.

M: I feel that how one relates to a person depends more on the person's personality than on his/her gender. I can relate very well to some men in senior positions when they have a professional approach towards their work, whereas I am not able to relate well to certain women because they have different values from mine. I therefore think that relating to different people is rather a personality issue than a gender issue.

With regard to the support given by superiors and subordinates, it appeared as if the following tendencies contributed to the participants' success in their work:

Most superiors were male

There was sometimes some uneasiness between the sexes

Men tended to be less sensitive than women

Relationships were based on trust and respect

Superiors had an open-door policy

Women bosses tended to be flexible and more understanding

Women tended to stick together and support each other

Women bosses seemed to understand women's problems better

Participants had professional relationships with their superiors.

It appears as if some men felt uncomfortable reporting to a woman. The following are the tendencies that emerged:

Some employees seemed to resist change

Some white males felt challenged by the changes taking place in the workplace and in the country

Men seemed to value their privacy more than women

Some men found it difficult to report to women.

People's personalities seemed to influence working relationships more than gender.

Some responses indicated that personalities tended to have a more important role to play in relationships than gender.

6.4.2.3 Institutional support

Respondents were experiencing some degree of support from the institutions, but others felt that the support they were receiving from the institution was inadequate or in some instances even non-existent. Respondents seemed to be concerned about the lack of sensitivity to women's issues at the institutions. The issue of redress seemed to be focused more on race than on gender. Their responses were as follows:

E: The system is not supportive enough. Institutions just do the bare minimum to get by. Very few staff members are, for example, on campus between 13:00 and 14:00, especially

women; they are busy ferrying children between home and school. Why can't the university provide a shuttle service to fetch children from school so that staff members can be available to perform their duties as expected?

G: I think there isn't enough sensitisation about woman issues. Sometimes I say that gender issues come second in the whole issue of equity. Race is given priority. I still feel not enough is being done, not yet, especially from top management's side.

F: Women do not feel safe to work till late because of lack of security, both in their offices and between their homes and the offices. There are also no arrangements for flexi-time, which is especially necessary for women with small children. The institution also does not have childcare facilities on campus or home offices for women, especially after childbirth.

B: We have not moved anything in the direction of accommodating women so that they can work and still look after their children. As a result they lose time and time in the academe means research output and this determines how you go up the ladder. Therefore, whilst you are busy bringing up children, the men move up the ladder, and you can never catch up those lost years...we need to deal with it, we must level the playing fields.

D: I think in this institution maternity leave is still debited against one's annual leave and study leave. In the past, there was no support for women in terms of childbearing and childrearing obligations. I have three children, so I took three cycles of maternity leave, which meant that I had very little study leave left to finish my PhD. This is not a conducive situation for women. Also, the institution does not have facilities like crèches.

C: Women are also given low-status jobs that are time consuming and they therefore have less time available to do research, which puts them in a less advantageous position when it comes to promotions. Men do not experience problems in obtaining study grants and are almost always given high-status jobs.

G: *There is a lot that the institution can do to accommodate women. Top management can play an important role in this regard by sensitising people to the fact that women are capable of performing as well as men.*

One respondent reported that there was some form of institutional support at her institution:

H: *The first gender equity officer did a lot of work in terms of raising awareness around gender issues, but when she left there were only a few women in significant positions. What was worse, when one of the women deans left, she was replaced by a man. I think what women need to do is to work around succession planning and mentoring others. They should identify women who must fill their positions when they leave.*

The Gender Equity Unit looks at gender issues and specifically at women's issues. It is about affirming women in promotions and looking at the whole recruitment and selection process as well as violence on campus. We cover all genders; I am not talking of the polarised thing that people think about: man and woman. For me a lot of it is a continuum; whether it is bi-sex, inter-sex, or homosexual. We are concerned with all these things. My personal concern is to get equity for women. But we also address issues of homosexuality, homophobia and race because the intersection of gender, race and class in this country is crucial and cannot be overlooked.

Regarding institutional support, the following negative tendencies came to the fore:

- The environment in most institutions was not conducive to women's advancement
- Most institutions did not offer flexi-hours
- Some institutions still debited maternity leave against annual and study leave
- Most institutions did not offer paternity leave
- Some institutions did not have childcare facilities
- Management was often not sensitive to women's issues
- Institutions could establish a shuttle service for parents with school-going children
- Most institutions did not arrange home offices for women with small children
- Some institutions did not offer adequate study leave.

In most institutions, women:

- were given low-status, time-consuming jobs
- did not have sufficient time to do research or study further
- were not accommodated as far as their reproductive role was concerned
- needed to work on successive planning and mentoring of one another
- were taking full responsibility for domestic and childrearing tasks.

Men:

- were often given senior positions
- were usually more task oriented than women
- often had their own different agenda
- were promoted more often than women
- received grants to do research more often than women
- often used tactics to secure promotion.

Some respondents attested to the support they were receiving from their institutions. Some institutions also had a gender equity unit/centre/office to deal with issues pertaining to gender on campus.

The gender equity unit:

- focuses on raising awareness around gender issues and affirming women in promotions
- looks at the recruitment and the selection process
- looks at all issues pertaining to gender
- looks at violence on campus.

6.4.3 Barriers to women's advancement in higher education institutions

The barriers reported by the respondents suggest that South African higher education institutions are hostile environments for women. Such hostility is embedded in the structures, culture and norms of these institutions. The following barriers were cited: socialisation practices, stereotyping, institutional climate/culture, workload, leadership styles, and sexual harassment.

6.4.3.1 Socialisation practices

Socialisation practices also play an important role in how women view themselves and their potential. The participants revealed the following in this regard:

D: We have specific ways of bringing up children. If the baby is a girl we give her dolls and say 'play with these', but if it is a boy we give him car engines to play with.

G: As children we have been raised to believe that we are subordinate to men and we must submit to their demands. I think that this is the case in most cultures. This plays an important role in how we see ourselves and how assertive we can be, especially in leadership positions.

L: Socialisation has actually played a role in how we view people, like saying: "Women should only do this and men should do that." It was only in later life that I came to realise that women are neglected in many areas of life. I realised that it is just mothers and grandmothers who have to bear the brunt of poverty. In my family there was also discrimination between how boys and girls are treated. Boys always received preferential treatment from our parent, but I only realised that later in life. When we were growing up, the situation seemed normal.

K: What I can remember is that my dad was my friend, more so than my mom. But at school there was subtle discrimination, with boys being given more attention than girls. Girls are expected to be more concerned about marriage and fulfilling traditional female roles: caring for other members of the family such as their siblings and the elderly.

M: As girls, we were brought up to be submissive. I still suffer a lot in a male-dominated environment, at home as well as at work. My mother-in-law and my husband are very assertive. My mother is still very submissive. My husband expects me to be assertive as well. This leaves me with a lot of confusion. I attended a traditional English school where we were encouraged to put our points across, engage in dialogue and be open-minded. In my work situation I am often expected to be submissive because I am a woman. Most men do not accept my assertiveness. They think I want to take away their power.

The following tendencies came to the fore as far as socialisation practices are concerned:

- Submissive mothers serve as role models to their children
- Domestic and childcare duties are believed to be the responsibilities of women/girls
- Boys and girls are not treated equally, at home and even in school
- Girls are socialised to be subordinate
- Girls are socialised to submit to boys' demands
- Females are subjected to conflicting social expectations
- Girls are socialised to prioritise marriage and family roles
- When there is poverty, women must bear the brunt
- Not all men expect their wives to be passive
- Females are socialised to conform to gender-appropriate conduct
- Subtle discrimination exists at home and in schools
- Boys are often given more attention than girls
- Cultures are male dominated
- English-medium schools tend to encourage assertiveness in girls.

6.4.3.2 Work-family conflicts

Prioritising marriage and family responsibilities over a career were cited by some participants as a contributing factor towards women's slow advancement to senior management positions. Because of women's commitment to others (social responsibility), most of them were under-qualified for senior positions. The participants responded as follows:

E: We women, always say family comes first, children come first; we put other people's needs and welfare before ours. As a result women have not been able to develop themselves. You can't always be able to pursue a career because your husband is working and you have to look after the children. That motherly intuition is one of the things that actually hold you back. And if you got married and your husband said you cannot do postgraduate studies and you see the tension it creates between other couples, you just end up saying, "I will rather have a husband and a family; after all, I have a

degree and a job. I cannot let my husband raise the children". For everything that goes wrong with the children, the mother is to blame.

F: Women are under-qualified and lack experience because they get married very early, usually after the first degree, and most of them don't study further after that. Women have double roles, that of bringing children into this world, raising them and caring for the whole family, and that of being economic providers.

I: Women have too many complex things other than just building a career. You know you have to balance family obligations with a career.

M: It is more difficult for women to become professors because of other personal responsibilities that they have, such as childbearing responsibilities.

G: Our culture has instilled in us that we are mothers and we must take the first responsibility for children. That will always be there.

As far as family responsibilities are concerned, the following tendencies seemed to emerge:

- Women have motherly intuition that makes them feel obliged to care for others
- Most women value marriage more than their career
- Most women have strong obligations towards family responsibilities
- Most women are under-qualified
- Most women lack job experience
- Most women cannot undertake postgraduate studies without their husband's permission
- Most women also have to be economic providers
- Women have to balance family responsibilities and a career
- Society expects women to take the initial responsibility for children.

6.4.3.3 Stereotyping

There are deeply rooted traditional socio-cultural stereotypes and attitudes about the roles of women and their abilities, which downplay women against men. Management and leadership are still predominantly male domains, because it is assumed that women lack the attributes for successful managerial roles.

M: I think society has an important role to play in as far as gender issues are concerned. A lot has been done to make men more sensitive to women and gender issues. But society/culture has been paternalistic and I think for the first time now people are being confronted with a new paradigm shift and they tend to resist. But the mindset is changing and I think this will contribute to changes in the future.

K: Society makes women believe that they are inferior to men. Women themselves are not assertive enough. They seem to fear success. They are overly submissive to their husbands or partners. I once confronted my friend's husband about harassing his wife. After that the wife started being assertive and the husband could not take it. They eventually divorced.

L: I think we have been made to believe that leadership is a man's world. Certain positions just belong to men. The battle to get these positions is much tougher for women. The socialisation process is to blame in this regard. The youth still have a lot of stereotypes such as thinking that a boy has the right to sleep with many girls but the girl must only have one boyfriend, and the boy should always be the one making the first move. It is all about the abuse of power.

A: Stereotypes that woman can only do so much because of childbearing and childrearing responsibilities, as well as other domestic responsibilities.

F: Societal stereotypes: the belief among both men and women that women can only perform to a certain level and as you go up the ladder only men are entrusted with responsibilities. Men ask themselves if women can really perform some duties.

E: There is still a mindset that women cannot perform as well as men. Some people still say: "You put a woman there and the next thing she is pregnant. They don't say it, but it is there. What happens when she takes maternity leave? What happens when the child is

sick?” Women are also not given leadership positions because society still believes that men are better leaders. Fortunately, in more senior positions, it is older women who have gone past the childbearing age who occupy these posts – possibly this makes it more acceptable for men.

During our time in the university, if you completed medical school before you got married, it was unlikely that you could ever get married afterwards; and not being married was unacceptable then. All you wanted to do after graduating was to get a husband, settle down and start a family. Career progression was not on any woman’s agenda. Society put pressure on women to get married, no matter at what cost.

Some women seemed unwilling to change the status quo: These are their responses:

M: I think women sometimes under-estimate themselves and what they can contribute at the decision-making table. If I look at how men market themselves, I say, “My goodness, if I had known this long ago, I would be principal of this institution by now. I have exactly the same skills, if not better, but I did not know men’s political games and how they can actually put you down and make you doubt yourself.” Now I can see right through this whole facet of power. I think that is one lesson women should learn; how to play men’s political games and win.

L: Some women also maintain the status quo. They don’t want to change and they make it difficult for other women. They think they are super-women and super-this and super-that. I mean, we are all just human beings. They just say, “What is a woman’s right? We have come all this way and we have survived in our traditional roles, why should things change now”?

With regard to stereotyping, it seems from the above that the following perceptions have contributed to the under-representation of women at senior management levels in higher education:

- Stereotyping is a-historical
- Certain types of jobs are perceived as appropriate for women and others as appropriate for men

- Females are usually not expected to be leaders
- Females' capabilities are under-estimated
- Women are viewed as inefficient compared to men
- Most institutions/organisations are male dominated
- The best candidate for the job is often seen as a man
- A woman who performs well in a management position is labelled "masculine"
- Some women managers still earn less than (white) male managers
- Society does not accommodate women's childbearing obligations
- It is still taboo in some cultures for a woman not to get married
- Most men do not want to marry women with a higher status
- There is a new paradigm shift
- Some people are resistant to change
- Some women are able to see right through the facet of power
- Some women fear success
- It is often more difficult for women to climb the career ladder
- Some men abuse power
- Women are perceived as intellectually and physically inferior
- Men are often the ones entrusted with responsibility in senior positions
- Pregnancy is viewed negatively
- Society perceives men as being better leaders
- Some women are still abused by their husbands
- Assertive women are often labelled masculine or boss.

Because of the stereotypical beliefs about women's attributes, which are antithetical to leadership, women leaders tend to lack self-confidence:

- Some women often under-estimate themselves
- Some women and men tend to want to maintain the status quo (women's subordination and men's superiority)
- Most women are not assertive.

6.4.3.4 Institutional climate/culture

Most respondents reported that the institutional culture that was prevailing at their institutions was patriarchal and conservative, where women were still being undermined in terms of their performance and contributions. Men were reported to occupy most of the senior positions and they were not making it easy for women to achieve the same level. These are the participants' responses in this regard:

B: On one hand it is the institutional climate that led us out of apartheid, but which left us with a legacy, and also left the women with the legacy of not being good enough. The institutional culture in terms of the hearts and minds of people has not changed. What has been established has been through intense pressure from women. It is not men who came and said, "Listen, here we are, we want things to change, and we want to change". Whatever little change there is, it is because of pressure from women.

M: The corporate culture, in the sense that it is very autocratic and authoritarian and very traditional in terms of the patriarchal and conservative approach that men still have. If you as a woman sit in a committee meeting or any other meeting, and you want to make a contribution, it is sort of, "Oh, we are just tolerating you here, so let's carry on with more important issues" or "Okay, thank you very much for the opinion, but you can keep it to yourself".

I sometimes try to be assertive, but then it is often interpreted as being aggressive. At this institution if you are a woman and you are assertive, men regard you as not being in 'your right place'. I think it is because of the traditional corporate culture that exists at this institution.

H: The age of a woman is the obstacle. At what stage in their lives do women access higher education? When do they get their advanced degrees? Do they get the opportunity to even acquire a degree? In most cases, at age 40-50 a woman is still struggling with her master's degree. The institution does not put any mechanism in place to accommodate women.

Men keep shifting the goalposts. Fifteen to 20 years ago, white men with minimum higher education qualifications occupied senior positions in higher education institutions. When black men and later black women started obtaining these qualifications, they started

saying, "You must have an honours degree," then later "You must have a master's degree" and now "You must have a PhD or postdoctoral studies to be world-renowned." Even the number of publications and the number of teaching years required for one to become a professor keep on increasing. The whole thing is befitting the already privileged by putting women further down the line.

F: *Management structures in organisations are male dominated. Men will often say, "We are looking for the best candidate for the job," and best for them means the same as them: another man. If a woman occupies a certain high position and she performs well she is labelled 'masculine'. Women managers still earn less than white male managers.*

B: *I came to realise that in the academic environment things outside this environment caused men to be promoted. First, the aspect of the male breadwinner: you just hear that the husband is looking after you. You are therefore never taken seriously in terms of promotion. Secondly, a man would just say, "Listen, I have an offer somewhere and it is either you are promoting me or I am leaving," and he would be promoted. I often doubted if these offers genuinely existed or if it was just a way of getting a promotion. But management listens to them and they do get promoted on those grounds.*

E: *In our faculty, out of 30-40 heads of departments, only 3-4 are women. At executive management level, I am the only woman. It is difficult because you find yourself faced with people with this mindset of white, elderly males. They will always say, "In my days," and I say, "Well, these are not your days anymore." I am the only woman and the only black in the executive management. And because I am alone, I can only push a point to a certain point, if it receives a negative reaction; I reach a point where I say, "There is no point in pushing it further". It is a very difficult situation.*

F: *Most decision-making structures in this institution are comprised of men. I am the only woman in the executive management committee and in other decision-making structures. It is often difficult for me to push a gender issue because if the group decides to vote, then I am always outvoted.*

D: *In the Faculty of Social Sciences I was the only woman who was HOD and in a meeting I would raise a point and motivate it, then they would just disregard what I was*

saying. They would sort of look down or look away. Five minute later the same point would be raised by a man and it would be taken as a very good point, "Jy weet jy is nie rêrig geag, soos ons in Afrikaans sê". I would say it takes a woman much longer to prove her ability and to be recognised as a capable leader/manager than a man.

M: *The institution does nothing, nothing at all to help women to advance in their careers. There is no special training provided for them, or to even get them into the institution. What they say in this institution is that there are no women qualified for certain positions, particularly senior positions, but they do nothing to correct the situation. They are not identifying people to fast-track; no, no effort is made. I also think they do not make enough effort to find qualified women. If they looked hard enough, they would find them.*

B: *We had a struggle to get into the management structures. I have been studying women at the university for a couple of years and at one point in time in this faculty 80% of the women were found at the lowest two positions, that is, junior lecturer and lecturer. Only 4% of the women were professors. This is just to indicate that in terms of positions, men are the decision makers. We were the first two women in the executive management. When we were in meetings they did not even look at us and we always sat at the back and nobody noticed us. If we dared say something they would say, "So, this is what you mean"? You see, taking the words out of your mouth.*

Part of it can be described as the male domination bias. Even with the existence of the new legislation, the institutional climate in terms of the hearts and minds of people has not changed. Women are situated in the lowest levels of the organisational hierarchies. Men are in decision-making positions. We struggle to get the women up there.

C: *If you look right at the top structures of the institution, women are not there. I don't know what is going to happen when other people (mostly men) retire or change posts. How are their positions going to be filled in accordance with the Employment Equity Act and affirmative action?*

G: *I think gender issues still come second. Race comes first when it comes to employment equity. Very little attention, if any, is given to gender issues in this institution.*

Two respondents responded differently. They felt that there were no obstacles to women's advancement at their institution, and that it was the women who were reluctant to take up managerial positions. This is how they responded:

J: *Women don't want to go into management. They are not interested. They want to do research and be academics. One of the reasons I applied for this post was because there was no woman interested in the post and I thought if women do not come forward, then the institution will not have senior women. Nobody can persuade them, they just tell you that they are not interested in that type of career. I think it may be because they don't want to be taken away from their families or because of the stress associated with a management post.*

I: *I think the situation has changed from what it used to be. I think in this university it is not so much about women getting to senior management, but it is becoming a professor that is a problem. This is where the problem is. Women come into academic life quite late. There are far more male professors than female ones. This reflects our historical imbalances. The university has traditionally been populated by white men. But I think it has changed because we have a woman deputy vice-chancellor. I think once you have achieved academically, movement to a management position becomes much easier.*

Respondents also experienced discrimination in the workplace in as far as appointments and promotions were concerned. They responded as follows:

A: *Decision makers have always been men and are still men. Women are discriminated against in terms of promotion and appointment procedures. They are not treated fairly. There is a lot of bias in favour of men when appointments are made.*

C: *The only other thing that puzzles me with the structure in this institution is the gap between the chief director and the people reporting to him (managers). If you are a chief director you must have directors under you. There are no directors reporting to the*

chief director, only managers in some departments or assistant directors. The manager fills in for him or her. I wonder if the reason for this type of structure is to avoid promoting people or if it is just an oversight. If the chief director is not there, the manager takes over, so why not make him/her a director? As for me, as far as human resources is concerned, I am a technical officer, but my job entails strategic and operational management, project management, financial management, as well as some aspects of human resources development and I report to the chief director and often fill in for him.

C: (Big sigh) The situation seems to be fair but the ideal would be to take into consideration difficulties that women have had or are still having and perhaps give them preferential treatment when it comes to promotions. I know of women who can only do their PhDs now (in their 50s) because they have been blocked before by various obstacles, whilst the men just went ahead and obtained their qualifications. It is a very grey area which needs to be explored.

The focus isn't specifically on women. There are so many issues to be addressed. I think sometimes women's issues come second. I have been in appointment committees where equity is very relevant and if there is a male and female candidate, a male is always chosen. I always fight for the woman's appointment.

M: I would not say that women are discriminated against because there is one set of criteria for promotions and appointment, but once more it is more difficult for women to satisfy these criteria because you have to have a doctorate or postdoctoral degree and have a certain number of articles written. It often takes longer for a woman to accomplish these things because of other responsibilities and obligations.

But men with much lower qualifications, knowledge and experience are appointed to senior positions more often than women with much higher qualifications and experience, and the women have to report to these men.

G: If we evaluate promotions in the school and in the faculty we don't look at gender. In the academic field gender does not play a role.

One respondent responded differently from the others in that she felt that discrimination was not based only on gender, but on race and class as well. Her response was as follows:

H: *I differ with other people because I think that, in the first place, universities were never created for women, especially black women. With all the African universities, especially the South African universities, their education system is based on that of the Western world. They tell you, "This is the criteria, and these are the things that you should read and this is how you should study". I believe they taught us how to be white. The academic language in this country is English and what does that mean? That you study in a language other than your mother tongue. You are expected to become an English speaker at university level. You have to think and write in English. All the rules and policies are foreign. So who becomes your role model? So, for me it is not only about gender, but race and class as well.*

According to the respondents, it seems as if the following tendencies prevail:

- Some institutions are still patriarchal and conservative
- Men are considered to be the best candidates
- The institutional climate in most institutions has not changed for the better
- There seems to be very few women in managerial positions
- White, elderly males do not seem to accept change
- It seems as if affirmative action policy is not implemented
- Race issues seem to be given more attention than gender issues
- Women seem to be considered for promotion less often than men
- Most men with lower qualifications than women occupy higher posts than women
- People's mindsets don't seem to have changed
- Men can mostly be found in decision-making positions
- Men, specifically, appear to want to maintain the status quo
- Men usually claim that there are no qualified women
- The prevailing situation in institutions favours the already privileged (white men)
- Men in leading positions make it difficult for women to climb the career ladder
- Points made by women in meetings are often rephrased by men

- Some women usually occupy the backseat in meetings
- Some women occupy the same post for 18-20 years
- There are few women in managerial positions
- Most women can be found in the lower post levels
- Assertiveness in women is often interpreted as aggressiveness
- Due to other obligations, women can only pursue their careers later in life
- Women often underrate themselves
- Women leaders are usually not recognised as such
- Some change has been brought about through pressure from women
- Institutions still have a corporate culture that is autocratic and authoritarian
- The culture in most institutions is still patriarchal and conservative
- In meetings, men give women the impression that they (the women) are merely tolerated
- Female managers still earn less than male managers
- Men are usually given preference over women in appointments
- Institutions do not have a set of promotion criteria
- Most institutions do nothing in terms of helping women to advance in their careers
- Women access higher education and advanced degrees late in life.

Some tendencies with regard to the institutional climate are based on the political situation in South Africa and the effects of Westernisation:

- The education system in South Africa is based on that of the Western world
- Universities are not accommodating to women
- Goalposts with regard to promotion are unattainable to women
- Rules and policies are foreign
- There seems to be few African role models
- A foreign language is used in educational institutions.

6.4.3.5 Work overload

Women are burdened with an enormous workload and this has resulted in stress for most of them, but the respondents reported using various mechanisms to deal with stress. They responded thus:

M: *My workload used to be enormous when I was a communications manager, and combining that with my master's studies was very difficult. It is much better now that I can manage my workload within my own timeframe. As academics, we work flexi-hours. I have to be in the office for at least five hours a day. The rest of the time I do research and community service.*

J: *I always take work home. I work up to 7.30 pm once a week, and one day in a weekend I come to work. I do feel stressed sometimes, but I go to the gym to relieve the stress. Well, this job is intrinsically interesting, but I cannot do it forever.*

H: *I am extremely overloaded. I take work home every day. Sometimes I don't even know whether it is Saturday or Sunday. Sometimes I sit in front of the computer and even forget to watch TV. This is a very stressful job because you don't know what to anticipate. You can be called to the police station or to the office at any time if there is a crisis. But I do create my own space. I read a lot and go for walks three times a week.*

K: *I have a lot of work. I always take work home. I wait for everybody to sleep and then start working. I also do a lot of travelling. My children are used to it now. My husband does complain sometimes when I work late and he has to sleep alone.*

G: *My work schedule is hectic; I take work home every day. My family is used to it by now. I start working at 21:00 after the children have gone to bed. My husband is used to it now. He has never had a problem.*

B: *I take work home every day. I feel that this had a positive connotation as well, because it has motivated my daughter from an early age to read and study. When I was doing my master's degree, she had just started school, and she thought looking at books every evening was a way of life or that is how things ought to be. She would sit with me*

for hours and I didn't know that she did it voluntarily. I thought she was given a lot of homework.

I mean, look at me now – it is vacation, but I am at work.

F: I always take work home. Sometimes I get stressed, but I don't think it has got anything to do with gender. My children do complain about my travelling sometimes. My social life is affected. I have realised that I cannot even read a novel anymore.

A: My workload does interfere with my social life because whatever little free time I get, I spend it with my family. I don't have any free time for myself. I also don't have time to do research or study further. I do feel stressed sometimes but I don't allow the situation to affect my health.

C: I sometimes take work home. Although one might look at it in a negative light, I think it has a positive impact on my daughter. Even though she does not understand what I am doing, if I put books and papers on the table and I look like I am reading, she immediately takes her storybook and sits next to me and start reading as well, and in a sense we are bonding.”

As far as workload is concerned, the following are the tendencies deduced from the participants' responses:

- Most women complained about excessive workload
- Almost all the women took work home every day
- Workload interfered with the respondents' social life and leisure time
- Respondents did not have sufficient time for family
- Some respondents had to work after hours and over weekends
- Some respondents did a lot of travelling and their children often complained about it
- Most respondents experienced stress due to workload, but were able to deal with it
- Some respondents stayed late at the office
- Some respondents worked after hours and during vacations
- Some respondents felt that work overload is not related to gender

- Some respondents could not find time to study further or time to spend alone
- Husbands sometimes complained about their wives' workloads
- Respondents started working after family members had gone to bed
- Most respondents had hectic work schedules
- Some respondents thought the job they were doing was interesting
- Respondents spent whatever free time they had with their families
- Some respondents found time go to the gym and to go for walks to relieve stress
- Some respondents felt that working from home motivates children to study.

6.4.3.6 Leadership styles

There were different views with regard to the leadership styles of men and women. Some respondents felt that the leadership styles of men and women definitely differ; whilst others felt that gender plays no role in as far as leadership styles are concerned.

G: My perception is that because men are perceived as the dominant species, they are more aggressive and are not good team players. They perform better as individuals. Women, on the other hand, because of their whole substance and their background, make better leaders in a team context.

M: Definitely, women's and men's leadership styles do differ. Women have more compassion than men, although I often find that some women, to get their point across, tend to become aggressive so that they can be noticed. I think that you can be a good manager and still keep those personality traits of being soft but strict.

A: Yes, I think men and women have different leadership styles, although it is not wise to generalise because there are men who use the feminine style and vice-versa. Women are generally more democratic in their leadership and tend to take people's opinions and feelings into consideration. Male leaders are generally more autocratic and do not always take other people's views and feelings into account when they make decisions.

B: Women, although different, could just be as task-oriented as men. It is not that they are only expressive and attuned to people, but their relationship to people is different; they focus on the total person. But they also have male characteristics. Women, apart

from having reproductive roles, are sensitive and have strong family ties and responsibilities. This is broader than just bringing children into the world.

D: Yes, I think women have a different leadership style because they are accommodating. I think a woman who has had a family understands people better, and understands the situation around women's issues better. I for one... what is the word...participative leadership, consider the opinion of other people, eh... I think women are also less autocratic. Men are more autocratic, definitely so. I think women also have the wisdom or insight to look more comprehensively at issues than men. Men are very linear in their thinking when they are leading. They are also less participative. I don't think it is possible to transform this country if we are autocratic.

F: Women care; they have the ability to transcend beyond the barriers of professional relationships.

E: Sure, there is nothing to beat a woman leader (laughs loudly). I think it has also been scientifically proven that woman leaders have got compassion, I mean that comes from within, perhaps it is related to hormones. But I must add... there is a trend that has been brought about possibly by the survival mechanism, where you find women in authority becoming very aggressive, this might be due to... you know, to get attention and recognition as a woman, you've got to do your thing three times better for people to appreciate it. Women do listen; they are more sensitive to people's needs.

L: Women tend to listen more and respond more emotionally to their subordinates' needs. Men tend to be extremely work focused (task oriented), are very rigid and adhere strictly to D-dates. They are less accommodative.

M: Yes, I think women are more compassionate. But in certain instances where women have been in leadership positions for a long time, I think they tend to incorporate men's leadership styles into theirs and become more authoritative. They change from being team players or members to being in control. We know the traditional perspective of women leaders as being caring and compassionate and bringing team members together. But some women leaders are go-getters and they just want to get the job done, no matter at what cost.

Some respondents felt that there is no difference in the way men and women lead. The differences, if any, depend on the personal characteristics of individuals:

K: I don't think there is any difference in the way men and women lead. It depends on the individual.

Some respondents were indecisive about the leadership styles of men and women: This is how they responded:

J: I think men and women have the same leadership styles. But in general, I think women are made of a different type of material, but that does not mean that my leadership style differs from that of my predecessor just because he is a man. In fact, I think he had a much more feminine leadership style than I have, although I am more sensitive to some issues and consult more.

I: I think leadership style is about the everyday way of doing things. I have a different style from my predecessor who was a man. But I am not sure if it is because of our genders. But I know in the corporate world, no matter how much a woman executive tries, she will never have the same degree of control as a male executive. The problem is, if she tries hard enough to be in control then she is said to be 'bossy' and if she can't be in control, she is submissive or passive and cannot lead. So, it is a lose-lose situation and that is something that I struggle with. But I think I am not the only one. I have talked to other women, and they say they experience the same thing.

Some respondents reported that leadership could not be compared across gender lines, because women have been denied leadership opportunities:

H: I feel it is very difficult to compare leadership styles based on gender because if, for instance, you are the only woman at a certain level, the dominant will be male perception, so how much influence can you have? Furthermore, you will also inherit certain things in the department or faculty that have been practised by men for 20 to 30 years, and nobody supports you in your attempt to change them. There is often a lot of

conflict and hostility; sometimes from the men, but sometimes from the women because they do not know how to relate to a woman leader.

Most respondents' views on leadership styles were that women tend to:

- be viewed as better leaders than men
- use a democratic leadership style
- be just as task oriented as men
- perform better in a team
- take other people's opinions and feelings into consideration
- use a participative leadership style
- be less autocratic
- focus on the total person
- have to do things three times better to be appreciated
- inherit common practices in the organisation
- be go-getters
- find it difficult to exercise control
- understand women's issues better
- look comprehensively at issues
- find it difficult to relate to women leaders
- receive less co-operation from both men and women subordinates than male leaders do
- feel equal to men
- have more compassion than men
- be more expressive and attuned to people
- be aggressive in order to be noticed
- care and be able to transcend beyond the barriers of professional relationships
- be sensitive to people's needs
- be better listeners
- not be sure how to relate to a woman leader
- make better leaders as a result of family ties and responsibilities
- be labelled 'bossy' when they perform well as leaders.

Men tend to:

- be more aggressive
- use a feminine leadership style at times
- not consider others' opinions and feelings
- be more task oriented
- use an autocratic leadership style
- be more rigid
- be less sensitive
- be the dominant gender
- perform better as individuals
- be more in control
- receive more recognition as leaders.

Some respondents felt there is no difference between men's and women's leadership styles, as:

- conflict and hostility often arise as a result of some people not being sure of how to relate to a female leader
- it is often difficult for female leaders to change the old way of doing things because of their low numbers
- male leaders have more influence because of their high numbers
- leadership depends on a variety of individual characteristics.

Some respondents were uncertain about their views and indicated that they were unsure of:

- the relationship between leadership and gender
- whether male leaders are more in control than female leaders
- whether women are actually made of different material
- whether women want to emulate men's way of leading
- whether some men have a more feminine leadership style.

6.4.3.7 Sexual harassment

The respondents' responses seemed to indicate that there were no proper structures for dealing with cases of sexual harassment at most institutions. Where policies existed, their implementation was questionable. Some of the respondents reported that they had not heard of any cases of sexual harassment on campus, but were not aware of the existence of a policy on sexual harassment:

C: No, I have not heard of any case of sexual harassment on campus. I am not aware if the institution has such a policy.

F: I have not heard of any cases, either from staff members or from students. I think there is no specific policy on sexual harassment; it might be covered by the policy on institutional equity.

Some respondents mentioned that cases of sexual harassment had been reported, but had not received adequate attention. Also, some cases went unreported:

A: Yes, I have heard of several cases of sexual harassment and they are never taken seriously. Most of them are just ignored. The policy does exist but just on paper. I don't think people know about it.

B: I have heard of a lot of cases, especially when the gender committee started. I cannot tell you how many cases I listened to because there weren't any channels for people to report these cases. The cases were just squashed, both regarding emotional and sexual harassment. There was just no way that the women could ever, ever win these cases, not ever. Afterwards there was a backlash. We received anonymous threatening letters. But because work is scarce you just find somebody to talk to and not pursue the case further.

M: I think sexual harassment does happen, but in this institution people do not talk about such things. I think it is an Afrikaans conservative culture to a certain extent. People don't talk about things like that. They would rather ignore them or try to handle everything themselves and suffer in the process than go public and then sometimes bear the consequences. People are afraid.

J: *Sexual harassment is a tricky issue; sometimes it is just the word of one person against another. The institution is trying to put together a policy, but the question is the implementation. In the institutional climate survey conducted in March 2004, a lot of cases of sexual harassment and racial discrimination that were never reported were brought forward. People are not always willing to come forward to report cases. There are definitely cases and the last institutional climate survey has listed the numbers.*

The participants perceived a cultural difference in as far as sexual harassment is defined:

E: *(Laughing loudly) I am not saying there are no cases of sexual harassment but the situation is open to abuse because if a person says. 'Um, you look nice', in the African culture it is normal and acceptable, but nowadays the person can pursue the case as harassment. So when is it harassment and when it is just a compliment? Obviously, there are cases of sexual harassment where it goes to the extent of a person touching you indecently or promising you a promotion in return for sexual favours, but I have not heard of any case in this institution. I think the institution is possibly still too conservative.*

H: *We are busy revising our sexual harassment policy because it was drafted during the apartheid era. The people who drafted it looked at the Australian, British and US policies, so it is in a Western context. If you look at the issues, at the way that certain things are defined, it is in a white Western context. For instance, when we were growing up, certain things were never referred to as abuse, and now all of a sudden the same things happen and they are reported as abuse. So it is a worldwide view against certain things.*

We have a sexual harassment policy which I think is incomplete, because it does not say anything about electronic media harassment. When reviewing the policy, I think we must look at things like:

How representative is the disciplinary committee? How do we investigate the case? Should the investigating committee be more representative of women students or staff? Should people be trained to investigate cases? How sensitive are the people investigating the cases? Should one sit on the committee just because she is a white woman professor?

Some respondents had heard of sexual harassment cases that were handled satisfactorily. But some cases are often withdrawn by the complainants/victims.

G: A sexual harassment case was reported to me, I know there is a policy and procedure to follow. But I don't know if people at grassroots level know about the policy. I think this particular one came to me just because I am a woman. This case was addressed to the satisfaction of both parties.

D: I have had few women come to me to report sexual harassment cases when I was serving in the gender committee. When the investigations were progressing they came and withdrew the cases or just disappeared. No matter how much you try to convince them to pursue the cases, they refuse. The men handling the cases are also very protective of the perpetrators.

From the above, the following tendencies with regard to the extent and impact of sexual harassment came to the fore:

- Women are harassed both sexually and emotionally
- Some institutions have a conservative culture
- Women often withdraw cases or just disappear
- Some victims are afraid to come forward for fear of victimisation
- Some people handling cases are not trained
- Some people handling cases are not sensitive enough
- Men are usually given the task of handling sexual harassment cases
- Some men who handle sexual harassment cases protect the perpetrators
- Sexual harassment cases are often not taken seriously
- Sexual harassment policies are often not implemented
- Some respondents and people at grassroots level are not aware of the sexual harassment policy
- Women who report cases are sometimes threatened
- Victims of sexual harassment need people to talk to
- It is often difficult for women to win the cases
- Victims often resort to suffering silently rather than reporting the cases

- The absence of witnesses in sexual harassment cases often makes it difficult for the cases to be investigated
- There might be cultural differences regarding what actually constitutes sexual harassment
- Some reported cases are handled satisfactorily.

6.4.3.8 Racism

Some of the respondents felt that racism was still thriving at their institutions. The situation is more detrimental to black women who suffer the double oppression in terms of race and gender. In attempting to address the issue of inequality, race is given more priority than gender. The respondents reported as follows:

F: As a black woman, I feel that in this country, race is more prioritised than gender. I am made more aware of my race than my gender. I think racial discrimination is more pronounced in the institution than discrimination due to gender.

M: Black people who are employed in this institution still have to sit in meetings where people just speak in Afrikaans. They struggle to understand the discussions and some of them even leave the institution. You can include people in decision-making processes, but if they are not taken seriously; they start doubting themselves even more and ask themselves, "What am I doing here"?

B: There is a black staff forum that is supposed to fight for the rights of black employees. But in real terms very little happens in terms of gender. It is only black males that run this forum, and black women still feel neglected. They are also so few and once again they are found at the very bottom of the ladder. There isn't much change for them.

E: Racism still exists. I will give you an example of what happened in my faculty. At the head of department meeting the superintendent of one of the hospitals who is a black lady stood up to say something and the thing just turned into a racial issue. I said to myself, "Here I am, a black woman chairing this meeting and this black woman is making a valid point but people are not looking at the point being made, they are looking at the person making the point; what colour and what gender, and they just attack her".

In terms of addressing equity, ask how many blacks have been appointed into senior positions in the past two years. You can't even count a hand. We now have a black Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Student Affairs. But my question is: "Why only student affairs and not academic affairs or something else? Why should blacks always play a supportive role"?

The university can organise complementary tickets for rugby but never for soccer; it's these small things that irritate people. The person in the relevant office must change his/her mindset to say, "I must take care of everybody, both black and white".

The following tendencies appeared to emerge as far as racism is concerned:

- It seems that racism and racial discrimination still exist
- Some blacks feel they have no option but to leave the institution
- Sometimes language that is not understandable to most blacks is still used in meetings
- Some blacks may feel that they are not taken seriously
- Some white men often look at who (in terms of race and gender) is making a point rather than at the point itself
- Black men are sometimes not sensitive to the plight of black women
- Most black women are to be found at the lowest rung of the career ladder
- Black women still experience double oppression
- Blacks are underrepresented at management level
- Most blacks still play a supportive role in terms of level and area of employment
- Blacks are mostly not catered for in social events.

6.4.4 Possible solutions to women's under-representation in higher education

Respondents came up with various mechanisms to address the under-representation of women at higher education institutions. The following mechanisms were suggested: Institutional climate, institutional policies, training for women, legislative frameworks, networks, mentoring programmes, and socialisation practices.

6.4.4.1 Institutional commitment

Most respondents felt that their institutions were not committed to bringing about change in as far as gender and women issues were concerned. Institutions make no special concessions for women of childbearing age, nor do they recruit more women into higher education both to study and to work.

E: We need to go out there to get women to move into institutions, both for studying and for working. We need to get them at the bottom and grow them, if we want to make a difference at least in the next five years. We need to make people want to change, even if it means forcing them. Each and every individual should be made accountable for equity. But as far as women and blacks are concerned, I think they are still addressing the poverty gap; they are not interested in all these academic jobs and high-status jobs. They first want to work for the Mercedes Benz and double-storey houses that they have dreamt of.

M: It is no excuse for an institution not to promote a woman. In fact we should be saying, "How best can we make the women in the institution comfortable? Why don't we open a day-care centre at the institution?" In some institutions people can work flexitime – if you put in eight hours a day, it does not matter when you start work or leave the office.

B: We need to say, if a woman had babies for so many years, when it comes to promotion, if she has proven that she is capable with research, even though she has not been able to produce the number of articles required for promotion, she must be considered for promotion. But women must also be given sabbatical so that when they come back from maternity leave they can catch up. Don't punish them because they took maternity leave; be even more accommodative so that they can catch up. I think society owes it to them because nobody else can bring babies into this world. So why do they have to suffer for that?

A: Women must be given equal opportunities to men to get into management.

F: Institutions must change recruitment systems to look for potential and not actual skills in women. Women must be allowed to work flexitime and must be allowed to create home offices so that they can be able to conveniently take work home.

G: At institutional level, the programmes for females to sensitise them about gender issues. Males also need these programmes.

M: Institutions must make an effort to increase the number of women in management positions. The corporate culture must be changed to become more accommodative to women. This should be a top-down process. Women must be taken seriously and their contributions must be valued.

Tendencies that emerged with regard to institutional commitment as a strategy towards attaining gender equality were:

- Women must be sensitised to gender issues
- Women must be trained to be assertive
- Women must be recruited into institutions in larger numbers
- Women must not be punished for being child-bearers
- Women must have their potential and capabilities taken into consideration in promotions
- Women must be given equal opportunities to men
- Institutions must accommodate women after childbirth
- Institutions must grow their own timber groomed by the institutions for senior positions
- Institutions can provide childcare facilities
- Institutions must allow women to work flexitime
- Institutions must provide home offices
- Institutions must change recruitment systems to accommodate women
- Institutions must change the corporate culture to accommodate women
- Institutions must make everybody accountable for equity.

6.4.4.2 Institutional gender policies

Institutional gender policies exist at most institutions, but the question is whether they are implemented and monitored, and whether people are aware of the existence of these policies. Even the existence of an equity or gender office does not seem to guarantee gender sensitivity. The following were the participants' responses in this regard:

L: People in the university think that once the policy is there, they have done their bit. They make very good policies but never bother about their implementation. I do not think people are aware of these policies.

E: One thing this institution does badly is that the transformation process is on wagon wheels and those wagons are not even drawn by mules but by lazy donkeys. I have not heard of anybody referring to gender policies in a meeting and we are struggling with the employment equity because it is not a functional document yet.

F: I think this institution supports gender equality because there is an equity office, but I am not sure of the impact of this office. I have seen the person in charge of the equity office sit in interviews and try to influence decisions in terms of appointments, but my concern is that you still find positions filled by men; for example last year we had three senior positions and two were filled by men. I think the institution is not doing enough in terms of recruiting black females.

G: The issue of women is receiving attention in the institution because of the existence of the institutional equity committee and the equity office. I am not aware of any specific programmes or policies to address women's issues.

A: Policies exist but they must still become part of the culture of the institution. People are beginning to realise gender issues, but there is little progress. The pace of change is very slow.

B: Human resources department's policy is very vague. The institution just does enough to get by. I don't think they really aim at getting rid of the gender barriers. We have a diversity officer and he is a black male and the women have come to me to say, "You

know you might as well have a white male, because black men are even worse.” Therefore, in terms of gender, nothing has actually come from that office. There is no progress at all.

From the above, the following tendencies with regard to intuitional policies came to the fore:

- Gender policies should be clear and easy to interpret
- The diversity or equity office must sincerely address gender issues
- Gender policies must be implemented, monitored and evaluated
- The transformation process must be accelerated
- People must be made aware of the gender policies
- Institutions must be geared to remove barriers
- Human resource policies must be easy to understand
- Gender policies must be coupled with the change in the institutional culture
- Gender policies must focus on giving equal employment opportunities to men and women
- Institutions must be held accountable for equity.

6.4.4.3 The effectiveness of the legislative frameworks

Respondents are of the opinion that laws can only provide a framework within which to operate. The institution's management should be committed to the transformation process if real change is envisaged, because legislation alone cannot bring about real change.

D: To implement legislation takes time. I also think there hasn't been enough effort and the focus hasn't been specifically on women. I think sometimes women come second. Legislation can only be effective if it is accompanied by commitment.

B: If legislation frameworks were effective, we would be able to see change. It has changed a little bit because the promotions we fought for years have resulted in ten women in the faculty being promoted. But now the men want everybody to see that it is them who did it.

K: *I know we take affirmative action into account when we make appointments but we look more at race than at gender.*

J: *I think the legislative framework has been very unsuccessful in terms of gender. Race seems to be the burning issue.*

M: *The institution's employment equity office deals with the normal legal legislation that is being forced onto the university. It would be much better if it was a willing process. But then again, more emphasis is placed on race than on gender. Once again, at the lower levels of lecturers and junior lecturers, there are no problems in terms of gender distribution; the problem only comes when it comes to management levels.*

A: *Legislation in my opinion only provides the framework for reference against the law. It is just there for guidance. Most people are also not aware of existing legislation. It is up to the institution's management to change the mindset as well as the institutional culture, the way of doing things. People's awareness must be raised; it is not always possible for the institution to reach the targets set by the Department of Labour.*

E: *Um... (silence) it depends on what effective means. If it is effective in terms of numbers, then we can say it is effective. If we are talking in terms of what is it that is being done, then it is ineffective. But the question is, are we making progress? Does that something that we are doing translate into action? The movement is slow. My feeling is that legislation is good, but only if it is implemented, monitored and evaluated.*

The other view raised by participants was that institutions just do the bare minimum and are more concerned with complying with the requirements of the Department of Labour Equity Audit.

C: *But I just hope it is not just for window dressing, where we only find one black woman in a management position and we rush to the media when that person is not even having any form of authority or influence in the institution.*

E: *If you look at what the university did. I am looking at my appointment as a dean. That was a great strategic move by the institution. First, I was the first black woman dean in the Health Sciences Faculty, and in the country. It has been in the papers and everywhere else. We got a lot of mileage. The impression it created out there... but come inside and look at what we are doing. That's why I say that institutions learn how to do things that make people look at them favourably while in reality nothing is actually happening in terms of addressing equality.*

H: *The Employment Equity Act was drafted just after the apartheid era. It is affirmative action for whites. It was actually only designed for industries. The Higher Education Act was designed to address the imbalances in the higher education sector. A lot of research has been done but the recommendations were never implemented. According to the Employment Equity Act, the designated groups are blacks and women. And all blacks are 'men'. So, what is suitable for men must be suitable for women as well? Black women also have to compete with white women who were always in a more privileged position both in school and in higher education – in fact in all other areas.*

With regard to the effectiveness of the legislative framework, the following tendencies came to the fore:

- People must be made aware of the existing legislation
- Recommendations must be implemented
- Legislation should be easy to understand, even for the man in the street
- Institutions must willingly comply with legislation
- The playing field should be levelled for previously disadvantaged groups
- Black women should not be expected to compete with black men or white women
- Sufficient effort should be made – providing numbers does not constitute desire to change
- The focus should be on both gender and race
- Institutions must change people's mindsets and the institutional culture
- Legislation must be translated into action
- Institutions must not be concerned with merely gaining publicity (window-dressing)
- Affirmative action must still be taken into account in appointments

- Change from the institution's side must not be voluntary
- Legislation must be implemented at all levels
- The Employment Equity Act and Higher Education Act must be made functional documents.

6.4.4.4 Leadership and management training

Most respondents felt that everybody needs training – not only women. Training should be provided to all employees according to their needs and the institution's goals. Employees also need training because of the changes and challenges in the higher education sector. Their responses were as follows:

H: *Why were men never trained to manage? Is it because institutions believe that they are naturally intelligent enough to manage? What about the fact that most of our historically black institutions, especially, are in a financial mess? Why? Because the men who were (are) in charge were never trained. There was never a set criterion for these positions. Now that there are women in these positions they start saying, "You cannot be in a management position if you haven't got one, two and three, and you cannot be in this position for more than five years." They put you there with no support system so that they can be able to say, "You see, she is a woman, she cannot manage, this position is too demanding for her".*

E: *I don't think training needs to be aimed specifically at women. I think anybody who gets into a certain position needs training and the type of training needs to be adjusted accordingly to the person's needs. Obviously, if you are a woman and you are going to lead an all-man team, your training needs will be different from that of a man leading an all-man team or a man leading an all-woman team. We therefore need to look at the people, at where the division needs to go and at the institution's priorities. It has got nothing to do with gender.*

C: *I think we all need training because we live in such a dynamic environment. Things are always changing. The laws are changing all the time, so you can never say I am knowledgeable and experienced enough. The demands in the higher education sector have changed; it is no longer only about teaching but also community development and*

social responsibility. The challenges for the students are different. Lecturers therefore need to be social workers as well. I think we definitely need continuous training to keep abreast of what is happening globally.

I: I think both men and women need training. All people moving into senior positions need to be trained. I personally feel I need training because I have never been exposed to this type of challenge before. I have never attended a leadership or management course. I have kind of learned as I got along. I think women, specifically, need encouragement in addition to training, more especially black members of staff; they need to be encouraged to come forward and take leadership positions.

Some respondents felt that there was a dire need for women to receive special training to equip them for senior management positions.

J: I think the previous vice-chancellor, who was a black woman, was quite clear about the need to provide training opportunities for women. But I am not sure if any of the people in management do get training. I am not sure of things like that. In this institution I think it is women who genuinely feel they don't want management jobs.

B: Many women are just put into positions with no real mentoring programme or support. Women from the gender committee would come to me and say, "We just need some training in how to conduct a meeting because we have never done it before". There are very basic skills that women must get, but at the end it is up to the individual to see to it that she gets the necessary skills.

G: Yes, I think women need leadership/management training to help them to cope in their management positions and to help them to acquire those positions.

F: Women must be given extra support such as a specific training programme to equip them with leadership/management skills to handle authority, to gain self-confidence and to be more assertive.

I think women do need training in order to manage and to deal with men and with some situations that they may not be familiar with or experienced in.

With regard to special training for women, the following tendencies emerged:

- Training should not be for women only, but for every staff member according to his/her needs and work experience
- People must train in order keep abreast of what is happening globally
- There never used to be criteria for management or leadership when men were in charge
- Men are believed to be more intelligent than women
- Training is necessary because demands in higher education are changing
- Training is necessary because challenges for students are changing
- Some women in senior management have never attended management courses
- It is questionable why men never used to be trained for management positions.

A different view seems to be that women do need special training.

Women might:

- need training to be able to deal with men
- need specific training to equip them with management skills
- need training in assertiveness and self-confidence
- need to be trained to handle authority and responsibility.

6.4.4.5 Networking

Respondents cited networks as important forums for addressing women's issues. The women were excluded from men's networks and very few of them were serving on their institution's decision-making structure where important information was accessed. This made it difficult for the women to share their problems and to make informed decisions. Their responses were as follows:

B: This gender committee that we established started as an interest group for women doing research and now it has become a fully-fledged statutory committee representing

us on campus. We discuss our issues there. We make interventions, talk to people. This is not an institutional initiative, it came from women staff.

K: For a long time now I have been saying to my friend, "We must start a women's breakfast group," but we never got to do it. I think it is because women are always busy with domestic things. Men do meet a lot.

C: I think we need women's networks to develop ourselves and grow within our jobs and our professions. If one has a problem, it can be shared with other women who have experienced more or less the same problem.

H: I started a women's network. Membership is open to women from all walks of life. I believe our problems and challenges as women are the same and we can learn a lot from each other. Surprisingly, white women have never joined this group or any of the groups that exist on campus like the writing and publishing group that I established.

M: I joined the Businesswomen's Organisation about two months ago and I also joined the Institute of Directors. I was never able to join any network till I started being a lecturer. Now I have more free time. I think the networks will benefit me a lot because I will be able to share experiences with peers and vice versa.

Most respondents reported that they did not belong to any networks because of the work overload.

F: I do not belong to any network at the moment. I do not know of any network in the institution. I was a member of the South African Women's Graduate Association, but I haven't paid my membership fee for the past three years or so. I never find time to look into things like that.

D: The reason I don't belong to any network is that I am extremely busy. I am often out of town, and then I am not able to catch up. Women don't have informal networks. You have a close friend that you phone once a month to say let's meet for tea on Saturday, but you never get around to doing it because you just don't get the time.

A: *No, I don't belong to any women's network because I don't have the time. I don't even spend enough time with my family.*

I know of some women's networks outside the institution, but I don't belong to any because I do not have the time to.

One of the respondents felt that the networks that existed were based on race and not on gender. She responded in this way:

E: *No, I don't belong to any women's network. But what I have learned in this city is that people network in their closed clusters; if you don't get into any of these circles. I am told the networks are mainly white and tight and that is where a lot of networking takes place. There are a few pointers, I have been to a few women's meetings and when I get there I find fairly senior women from our faculty, and yet they did not invite me. I got the invitation from people outside the institution. I don't think these clusters, in as much as they are gender related; they also have a lot to do with race.*

Male colleagues have networks and this is where they share information relating to promotions and job openings.

M: *Men have informal networks. My goodness, that's where everything takes place, that's where they sit and discuss issues of importance and common interest. But we, after work we just rush home, we have some responsibilities, to get to the children... and do other things. We cannot go for a drink and come home after 20:00. Even on a Saturday they go and play golf but we can't.*

F: *Men meet quietly often outside the work environment. This creates a platform to discuss their work relations and promotion opportunities.*

D: *I think men's informal networks are all over the place. I don't think they have formal networks. But they do have a lot of informal ones. Men seem to be stronger buddies, you know, rugby buddies with very strong bonds whereas women never do that. I wonder why; but I think it is because of family responsibilities and having to raise children. This has an impact on the work situation because when men meet, they talk about work issues*

– what job openings are available and where they negotiate promotion possibilities, who to contact as CEO of this and that company.

From the data obtained from the participants, the following tendencies are evident:

- Women should establish their own informal women's networks
- Informal networks will give women the opportunity to share experiences and common problems
- Networks will help women to grow and develop
- White women should join networks with black membership, because their problems do intersect to some extent
- Networks should be gender based rather than race based.

Work overload and family obligations make it difficult for most women to network.

- Women must meet as often as men in order to create more opportunities to discuss work issues
- Women must network to discuss issues of common interest
- Women must establish stronger bonds with one another
- Women must share family responsibilities with their spouses so that they can also make time to meet one another.

Men's networks give them an opportunity to:

- discuss work openings
- discuss promotion opportunities
- meet chief executive officers of other organisations

Some networks are based on race and not on gender.

- Some people network in tight, closed clusters
- The clusters are gender related but are mainly based on race
- It is difficult for other races to join the clusters.

6.4.4.6 Mentoring programmes

Respondents mentioned that mentoring is important for the growth and development of employees, but most institutions do not have formal mentoring programmes, and besides, there are only a few women role models in institutions. Superiors are viewed as mentors, but because of time constraints, this type of mentoring is not always possible, as it cannot be monitored and controlled.

M: I think a mentoring programme would be a great idea, but even mentoring in terms of my work and the research project that I am doing is difficult. People do not have time to do it, not even to mentor their own subordinates. For mentoring programmes to be effective, people really have to be committed. Then it will probably work, but in this institution, I really doubt it. Mentoring across the gender line would still work, but in practice in this institution it won't work because I think the men would share certain technical knowledge with women but there are certain thresholds that they won't cross. The most important information that you need in terms of how to play the political games in the organisation – that they won't give you. They have this sort of non-verbal invisible language that they alone can understand. They don't call a spade a spade.

A: I don't have a mentor, but I do get a lot of mentoring from my supervisor. I would like to have a mentor other than my supervisor. I am also not mentoring anybody. The institution does not have a formal mentoring programme.

K: There is no formal mentoring programme in this institution, but we in this school try to groom people for higher positions. We do grow our own timber.

J: The mentoring programme that exists in this unit is for undergraduate and postgraduate students and for junior staff members, but we are trying to improve it.

L: The University does not have a formal mentoring programme, but in the various departments some people take it upon themselves to mentor others.

D: I have a strong belief that mentoring is very beneficial if it is well practised. Mentoring should not just be a 'by-the way' process. People should be trained to be

mentors. *It should be a system that is part and parcel of the institution and it must be instituted by management. I have never formally being mentored and I am not mentoring anybody. I have informal support from my head of department.*

E: *I mean a formal mentoring system where people are trained to be mentors and are allocated mentees. I have never heard of any mentoring system in the institution. I came here as vice-dean and now I have been dean for four to five months and not a single person came to me to establish what my needs are – I mean my training needs. Even new appointees, nobody looks at their strengths and weaknesses and their training needs in terms of their department's strategic plan.*

Some respondents reported that were mentoring junior staff members voluntarily. Some departments also had their own mentoring programmes.

F: *I am mentoring a junior staff member from another division. I have recently helped her draft a paper to present at a conference. This is something I do on my own; it has not being arranged by the institution. I want to start having more mentees.*

B: *In our gender committee we mentor and support each other and act as one another's role model. We can have male mentors if they are sensitive to gender issues. We don't have an official mentoring programme. In a sense, you can have a male who supervises your studies and that can be regarded as an academic mentor.*

G: *Yes, we have a formal mentoring programme for new appointees for one year. Whether the programme is effective or not depends on the relationship between the mentor and the mentee. It is a very big responsibility to be a mentor. We make follow-ups, we have regular meetings and we have to report every three months to the Human Resources Department.*

As far as mentoring is concerned, the following tendencies emerged:

- Supervisors should be trained to be mentors
- institutions must have formal mentoring programmes
- mentoring programmes must be monitored by human resources

- Men should be able to share information with women
- Mentoring should be instituted by management
- Supervisors must find time to mentor their subordinates
- Mentors must be trained
- Mentors need to be committed
- Women academics must be role models.

Networks exist in some institutions:

- Women can mentor each other in their network
- Some respondents mentor junior staff members voluntarily
- Some schools/departments have their own mentoring programmes.

6.4.4.7 Societal role

The participants were of the opinion that society's perception about women's potential and capabilities needed to change. Women need to be recognised and supported as equal citizens to men. Women in particular must be committed to changing the status quo.

G: I think we have to sensitise both men and women about the fact that women also have the potential to be leaders and managers. In schools already, we can start with leadership programmes specifically aimed at girls, to train them to be independent, confident and assertive. These programmes must continue at higher education level. The programmes should also be aimed at changing the culture and the perceptions about women.

G: The change must come about in our culture. In schools already, we can come up with leadership programmes specifically aimed at teaching girls to be more assertive.

A: Society must be transformed; people must start realising that women have as much potential and capabilities as men in almost all aspects of life. Society must refrain from perceiving women as emotional, soft and the ones to mediate when there is a conflict. These perceptions must be passed on to the younger generations.

B: Society is unfair to women. In the old dispensation, young men went to the army and they were richly compensated for that. Their jobs were reserved for them when they came back. So why can't we be accommodated? I think there should be measures to get women into higher education institutions, to accelerate the pace of moving them up the ranks, to empower them and to accommodate them after childbirth.

L: Parents must teach girls to be assertive and to believe in themselves from an early age. Our socialisation practices must change from what they used to be, both at home and in schools. Men and boys must take full responsibility for housework.

K: Schools should train young girls to be confident and encourage them to take subjects that were traditionally thought to belong to boys. Teachers must treat girls and boys equally. These practices must continue into higher education institutions. The existing gender stereotypes must be addressed with our children; for instance, I have told my two daughters that when they get married, they must retain their surname. That will give them some form of independence.

I: Women need to be role models as academics in terms of what they have achieved. They must be encouraged to take up leadership positions. Women must gain confidence in themselves.

From the above, the following tendencies emerged regarding the role society is expected to play in bringing about gender equality:

- Programmes aimed at empowering women must be initiated
- An effort must be made to attract more women to higher education institutions
- Parents and teachers must socialise girls to be independent, confident and assertive from an early age
- Men and boys must also take full responsibility for housework
- Society must realise that girls and women have potential and capabilities just as men do
- People need to be sensitised to gender stereotypes from an early age
- Society must refrain from viewing women as emotionally unstable

- Society must treat men and men equally – women must be accommodated after childbirth just like men used to be accommodated after military training
- Cultural perceptions might have to change
- Women must not be perceived as emotional, soft, and the ones to mediate
- Women must believe in themselves
- Girls must be encouraged to take traditionally male subjects.

6.4.5 Career pathing

Almost all the respondents' ambition was to be with their current institutions in the next five years, but all were hoping for promotions. Their responses were as follows:

G: I would like to see myself as a leader in the academe. I do get a lot of satisfaction from making a change in other women's lives.

E: I am hoping to be in this post at least for the next two to three years till I finish my MBA. But after that, I must obviously move up the ladder. I do not stay in one position for more than five years because after that you don't have anything new to contribute.

C: I want to see myself at a strategic management level.

A: I want to be promoted to associate professor.

M: I see myself just being promoted in the academe. I have been a communications manager and I have seen that if you are in the support services, it doesn't matter how much effort you put in your work, nobody recognises it. It is hard to get a promotion there.

H: Hopefully, I will be having a PhD. I am happy where I am now. But perhaps when I retire I will have my own women's centre. I will want to continue doing what I am doing now, making a difference in other women's lives.

J: I have a choice to apply for this post or go back to my previous post. I enjoy this job, but I cannot do it forever.

B: *I will still be in this institution, but hopefully in a higher post.*

A few of the respondents had different ambitions and wanted to own their own businesses. These are their responses:

L: *I want to see myself with my own business and more time to myself.*

F: *I don't want a higher post yet because it will mean more responsibilities and workload. I will study further when my children are grown up.*

K: *Within five years? I hope to be heading a continental school of science and industrial research. I want this school to serve the whole African continent.*

D: *I think I will have retired by then. I turned 60 in August last year and I was asked to carry on in this post.*

The following seem to be the respondents' ambitions:

In five years' time some women

- want to be leaders in the academe
- want to change other women's lives
- would have retired
- want to be associate professor
- want to own a women's centre
- will be able to apply for the same post
- will derive satisfaction from their current job
- will hopefully be in a higher position
- do not want to occupy a higher position until their children are grown
- will hopefully be heading a continental school of science and industrial research
- will hopefully be promoted in the academe.

6.5 SUMMARY

The participants took part in answering the quantitative questionnaire and each one was also personally interviewed as part of the qualitative research. The results were analysed and interpreted accordingly. The themes and sub-themes from the above data reporting of the interviews will be used as a framework in the next chapter.

The data collected from the participants indicated that gender inequality in the workplace is a reality in most South African higher education institutions, especially for black women. Few women possess the necessary qualifications and experience to be appointed to senior management positions. Women with family responsibilities have to divide their time between childbearing obligations, work, postgraduate study and research. The criteria used for appointing and promoting are often suspicious, and as a result appointments and promotions are awarded where they are often not deserved. Stereotyped notions about women constitute major barriers to women's advancement to management positions in higher education. Sex role stereotyping that is beneficial to the male is the fundamental barrier to women's opportunities in management. The picture of the ideal manager is grounded in masculine attributes, which may influence women's career choices, as well as the selection and promotion decisions made about them by others. Moreover, women's careers are dependent on the grace and favour of their spouses. Women experience a hostile environment in higher education, where men harass them sexually. Male networks have successfully ushered men into management positions and excluded women. Appointments are made in bars and on rugby fields during odd hours.

A holistic approach should be used if equality objectives are to be achieved, i.e. attitudinal change, women's education, clear criteria for hiring and promotion, policies to ensure equal opportunities for both men and women, and sensitisation of staff and the general public to the fact that men and women can play an important role in development. Women also need special training to equip them with management skills. This will go a long way towards changing the way women perceive themselves and will give them the confidence in their capacity to be effective leaders. These are the factors that contribute to the empowerment of women. The above efforts should, however, be backed with government and institutional legislation and regulation, as well as implementation,

monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes, in all political, economic and social spheres.

A summary of the data from the forgoing empirical investigation is synthesised with the data from the literature study and appears in Appendix G.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken to establish the status of women in senior management positions in higher education institutions in South Africa, and to examine the reasons for their under-representation at senior management level, as well as their experiences once they have advanced to these positions. Furthermore, the study aimed to establish whether women in higher education institutions feel that the structures, culture and norms in their institutions are conducive to their inclusion in the higher echelons of these institutions.

A literature study was undertaken to establish women's employment practices both globally and nationally, particularly in higher education institutions (chapter 2), followed by the barriers to women's advancement in higher education institutions (chapter 3), and the possible solutions to women's under-representation in senior management positions in higher education institutions (chapter 4). A quantitative investigation was conducted amongst the selected respondents in the form of an individual Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) test to determine whether the leadership styles employed by women meet the standard as set by their respective institutions. Thereafter, a qualitative investigation in the form of in-depth interviews was conducted with thirteen selected female managers from six higher education institutions in South Africa. This was done in order to get first-hand evidence of their experiences as managers in higher education institutions, given the impediment of gender (chapter 5).

In summarising the data for the forgoing empirical investigation, the literature study, the results of the individual LPI test and the findings of the in-depth interviews, as reported in the preceding chapters are synthesised in the final chapter; chapter seven. The synthesis is based on Appendix G.

7.2 REPORT OF THE FINDINGS

This concluding chapter comprises a synthesis of the literature review, the individual LPI test, as well as the themes and sub-themes that emanated from the data from interviews, which will now be reported. Appendix G is a summary of data from the literature study,

the LPI test, as well as data from in-depth interviews with respondents. These summarised data forms the foundation of this concluding chapter.

7.2.1 The position of women in the labour market and in society

The available statistics show that there has been an upward trend in women's participation in paid employment in almost all regions of the world since about 1985 (*cf.* 2.2; 2.3). The 'glass ceiling' has been broken through in some instances. This trend has been linked to the significant advances in women's education and vocational and other forms of training, as well as the positive legal and other practical measures that have increasingly been implemented in most countries.

Despite this significant progress, however, women are still disadvantaged in that they face challenges of gender-based discrimination. Women contribute most to subsistence economies and yet their economic contribution continues to be undervalued and their part in the working world remains invisible (*cf.* 1.1.1). Notwithstanding their increasing participation in the labour force, women generally still remain primarily responsible for childcare and household management.

Women's and men's work is divided along gender lines, and women's work is assigned a lower value than men's work. Women are mostly responsible for reproductive work, that is, domestic tasks such as childbearing and childrearing responsibilities, which are necessary for the reproduction of the labour force. Males, on the other hand, are mostly perceived as economic providers, drawing economic resources from productive work outside the home.

In South Africa, the situation does not differ from that in other countries. Occupational segregation clearly exists between men and women. Women's subordination in South Africa, however, remains interwoven with significant race and class differences. There is inequality within inequality. Another feature of South African women in employment is that the conditions under which they enter the labour market are influenced not only by their race, but also by their educational level and job training.

The discrimination against women in the labour market is one of the factors that influence women's low participation and low performance in the educational system, as was illustrated in the literature review in chapter 2 (*cf.* 2.2). The role of women in higher education management is examined below.

7.2.2 The situation of women in higher education

The under-representation of women in higher education management serves to demonstrate that countries do not optimally utilise the pool of managerial talent that exists in each country. The data presented in this study indicates that although women have made significant progress in the labour market, in the area of higher education management they are still a long way from closing the employment gap between them and their male counterparts. Women continue to experience a chilly climate in higher education (*cf.* 2.4.3).

Women in higher education are mostly to be found at lower-level academic and middle management level. They are furthermore under-represented in committees and governing bodies of the institutions. A consequence of this pattern of decreasing representation at senior level is that senior women frequently find themselves isolated in hierarchies that are predominantly male (*cf.* 1.1.1).

The factors that are considered to be barriers to the participation of women in higher education management are by and large the same factors that prevent the full and equal access of women to education. In essence, these factors are derived from the cultural perceptions of a woman's role that pervade higher education institutions at the systemic level and also inform the attitudes and behaviours of individual men and women. These factors are reinforced by the family, the education system, their peers and the media (*cf.* 4.5.2; 3.3.1.1; 4.4.1.1).

7.2.3 Factors contributing to women's advancement in higher education

Despite the challenges and obstacles faced by women in advancing to senior management positions in higher education, some of them have been able to succeed in rising to these senior positions, often against very great odds. Respondents reported on multiple factors

that contributed towards their advancement. They indicated that self-confidence, passion, determination to succeed, eagerness to learn, hard work and ambition have helped them to surmount the institutional and societal barriers usually faced by women. Other factors alluded to were the change in the political situation in South Africa in 1994 (*cf.* 6.4.1), when the government of national unity, through the constitution and other legal machinery, legislated against any form of discrimination and promoted equality for all, irrespective of gender, race, colour, creed, age and religion.

Participants' qualifications and experience, their research outputs and publications also played an important role in their progression to senior positions. The interviews clearly indicated that a PhD degree is a prerequisite for promotion, especially for women. However, attaining a higher qualification is not always a guarantee that a woman will be promoted – respondents reported that they sometimes had to put pressure on management before they could be promoted.

Some respondents had to make mid-career changes after realising the limited opportunities for advancement in their current careers. One respondent's involvement in activism and politics in the 1990s, and especially in the activities of the institution's gender equity centre, contributed to her advancement.

Although the respondents were facing challenges and obstacles both in the workplace and in society, they still attested to the support they received from their spouses, other family members, their departments and the institution at large. This support was multiple and ranged between sharing domestic chores and looking after children, to an opportunity to work flexitime.

7.2.3.1 Family

Due to the organising principle for society, based on the cultural meanings of being male or female, the literature review pointed to very little or no support for women by their spouses. In most cultures there are clear patterns of 'women's work' and 'men's work' and cultural explanations of why this should be so. Although there has been some changes regarding the participation of men in the home, the domestic chores were still perceived by most respondents as a woman's sole responsibility (*cf.* 3.3.2.1; 3.3.1.3).

However, almost all the participants indicated that they enjoyed the support of their husbands, mothers and domestic helpers, although there were differences in the level of support offered by their spouses. Some of the respondents perceived their husbands to be supportive even though the bulk of the housework and childrearing responsibilities still fell squarely on their shoulders as wives and mothers. Husbands were helpful and supportive only when it suited them and, in contrast to women, they have a choice in whether to engage in housework and what tasks they want to perform (*cf.* 6.4.2.1).

All the respondents were engaging the services of domestic helpers, with husbands often being responsible for the helpers' remuneration. To most respondents, this was perceived as an indication of their husband's support. Stereotypical perceptions and traditional beliefs that portray women as not being breadwinners, and as being less important, less intelligent and less valuable, imply that they are not in need of support; hence husbands' non-involvement in the home is unquestionable (*cf.* 6.4.2.3).

Respondents also felt that their husbands supported them in as far as their careers were concerned in that some of their husbands had turned down career offers elsewhere so that their wives could remain with their current institutions in order to develop their careers.

7.2.3.2 Supervisors and subordinates

There were wide variations noted in the extent to which women rated the support they received from their supervisors and subordinates. Most respondents alluded to the positive, professional relationships they shared with both their superiors and their subordinates. The relationships were said to be based on respect, co-operation and understanding. However, some respondents mentioned that their male supervisors were distant and cold as compared to female supervisors (*cf.* 6.4.2.2). As a result, most respondents did not feel comfortable discussing some issues with men; consequently co-operation between them was limited. This is backed by the literature review, which revealed that women in management positions do receive little or no support from male peers and the institution and that women usually feel isolated (*cf.* 3.3.2.5).

With reference to female superiors and subordinates, the relationships are based on sharing, understanding, confidence and frankness. Some respondents did not prefer a particular sex because experience had taught them that it is not safe to generalise about gender (*cf.* 6.4.2.2).

In the respondents' experience, support from supervisors, particularly female ones, had helped them surmount institutional barriers. Such support creates a nurturing and receptive environment. This was emphasised by one respondent who had worked with a female superior for a period of ten years (*cf.* 6.4.2.2).

Some male subordinates seem to have problems reporting to a woman superior. This might be due to stereotypical beliefs concerning women and leadership, which are traditionally seen as complete opposites (*cf.* 1.3; 6.4.3.3). Another respondent referred particularly to problems she encountered with most male peers in the institution as a result of her involvement in the activities of the gender equity unit (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

7.2.3.3 Institutional support

The literature review of chapter 2 indicated that higher education institutions are hostile environments for women. In addition to women being invisible in these institutions, they are expected to meet higher and more rigorous performance standards than their male counterparts before they can be considered for promotion to senior positions (*cf.* 2.3.4; 6.4.1).

Most respondents attested to very little or no support from their institutions. This included lack of facilities such as childcare, flexitime and lack of safety and security measures for women after hours. Some institutions do not provide paternity leave and still debit maternity leave against women's annual leave (*cf.* 6.4.2.3; 3.3.2.1), an indication that a woman's absence from the academia while giving birth and raising a family is held against her.

Women seem to be concentrated in low-status jobs that are time consuming and therefore leave very little time available for them to do research. This puts them in a more disadvantageous position when it comes to promotions (*cf.* 2.2; 2.3). The committee

structures that make decisions on promotions at the institutions are still dominated by men, most of whom still hold views that disadvantage women. However, the presence of women in these structures, though small in number, coupled with some equity legislation, has led to the promotion of certain women at higher education institutions.

Despite the challenges women face in institutions and departments, some of them attested to the support they were receiving from their universities. Such support was described in multiple ways and was a combination of interrelated factors, such as the presence of the institutional equity office which deals with gender issues, and the provision of maternity leave, flexitime and childcare facilities in some institutions and/or departments (*cf.* 6.4.1.3).

7.2.4 BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Women in leadership positions confront barriers or obstacles that men do not seem to realise. Some myths suggest that women are too emotional and too weak physically, rendering them unable to discipline male subordinates. It is also suggested that men resent working with women (*cf.* 3.3.1.2; 6.4.3.3). Society's attitude towards male and female roles is another obstacle that identifies women as not sufficiently task oriented and too dependent on others' feedback. Women receive no encouragement to seek leadership positions as compared to men. The cumulative disadvantage results in women leaving higher education in larger numbers than men. The lack of formal and informal networks, and not being members of the 'old boys' clubs', also results in a lack of the recognition that often leads to advancement.

7.2.4.1 Socialisation practices

Gender socialisation begins during infancy for both girls and boys. The power relations between women and men are enforced and reinforced throughout their lives. The literature review in chapter 3 revealed that the socialisation practices employed by parents, the peer group, the media and the school play an important role in indoctrinating boys with fanatical beliefs of male supremacy and chauvinism (*cf.* 3.3.1.1; 6.4.3.1).

Parents, as the primary influence on gender role development in early life, attach specific labels to the female infant in that she is seen as weaker and more delicate, while boys are viewed and treated as stronger and more aggressive. Parents encourage children to participate in sex-typed activities, such as playing with dolls for girls and playing with toy trucks for boys (*cf.* 6.4.3.1). In addition to that, parents send subtle messages to children regarding what they think of as being acceptable for each gender. In the domestic sphere, parents sometimes expect children of different genders to perform different types of tasks: boys are assigned chores like maintenance work and girls are assigned chores like cooking and doing the laundry. This segregation of tasks by gender leads children to think that some tasks are more appropriate for boys and others more appropriate for girls (*cf.* 6.4.3.1; 3.3.1.1). This further reinforces the idea of the division of labour according to sex and the accompanying male superiority and female submission.

Peers contribute much to social learning, especially to gender norms. Peer interactions are often segregated by gender from an early age. Peer group members often punish those who do not fit the traditional gender roles by making critical remarks and by abandoning play with the child who deviates from his or her gender role (*cf.* 3.3.1.1).

Even schools at times tend to encourage the already existing gender stereotypes and norms. Girls and boys are expected to take different subjects, for example girls have to take Home Economics, while boys are expected to take Woodwork and Science subjects (*cf.* 4.4.1.1[a]). Teachers expect girls to be conformists while boys enjoy their individualism and independence.

The media is also an important socialisation tool because children spend most of their time watching television. The gender roles portrayed on television are often stereotyped, outdated and biased. Many broadcasters prefer traditional gender roles, where men are portrayed as decisive and are encouraged to show leadership qualities, whereas women are shown to be differential, submissive and dependent on men (*cf.* 4.5.2).

The language used in the Western culture also negates women and their experiences by denying and dismissing their importance and sometimes their existence. Male generic

language purports to include both women and men, yet specifically refers only to men (*cf.* 3.3.1.3).

Because submissiveness is perceived to be feminine, female managers are subjected to socio-cultural taboos, which leave them feeling isolated and undervalued. They are constantly faced with inner conflict and the struggle of being expected to be submissive on one hand as per societal expectation and having to be assertive on the other in their work situation (*cf.* 6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5). These incidents result in extreme stress and tension in female managers.

7.2.4.2 Work-family conflicts

Academic women's lower classification level in university employment seems to be mainly due to having fewer years overall in university employment and being less likely to have a PhD degree than their male counterparts. Few women, therefore, possess the necessary qualifications and experience to be appointed to management positions. In the academy, women are expected to divide their time between research, postgraduate study and management training, all of which are required for appointment and promotion to higher levels (*cf.* 4.5.2; 6.4.3.2).

Family responsibilities featured in the study as one of the main obstacles faced by women managers in higher education. Women academics are more likely to have career interruptions than male academics, a pattern directly related to childbearing and women's greater responsibility for childrearing and other domestic chores (*cf.* 3.3.1.2). Women do not enjoy the institution's support in as far as their reproductive role is concerned (*cf.* 6.4.2.3; 6.4.3.4). Women's absence from the academe while giving birth is sometimes interpreted as merely 'broken service to the institution' (*cf.* 6.4.3.2). As a result of these obligations, women lack the time to study and do research, which is what determines one's acceleration up the career ladder.

Although work-family conflicts are said to affect both men and women, the majority of men do not carry much of the responsibility for raising families (*cf.* 6.4.1). Almost every culture around the globe has projected the ideal woman who endures and sacrifices for her children, her family and/or her people. It is, for example, mainly women who have to

arrange their working lives around the availability of childcare facilities (*cf.* 3.3.2.1). Whether or not women work, and whether or not they occupy senior positions, they remain responsible for most of the housework. When problems arise, for example when a child falls ill, it is the mother who feels guilty, stresses more, and even takes time off from work. This might adversely affect her work performance and can negatively impact on her promotion opportunity.

The stereotypical belief that men are economic providers is merely a myth (*cf.* 6.4.2.3), as the majority of women professionals have at least two full-time jobs: they are expected to perform their traditional roles of mothers and wives and they are also employed in the labour market (*cf.* 3.3.2.1). Those women who are successful managers in higher education face cultural barriers in the form of their own internalised view of their roles and the expectations others have of them. Professional women everywhere seem to suffer great tension in their attempt to reconcile their professional and traditional roles. Moreover, women's careers are often dependent on the grace and favour of their spouses (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

7.2.4.3 Work overload

Many women employed in higher education institutions are working extremely long hours to balance the various demands of teaching, management and other responsibilities such as cooking, running a family and caring for children and elderly parents, transporting children, and often even taking work out of other people's hands (*cf.* 6.4.1). Some of the women interviewed spoke of stress and pressure caused by trying to complete the various tasks to the best of their ability, which invariably creates an 'overspill' into home life. Women managers spoke of taking work home almost on a daily basis and working over weekends and vacations (*cf.* 6.4.3.5).

Most women also suffer from intense role-conflict, as they do not have sufficient time for themselves, their children, their family and friends. Most respondents also did a lot of travelling, which took them away from their children (*cf.* 6.4.2). This resulted in exhaustion, leaving them with virtually no free time (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

From the above discussion it is clear that females in higher education bear the brunt of work, as domestic and childrearing duties are associated with females and are thus unevenly distributed between males and females. Women therefore suffer from ill-health, as they rarely, if ever, have leisure time, which reduces the quality of their lives and exacerbates stress (*cf.* 6.4.3.5).

7.2.3.4 Leadership styles

The literature review referred to the numerous studies on whether female and male leaders differ in respect of leadership styles (*cf.* 3.3.2.5). The majority of the respondents felt that a woman leader is easier to deal with, as she is more considerate when making decisions and is more democratic, more sensitive to the understanding of issues, more compassionate, harder working and more committed than a man (*cf.* 6.4.3.6) thereby assuming that women are more people oriented.

Women have their own distinct leadership style, and women are different from men, but equally as competent as them (*cf.* 3.3.2.5; 6.4.3.6). However, some respondents believed that a woman is able to be as task oriented as a man and is able to initiate work, organise it, and set deadlines and standards (*cf.* 6.2.2; 6.2.3). Men, on the other hand, are autocratic, competitive and authoritarian, use a non-participative style of leadership function better as individuals, and do not take other people's feelings and opinions into consideration when making decisions. Other respondents also cautioned against generalisation, as they felt that the differences, if any, depend on the characteristics of the individuals and not necessarily their gender.

Although women's leadership style and management behaviour may vary between cultures and societies, their style tends to be based on the perspective that in some measure reflects their social and cultural position and the prevailing gendered division of power (*cf.* 3.2.2.5). The ways in which different societies constrain women or enable them to fulfil their human potential, as well as the distinct roles that society expects them to play in relation to men, also play a role. The differences between the leadership styles of men and women seem to be as a result of the above, rather than any supposedly 'innate' female or male qualities (*cf.* 6.4.3.6). Since mothers, as caregivers, protectors and mediators (*cf.* 3.3.2.5; 6.4.3.6), are directly responsible for the immediate survival

and welfare of their families, their leadership styles tend to be characterised by caring and consideration for others.

Society does not associate women with leadership and as a result there are very few women leaders to support one another. But even where women constitute the majority of workers, men are more likely to be favoured for positions of authority, because men and women will accept male leaders as representing the general interests and will see women as representing only women's interests. Hence, men are almost always over-represented in positions of authority, while women rarely reach the top (*cf.* 3.2.2.5).

Women have to perform three times better for them to prove their effectiveness as leaders. They have to prove their credibility and gain public trust time and again. Furthermore, a woman is expected to smile and be sympathetic and agreeable. Men, on the other hand, are expected to display masculinity, coolness under fire, and rationality.

Although society does not associate women with leadership, the results of the individual LPI test indicated that the interviewees possessed the qualities of effective leadership as expected by higher education institutions. These qualities include risk-taking, being innovative, facing challenges, being able to communicate opinions and feelings, enlisting a common vision, motivating others, and rewarding others for their achievements and successes (*cf.* 6.2.1; 6.2.1.2; 6.2.1.4; 6.2.1.5). However, respondents needed to improve their self-esteem when it came to regarding themselves as role models, achieving their goals and mastering business values and beliefs as were rated only moderately for most respondents (*cf.* 6.2.1.3).

Women face a double bind: if a woman in a leadership position acts like a man, she is said to challenge men's position of power and this is often met with resistance. If, on the other hand, she acts like a woman, she is perceived to be ineffective and therefore not belonging in the situation (*cf.* 3.2.2.5).

Very often women leaders in a male-dominated system are only tokens in that system and therefore function under great pressure. Women leaders very often have to strive to keep other women down, because the perception is that there might be room for only one or two women at the top. They might also feel that they are there because they have worked

hard for their positions and have internalised the views of the men at the top; thus these women also over-exercise their power. Women leaders have described envy, distance, coldness and sabotage from female subordinates, and are often referred to as 'ice queens' (*cf.* 3.3.2.5; 6.4.3.4).

The literature review in chapter 3, as well as some of the respondents, alluded to the absence of differences between the leadership styles of men and women. The differences are perceived to be likely due to the persistent gender stereotypes. These stereotypes are detrimental to both men and women because they reinforce a set of beliefs about each group, which, even if statistically valid, inaccurately characterise many individuals within each group. Furthermore, there seems to be little agreement about how women actually lead. Both differences and similarities seem to prevail (*cf.* 3.2.2.5).

Whether men and women exercise leadership differently does not paint the whole picture; women's and men's leadership styles are socially constructed and are influenced by the situational context and how they are perceived. They are not innate.

7.2.4.5 Exclusion from informal networks

For a long time men's networks have successfully ushered them into positions in management while excluding women. The networks are so exclusive that the qualification for inclusion is 'the one-of-us group', which involves being accepted by those already at the apex of the organisation. The latter is backed by the literature review, which showed that managerial women are excluded from the institutional networks that serve to bond men (*cf.* 3.3.2.4). Appointments are often made in bars during odd hours (*cf.* 4.6.2).

Women's exclusion from communication channels is a critical barrier to their advancement into leadership positions in higher education. This exclusion from networks prevents women from gaining the knowledge needed for them to accumulate the experience critical for leadership positions in their institutions, as well as the information necessary to identify and access 'gateways' and 'gatekeepers', and the visibility of their contributions and achievements, which lead to advancement (*cf.* 6.4.4.5). Women are restricted from network membership partly because of their triple roles: production,

reproduction, and community responsibilities. They are faced with having to divide their time between their families, their studies and their work obligations. Many of them do wish to belong to networks, but are barred from doing so because of time constraints (*cf.* 6.4.4.5).

The networks of male and female managers in higher education institutions are different both in terms of composition and their degree of influence. Men's networks consist mainly of men and afford them access to those who have influence over critical human resources decisions, such as promotion and recruitment (*cf.* 3.3.2.4). In contrast, women's networks, in addition to them being few in number, are community based and are not functional in advancing their professional careers.

There are not many women who have ascended to professional heights. Due to their low numbers, these women often experience isolation due to the lack of a critical mass, which also means that they lack mentors and role models (*cf.* 3.3.2.5). Some respondents have reported that being the only woman within the male-dominated environment means rarely being able to have one's values and norms validated through interaction with other female colleagues. Some of these women have reported outright hostility from their male peers (*cf.* 6.4.3.4), and more commonly, less support from the institution compared to their male colleagues (*cf.* 6.4.2.3). It appears that as a woman moves up the career ladder, her peer support falls away and she becomes isolated from other women. On the other hand, women in some cultures find it difficult to socialise with males in a semiformal work-related context. No woman of any culture feels at home with male communication patterns and male humour (*cf.* 6.4.2.2).

7.2.4.6 Institutional culture/climate

It cannot be expected that numbers of women in senior management in higher education will increase while so few are employed in academic or administrative positions compared to men. In spite of the difficulties women face in gaining access to education, there are women well qualified for academic positions who nevertheless fail to be selected for managerial positions. Discriminatory appointment and promotion practices constitute barriers in institutions without equal opportunity policies.

The two main reasons mentioned by the respondents for inequality in opportunity for women managers in higher education and the experience of a hostile environment by women is continued prejudice and discrimination, as well as lack of information from the promotional gatekeepers (predominantly male). Higher education institutions are still run along patriarchal and conservative lines (*cf.* 6.4.3.4). Institutions do not have special concessions for women. Women have to fight their own individual battles.

Access to information is crucial for women's advancement in higher education institutions, but because women are outside the 'old boys' networks, and the committee structures in the institutions disempower them, again they find themselves excluded from decision-making forums (*cf.* 6.4.4.5).

In addition to there being few women in decision-making structures, the women interviewed spoke about discrimination in meetings, being forced to occupy backseats, and also not being taken seriously (*cf.* 6.4.3.4). The participants also indicated that they were subjected to the male model as a norm and when they acted in an assertive manner, they were regarded as unfeminine or 'manly' (*cf.* 3.3.2.2; 6.4.3.4).

Because of their low numbers, women often find it difficult to push a gender point (*cf.* 6.4.3.4). This contributes to the work pressure already being experienced by women. Some male colleagues even question women's job qualifications. Men regard women's jobs as less important and less demanding. One will often hear that a woman need not be considered for promotion because her husband is occupying a high post and can look after her (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

Institutions consider it unfeminine for women to be independent, ambitious, directive, competitive and tough. These characteristics are associated with leadership, and since leadership traditionally belongs to men, a woman who engages in such behaviour is often viewed negatively. Participants who have attempted to act assertively have been told by their male colleagues that they are 'not in their right place' (*cf.* 3.1; 6.4.3.4).

Most workplace settings are designed by men for men, and others (mainly women) have to fit in. Women are thus more disadvantaged in these environments, and therefore perceive themselves and are perceived by others as not fitting in (*cf.* 3.2.1.2; 6.4.3.4).

Management structures in higher education institutions are male dominated. When there is a vacancy, men say that it must be filled by the best candidate, but best for them naturally means same as them, i.e. another man.

The invisible barriers that limit women's progress toward employment equity in higher education are created by a process of exclusionary practices that successively bar women from higher positions. The workplace barriers restrict the opportunities of the vast majority of employed women who will never advance high enough to encounter the 'glass ceiling' (*cf.* 3.3.2.6). Discrimination in educational opportunities, and in economic systems external to work organisations, present formidable barriers to women. Most women do not even get an opportunity to acquire a degree. Those who do, usually earn only one undergraduate degree, while a few only manage to struggle with their postgraduate degree at 40-50 years of age (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

Higher education institutions mirror society's ideas about which groups of workers are appropriate for which kinds of jobs. Although hiring and promotion decisions in institutions are supposed to be based on rational and universalistic criteria, they often express informal and socially acceptable expectations about the gender and race of people best suited for particular positions (*cf.* 4.6.3; 3.2.7). Those people who occupy the top positions have a stake in maintaining traditional rules and procedures related to hiring, promotion, seniority and other personal practices that work to their advantage and exclude others.

Universities were never created for women, especially black women. The experiences and barriers of black women are unique as a result of a specific gendered cultural context. Success in universities is assessed by Western standards, which are foreign to most South Africans, especially black women.

(a) Racism

Racism seems to prevail in higher education institutions and it impacts on the execution of management tasks by the minority group (*cf.* 6.4.3.6). This has an impact on respondents' work performance, as they lack the confidence to carry out their functions effectively. White male managers especially seem to be resistant to change and still have

a tendency to evaluate people's contribution according to their race and gender. This is evident in statements like '*in my day...*' which they are reported to often utter (*cf.* 6.4.3.6).

Although black women have been recruited by most higher education institutions as required by legislations such as the Employment Equity Act and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (*cf.* 4.3.2), their stay in most institutions has been short-lived because of the fact that they are treated as strangers and non-citizens in the academy. Most women therefore usually resort to starting their own businesses.

The predominant use of Afrikaans during some departmental staff meetings limits the effective participation of those blacks whose command of this language is limited (*cf.* 6.4.3.8). It also means that they are excluded from benefiting from the discussions that could impact on the overall functioning of the institution.

Black women are the ones who suffer the most because they face the double oppression of gender and race, hence they are found on the lowest rung of the career ladder. Structures that are put in position to address inequalities are often headed by men who tend to look at inequality only in terms of race and do very little in terms of attempting to address women's issues (*cf.* 3.3.2.7; 6.4.3.7).

(b) Sexism

Institutions of higher education are not immune to problems that affect the rest of the world: racism, sexism and classism. Certain groups in institutions (mainly white men) create and maintain rules that work in their favour. These rules are often limits that are placed on women's advancement due to lack of experience. But this constraint is circular in that women often appear under-qualified due to the difficult job qualifications, because they often do not receive the same opportunities as their male counterparts.

- Stereotyping

The literature review in chapter 3 revealed that stereotypical behaviour of males is based on their patriarchal ideologies (*cf.* 3.3.1.4). These socially created stereotypical beliefs of female inferiority are traditionally passed from one generation to another through socialisation, without being questioned. They are impractical and modelled on primitive patriarchal social orders, whereby males' supremacy and dominance is regarded as appropriate and acceptable (*cf.* 3.3.1.1; 6.4.3.4). Because of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' resulting from the stereotypical beliefs of what women can and cannot do, they end up under-estimating themselves (*cf.* 6.4.3.3).

Female managers often have to deal with male authorities that stereotypically view them as subordinates and thus do not give them any credit (*cf.* 3.3.1.2; 6.4.3.3; 6.4.3.4). Female stereotypes portray women as being unassertive, inferior and submissive. As a result, assertiveness in women leaders is often interpreted as aggressiveness and met with resistance from both male and female colleagues. Because a higher socio-cultural value is placed on male managers, females then receive very little recognition. Female managers in higher education therefore feel isolated and under-valued because they always have to fight for their rights (*cf.* 6.4.1.1).

Stereotyped notions about women constitute major barriers to women's advancement to management positions in higher education because the stereotypes have been institutionalised, coded, and fixed in the collective conscience of both men and women. Sex-role stereotyping has made men resist the appointment of women to management positions (*cf.* 3.3.1.2; 3.3.1.1; 6.4.3.4) and women themselves have been indoctrinated with the belief that they are inefficient, not assertive enough, and can never successfully compete with men.

- Sexual harassment

Many of the respondents explicitly indicated that although they had never personally been harassed sexually, sexual and emotional harassment was still rife on their campuses (*cf.* 6.4.3.7). The interviewees experienced emotional harassment by being ignored, undermined and labelled while being expected to be passive and not ask questions.

Female managers are also often stereotyped as sex objects. The latter statement is backed by the literature in chapter three (*cf.* 3.2.2.6).

Some women are so intimidated by cultural traditions that they do not speak out and tend to hide the harassment from those close to them. Harassment is always experienced as traumatic and humiliating for women, which subjects them to tremendous strain and pressure. This adversely affects their work performance (*cf.* 3.3.2.6).

Structures that deal with sexual harassment are often run by men. In most cases the officers protect the perpetrators (mainly men), and the victims (mainly women) have a slim chance of winning a case. It also appears that higher education institutions are not committed to ensuring employees' safety and welfare, because in institutions where a sexual harassment policy exists, some employees are unaware of the existence of such a policy (*cf.* 3.2.2.6; 6.4.3.7). Some institutions do not even have such a policy in place, and because most institutions still have a conservative culture, women do not feel comfortable enough to come forward to report their cases. The status quo therefore favours men who continue to abuse their power over women.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that it is not always possible to define sexual harassment. Also, sexual harassment is usually just the word of one person against another; there are usually no witnesses. Sexual harassment is a-historical. Some actions that never used to be classified as sexual harassment are now being defined as such (*cf.* 3.3.2.6). In addition, the interpretation of many actions differs according to different cultures. This confusion might be the reason why some women are never sure what type of action they have to report as sexual harassment, whether anybody will take them seriously, and whether they will be victimised, since the decision to convict or not lies in the hands of men (*cf.* 6.4.3.7).

7.3 POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

What can be done to address the unfortunate odds stacked against women in their efforts to play a major role in the management of higher education? To secure leadership

positions in higher education, women can use some career-enhancing techniques such as availing themselves to mentors, utilising sponsors and role models, and networking – all of which allow them a means to solicit advice and information while providing constructive ways of dealing with frustrations, sharing feelings about their work, and providing encouragement. There is also a need to ensure full and equal access to schooling and improved access to higher education, as well as the legislative backup to support change in cultural attitudes.

7.3.1 Institutional commitment to women's advancement

Institutions need to promote a widening access to higher education to historically marginalised groups, particularly black women, as they are the ones who have been most disadvantaged. Furthermore, they must institute support mechanisms to ensure that these women acquire the necessary qualifications to gain entry into higher education and that they are then retained by these institutions (*cf.* 4.3.2; 6.4.3.8).

Higher education institutions must create an environment that encourages women to move into management and modify practices to increase their rate of selection and promotion in order to achieve a critical mass at all levels of the institution (*cf.* 6.4.4.8). They must also develop practical interventions to address dual career issues and create a work environment to enable all employees to balance work and family life. Institutional commitment could go further to include an investment in developing the skills of women and men to work together in management and decision making and to encourage the growth of support systems such as mentoring and coaching.

Furthermore, women must be encouraged to take up leadership positions. Higher education institutions must groom women with the potential for future management roles. Institutions should be more accommodative to women, especially after childbirth, by providing childcare facilities on campus, allowing women with small children to work flexitime, creating home offices, and even providing a shuttle service to ferry schoolchildren between home and school. Women should not be punished for being child-bearers.

Programmes to sensitise both men and women to gender issues should be implemented. Management must also learn to recognise and appreciate gender differences as positive qualities that can serve as assets for the institution, and should lose their preoccupation with old male-oriented procedures (*cf.* 6.4.4.1; 6.4.4.2).

7.3.2 Non-sexist education

Although access to education itself does not guarantee gender equality, education institutions are powerful ideological institutions that contribute to the shift towards gender equity and equality. Education is one of the most important means of empowering women with the knowledge; skills and self-confidence necessary to allow them to take part in the development process (*cf.* 4.4.1.1). Education enables women to respond to opportunities, to challenge their traditional roles and to change their lives. Education for girls and boys must promote shared responsibilities. From the moment they begin their education, boys must be taught to take care of their own domestic needs and share responsibility in the home. Educating girls and boys in non-stereotyped thinking about male and female roles is critical, and this can only be done through the schools.

Access to higher education cannot be achieved without the provision of basic education for all. Similarly, for gender equality to thrive in higher education, its seeds must be planted and watered at school level, and access and equality in education institutions as a whole must be addressed with the aim of achieving gender equality. A wide range of policies and programmes that are directed at enhancing girls' access to schooling, particularly in developing countries, must be implemented. Women must be drawn into the education system (schools and higher education) – and especially into postgraduate studies – in larger numbers (*cf.* 4.4.1.1).

As is stated in the literature review the school, as the formal agent of socialisation, should diversify social expectations of gender-appropriate behaviour (*cf.* 4.4.1.1 [a]). This can be achieved by changing the content of the curriculum to become more gender sensitive, aiming at eliminating gender stereotypes, and constructing new ways of viewing and establishing social relations. Textbooks, too, should be rewritten to address gender issues in order to provide girls with female role models and to modify teaching practices.

Teachers should be explicit regarding the values and understanding of gender that learners should be taught (*cf.* 4.4.1.2). Teachers must challenge the inequalities and realise that the equal treatment of boys and girls is an essential strategy for eliminating gender stereotyping and enhancing equality.

Schools and higher education institutions should set out to alter cultural practices and values and interrogate socially sanctioned practices that devalue women's contribution and deny them basic human rights. This can be accomplished through increasing women's access to higher education, by encouraging girls and women to take subjects that were traditionally meant for boys and men (*cf.* 6.4.4.8), by attracting more women to postgraduate studies, by addressing women-specific problems such as domestic commitments, residences, career profile and discipline, and by offering scholarships to more women (*cf.* 4.4.1.1.[b]).

7.3.3 Fair appointment and promotion procedures

Higher education institutions need to go beyond the conventional method of recruitment and labour pools to modify selection profiles to reflect skill mixes needed for changing programmes, including the ability to work on diversity and a commitment to gender issues. All staff members should be informed regarding all aspects of promotion and recruitment. Recruitment, appointment and promotion to senior positions should take place through competitive procedures that are communicated to all employees (*cf.* 4.6.3). Women must be represented at all levels, especially in decision-making structures responsible for establishing promotion criteria, research awards, allocation of funds and support facilities within the institution (*cf.* 4.6.3). For the above to materialise, there is a need for political will and a decision, especially from management's side, to change the institutional culture (*cf.* 6.4.4.1).

7.3.4 Institutional gender policies

Some respondents were not aware of the existence of gender policies at their institutions. This implies that if such policies exist, they are not communicated widely enough and therefore do not serve any purpose (*cf.* 6.4.4.2). Where institutions do not have equal opportunities or gender policies, the recommendation would be that the Human

Resources Department be advised to draft such policies, as they are vital to meet the legislative requirements as spelled out by the country's constitution, as well as other legislative machinery. Gender policies should not only exist on paper, but must be communicated as widely as possible and should also be monitored and evaluated (*cf.* 4.3.3). These processes can further be enhanced by the establishment of a fully-functioning gender equity unit or centre which oversees the working conditions of women, provides support and development for woman researchers, managers and potential managers, and empowers ordinary women in the context of a higher education institution. "*The transformation process should no longer be driven by lazy donkeys*", as one respondent claimed (*cf.* 6.4.4.2).

Some respondents reported that they thought institutions were committed to the transformation process just by virtue of the existence of an institutional gender committee or gender equity office. However, they were not able to point out the progress or changes brought about by this structure (*cf.* 6.4.4.2). The mere existence of a gender equity unit is not proof of an institution's commitment; what is important is the effectiveness of that unit in addressing gender issues.

7.3.5 Legislative frameworks

A veritable slew of employment legislation has been passed since 1994. In this way, the government has acknowledged the singular role that women have played and continue to play in the economy, as well as the potential benefits that their empowerment can bring to society as a whole (*cf.* 4.3.1). The national and international frameworks are put into place to create an enabling environment for women (*cf.* 6.4.4.3). However, it seems as if this array of innovative, groundbreaking and empowering legislation, while firmly in place, has not impacted on the lives of women to the extent that women had hoped. Sadly, the respondents reported that women continue to face marginalisation and discrimination in their own homes, in the community and in the workplace (*cf.* 6.4.3.3). The reality is that equality is not and cannot be realised solely through legislation. Although affirmative action is taken into account when appointments are made, this still depends on the availability of suitably qualified women and also on whether the institution is committed to headhunt those women or not.

The challenge is therefore the effective implementation of the high ideals symbolised by our constitution and other pieces of legislation. It is, however, not possible to attribute all the changes to the laws, because opportunities had arisen and changes were happening before these laws were instituted. Some changes can be aligned to the feminist activism during the late 1980s, which forced universities to adopt radical programmes to support the needs of women employees (*cf.* 4.6.1). These included maternity benefits, campus childcare facilities and housing subsidies for women at some institutions.

Some respondents were sceptical about the effectiveness of the legislative frameworks such as the Employment Equity Act and the Labour Relations Act. In promoting the position of women in higher education, these legal imperatives have the noble intention of fast-tracking the transformation of higher education in South Africa (*cf.* 4.3.3). The respondents further felt that if these frameworks had any effect whatsoever, it was merely anecdotal (*cf.* 6.4.4.3).

Institutions are doing just the bare minimum in terms of fulfilling the requirements of the Department of Labour's equity targets. They have not fully developed the infrastructure to implement and monitor the transformation process. Respondents reported that the laws only provide the framework within which to operate, but that the absence of commitment by university leadership devalues the process. Without management's commitment, those tasks that drive the transformation process are likely to lack support and be faced with resistance from those who are supposed to implement these policies.

7.3.6 Leadership and management training

As a result of historical imbalances in this country, which denied women access to education and high-ranking posts, few women possess the necessary qualifications and experience for management positions. The participation of women in the training processes is an important element in the generation of collective action and organisation (*cf.* 4.4.2). These training programmes have positive outcomes with regard to gender relations and increasing consciousness in issues facing women, the establishment of women's networks, motivation, knowledge acquisition and competency, as well as career pathing for women. Both men and women need training in order for them to be able to face the new challenges in the higher education sector.

Women have been excluded from management positions for a long time; they need special training in order to equip them with the skills necessary for developing self-confidence, independence and assertiveness (*cf.* 6.4.4.2). Women also need training in mentoring so that they can act as role models and mentors for girls and younger women (*cf.* 6.4.4.6). Women in management positions also need to be taught how to deal with male subordinates, as they often find this challenging to have to report to a woman manager (*cf.* 3.3.2.5).

Some respondents argued that women need management training that is no different from men's, but others felt that the attitudinal factors which limit women, as well as the special forms of discrimination to which women are subjected, can best be addressed by special programmes for women. Special training programmes are needed to ensure that women are well equipped to handle the technical aspect of the job (*cf.* 6.4.4.2).

Some respondents, however, alluded to the fact that it is not only women who need training; both men and women need training in sensitivity to women's issues, in effective listening skills, and in discriminating between passive, assertive and aggressive behaviour (*cf.* 4.4.2).

7.3.7 Networking and mentoring programmes

Career progression for managers, both male and female, is often dependent on the composition and extent of their membership in informal networks in institutions of higher learning. Information collected from respondents and from the literature review attested to the benefits of networking. Amongst other things, respondents reported that women's networks would offer them an effective public voice, which would ensure that their presence could no longer be overlooked at the individual or collective level (*cf.* 6.4.4.5). Network programmes would increase the likelihood of women progressing to senior positions and would also equip them with the capabilities higher education institutions require for success in the challenging circumstances often faced by women in these positions (*cf.* 4.6.2). Networks provide an immediate source of information, advice, support, insight and understanding about what is happening in the workplace at both the

institutional and national level. These networks can therefore be characterised as learning communities.

In order for women to successfully secure leadership positions in higher education, institutions should establish mentoring programmes, particularly for women. Mentoring experiences will help women develop self-esteem and non-traditional/non-stereotypical attitudes about women and employment. Moreover, mentoring can assist in attracting and retaining women professionals in the academic work environment while helping mentees to deal with organisational issues and develop managerial skills.

In higher education, the lack of mentoring programmes for women might be perceived as an indication of lack of institutional commitment to the support of new appointees as well as previously disadvantaged groups, mainly women and blacks.

Although it is not uncommon for women to have male mentors, the best mentors for women are other women, because it is important for women to interact and share information and experiences (*cf.* 4.6.2; 6.4.4.6). However, some participants felt that mentoring across gender lines would pose no problem even though some men might not share certain important information with women – especially information that women might need in order to advance to more senior positions (*cf.* 6.4.4.5).

7.3.8 Eradicating sexism

The eradication of sexism involves a major challenge for institutions. Formal policies and procedures for changing the workplace environment need to be put in place. It is the employer's responsibility to ensure that the health, welfare and security of employees are priorities (*cf.* 4.6.9).

7.3.8.1 Sexual harassment

Harassment is an abuse of power to keep women 'in their place' by violating their human rights. In order to address the problem of sexual harassment, women must be aware of the equality between the sexes and be capable of recognising emotional and sexual harassment. But most importantly, they must be willing to speak out (*cf.* 4.6.9).

However, sexual harassment should not be seen as a ‘women-only’ problem. Men need to be made aware of which behaviour is inappropriate and offensive, and this must be communicated consistently and in an uncompromising manner (*cf.* 4.6.9).

Prevention is the best tool to eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace. Institutions are encouraged to take any steps necessary to prevent sexual harassment from occurring. They can do so by establishing an effective complaint or grievance process and taking immediate and appropriate action when an employee complains (*cf.* 4.6.9).

Institutions must put mechanisms in place to educate the community about sexual harassment and to effectively deal with cases of harassment. Structures for dealing with harassment should be run by trained personnel who are sensitive and approachable. Formal procedures and policies relating to sexual harassment must be drafted, clarified and communicated as widely as possible to the institution’s community. The above is supported by the literature review (*cf.* 4.6.9) which suggests that institutions need to be committed to creating an atmosphere in which women can, without hesitation, report any acts of sexual harassment.

7.3.8.2 Changing societal views

Women in the higher education sector need to join hands to ensure that their rights, which are so clearly contained in the country’s constitution and in other relevant legislation, are upheld. It is up to the women to take advantage of the empowering laws to ensure that their hopes and dreams of justice and fairness turn into a tangible reality.

Equality is a value that needs to be shared and upheld by entire communities – men and women alike (*cf.* 4.5.2). Institutions, too, need to internalise this value to ensure that their environments affirm all those individuals who interface with them. Society’s responsibility, therefore, is the realisation of a human-rights-based society that brings women’s issues to the fore, and most importantly, allows women easy access to the resources that enhance participation in education, the economy, and capital and credit facilities. Furthermore, society needs to be sensitised to the fact that both men and women play an important role in development.

Society's views on human potential and capabilities must change; women must be given an opportunity to prove themselves. Men and women need to re-evaluate their previously held beliefs about their different roles, especially in the home. The division of labour should be balanced and women must refrain from taking work out of others' hands. Women also need to refrain from doing all the emotional work in relationships (*cf.* 4.5.3).

7.3.9 Career pathing

Most of the women appear to see themselves as evolving within one university as opposed to evolving through many universities. This may be in large part a function of women's responsibilities to their partners and/or children that limit their mobility, and may also limit their chances of acquiring a senior position in management. While men have the liberty to move from one institution to another, women remain at one spot and wait for an opportunity to become available to them. Furthermore, along with the support of supervisors and colleagues the women acknowledged the strong support of their spouses and other family members for their movement to more senior positions. However, one respondent said that she would rather move to a more senior post when her children were grown up.

Some respondents are setting their eyes on doing developmental-related work, reaching out to women in communities and empowering them (*cf.* 6.4.5). Others talked about setting up independent women's centres and a continental school of science.

Some respondents hoped to own their own companies or women's centres. One respondent was about to retire (*cf.* 6.4.5).

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The barriers to women's advancement and the possible strategies for women's empowerment were pointed out in the previous chapters, and the following are recommended to address the above issues at stake:

The management bodies of higher education institutions, both nationally and internationally, should take cognisance of the findings of this study. The continued under-representation of women in senior management positions in these institutions, and the resultant effect on their job performance and their lives, can no longer be tolerated.

- Gender mainstreaming in the higher education sector should be established in order to put change management strategies in place. This will go a long way towards creating an enabling environment and committing all relevant structures to the effective implementation of gender equity measures (*cf.* 4.6.8). This means that management should assess the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and levels.
- Special attention should be given to the education of girls and women, thereby achieving gender equality and promoting the advancement and the development of people's lives. The content of schooling such as the curriculum, textbooks, teaching practices and teachers' training programmes should be changed to focus on the values and understanding of gender that learners should be taught (*cf.* 4.1.1; 7.3.2).
- Women should be recruited into higher education in larger numbers, both to study and to work. In order to ensure that the little progress made is maintained, women should work on succession planning and the mentoring of others so that when a woman in a senior management position leaves the institution, she can be replaced by another woman (*cf.* 4.4.1.1).
- Women's/gender studies should be introduced in universities to encourage further research and teaching on women's and gender issues and to provide empirical means by which the gendered nature of universities can be revealed (*cf.* 4.4.1.2). Women studies can also be incorporated into various other disciplines.
- Women in the higher education sector must organise themselves and develop a group consciousness about their empowerment while using their critical understanding to struggle for greater success and resources, including

commitment to improve the status of women on campus and in society at large. This could be accomplished through the establishment of women's movements at both provincial and national level (*cf.* 4.6.1).

- There should be an equal division of labour in the home. Women must take an active stance in holding men to domestic and childrearing chores, rather than over-exerting themselves in these areas. Gender equity development programmes must also be considered, as these could also benefit males and encourage them to participate in childrearing and domestic responsibilities (*cf.* 4.6.6).
- Women must be trained in developing assertiveness and self-confidence. They must be able to communicate their rights, their true feelings and their needs, preferences and frustrations in an uncompromising manner (*cf.* 4.6.6). These will go a long way towards changing the way women perceive themselves and will give them more power (*cf.* 4.6.7; 7.3.6).
- Higher education institutions need legislation and infrastructure to help women resolve the tension between the personal and the professional roles. Women managers should be recognised and supported as mothers and wives. This could be achieved through reasonable inclusion of maternity and paternity leave, childcare facilities and flexible working hours in the service conditions of employees (*cf.* 4.6.6; 7.3.1).
- The higher education committee structures, which are the stronghold of men, should have their boundaries redefined, challenged and transgressed to allow access to women, who are in the majority in institutions (*cf.* 4.6.3; 4.6.4).
- Management should have clear policies relating to gender and sexual harassment and these should be communicated as widely as possible to the institution's community (*cf.* 6.4.4.2; 7.3.4). Higher education institutions should create an atmosphere in the working environment where women can, without delay, report any acts of sexual harassment and any other grievance related to discrimination resulting from their sex (*cf.* 4.6.9; 7.2.4.6[b]).

- Higher education institution management should be committed to gender equity through, for instance, an analysis of the issues that have given rise to concerns about gender inequality, an exploration of women-specific issues, and the development of an appropriate action plan for a gender management system in the institution (*cf.* 4.6.8). This can also be accomplished through the establishment of a task force or committee to monitor the status of women in the institution.
- Higher education institutions should use affirmative action as a tool to help ensure that all qualified individuals have access to opportunities to compete, based on ability and merit (*cf.* 4.6.4). A non-sexist procedure for selection, interviewing and appointment should be adopted. Competent women must be appointed to fill vacancies. In order to meet this requirement, institutions can ‘grow their own timber’ (*cf.* 4.6.3; 7.3.3).
- Childrearing practices in the home should foster non-sex-typed functioning, while society, through peers, schools and the media, should refrain from using gender-discriminatory language and practices (*cf.* 4.5.2; 7.3.2).
- Women in higher education institutions must establish their own networks which will give them an opportunity to mentor each other while providing an immediate source of information, advice, support, insight and understanding on what is happening in the workplace at institutional, national and international level (*cf.* 4.6.2; 7.3.7).
- Special leadership and management training programmes, as well as special seminars and workshops necessary to equip women with skills for management and leadership positions in higher education, need to be instituted (*cf.* 6.4.4.4).

From the above recommendations, it is clear that strategies need to be put in place to increase the number of women in senior management positions. A prerequisite to meet this challenge is a change in the attitude of society, which very often still regards women as inferior to men. It is vital that every citizen work towards the realisation that women’s rights are human rights, and that South Africa can never be a true democracy until women, too, can claim full enjoyment of all the human rights enshrined in the

constitution. It is imperative that measures be taken to enhance fairness in the workplace by facilitating the upward movement of qualified women. Leaders in higher education need to remain conscious of women's ability to lead and must support their advancement to senior positions. A balanced representation of men and women demonstrates and promotes a variety of effective leadership styles. Moreover, as women are encouraged to climb to higher levels of leadership, they may act as role models to future generations of men and women and be regarded as evidence that opportunities for professional development in higher education do exist and are attainable.

The foregoing recommendations are focused mainly on improving gender equality and getting rid of discrimination based on gender in higher institutions. Since the barriers to women's advancement are embedded in the person, society and institutions, possible solutions should also be approached from these perspectives. At personal level, change can be made through consciousness-raising groups, education and the establishment of alternative behaviour. Therefore, for individual change to materialise, women must first be made aware of their internalised oppression and domination and be willing to work and learn from each other on issues pertaining to gender inequality. Desirable goals at individual level should involve women transcending gender stereotyping in terms of behaviour and attitudes. At a social level, change can be effected through changes in ideology, socialisation practices, relationships and the development of alternative lifestyles. At institutional level, programmes to dismantle barriers to women's advancement should include a change in the institution's culture and climate in order to increase the representation of women at senior management level, as well as equipping them with skills and capacities to function at these levels. Higher education institutions should therefore not only seek to change women so that they might fit better into existing institutional cultural norms and dominant value system, but should also be willing to change the environment to make it more conducive to women's advancement.

7.6 PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

Although rich data or information was obtained through interviews with women in senior management, the richness of the information could be further enhanced by a further investigation which includes men in senior management positions in higher education institution. Such inclusion can possibly provided an additional perspective on the

reasons for women's under-representation in the higher echelons of institutions, their experiences in working with women senior managers, as well as what they perceive as possible solutions for the advancement of women in higher education.

7.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main objectives of this study, as stipulated in chapter 1 (*cf.*1.4), were to give an overview of women's employment practices, the barriers women face in attempting to advance to senior management positions in higher education, as well as providing guidelines to address gender inequality in senior management positions in higher education institutions.

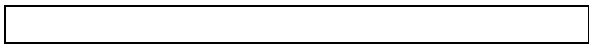
This research clearly indicated that irrespective of the legislative machinery that has been put in place to address women's inequality, women in higher education institutions continue to be underrepresented, undermined, disadvantaged and ignored. There are several barriers that prevent women from playing their roles in management and therefore in development. In order to restore women's central role in development in South Africa and other undeveloped and developing countries, there is an urgent need to overcome these barriers. Possible strategies have been suggested, but they may not work unless the institutions involved are committed to the course of empowering women.

Institutions should not assume that male and female managers differ in terms of personal qualities. They should also make sure that their policies, practices and programmes are aimed at minimising the creation of sex differences in managers' experiences on the job. There is no evidence to prove that either women or men make superior managers, or that women and men use different styles of management or leadership. Instead, there are likely to be excellent, average and poor managers or leaders within each sex. Therefore, institutions should rather make best use of the talent, expertise and potential available to them. To achieve this, they need to be able to identify, develop, encourage and promote the most effective manager, regardless of sex.

Management must learn to recognise and appreciate gender differences as positive qualities that can serve as an asset for the organisation. Most importantly, institutions should implement programmes to eliminate cultural and structural biases. They should

also examine the organisational design, appointment and promotion criteria and performance reward systems while incorporating mentoring programmes for women and making every employee responsible for equity.

Eliminating gender stereotypes and redefining gender in terms of equality does not mean simply liberating women, but liberating men and our society as well...allowing people to be more fully human and creating society that will reflect that humanity. Surely that is a goal worth striving for (Basow, 1992:359).



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APPENDIX A: REQUEST TO DO FIELDWORK

I am doing a research project towards the fulfillment of a Ph D degree. I am registered with the University of Free State.

The title of my study is: GENDR EQUITY; A CRITICAL ISSUE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN IN SENIOR MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION.

I am going to interview women in senior management positions in South African higher education institutions between May and June 2004. I would appreciate it if you can allow me to interview to find out how you managed to arrive at your present position, your experiences in this level and what obstacles, if any, you may have experienced along the way.

I have been referred to you by (one of your colleagues). I will be interviewing some of the staff members in your institution in May/June, at a date still to be determine. Can you please give me an indication of whether you will be interested to help me?

Thanking you in anticipation.
Mokgadi Mkhonza

APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

GENDER EQUITY: A CRITICAL ISSUES FOR WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

I am enrolled for a Ph D degree in Education Management at the University of Free State. I am currently engaged in a research project towards the completion of my degree, working under the supervision of:

Professor R. Niemann and
Professor D. Hay

I will be interviewing women employed in senior management positions in higher education institutions in South Africa to establish how they managed to obtain these positions as well as their experiences of being in senior management positions. You are one of the approximately 15 women who will be interviewed. .

In order to capture all the details emanating from our conversation, but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you, I need to tape record the interview. However, I need your permission to do so. I assure you that your identity will be protected and that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report that will make no reference to individuals. If, you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign the consent form that will be provided to you.

Name of institution: _____

Historical background: Historically English

Historically Afrikaans

Historically disadvantaged

GENERAL INFORMATION FROM WOMEN MANAGERS

Interviewee: _____

Marital status: _____

Race: _____

Age group: (30-35) (35-40) (40-45) (45-50) (50-55)
(55 & above)

Position held: _____

Department/Faculty: _____

Years in current institution: _____

Years in current position: _____

Previous position held: _____

Previous place of employment _____

Educational qualification: _____

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**Researcher: Mokgadi Mkhonza****Student Number: 2003130065****Contact Information:****Telephone: cell 0823224773 (051)507-3702-work****E-mail: mmkhonza@tfs.ac.za****Fax: (051)507-3437****Supervisor: Professor R. Niemann****Contact Information****Telephone: (051)401-3418****E-mail: niemannr@hum.uovs.ac.za****TITLE:****GENDER EQUITY: A CRITICAL ISSUE FOR WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION**

I have been given information about the research project and have agreed to participate in this interview, which is being conducted by the above-named student, a candidate for the PH D degree in Education Management at the University of the Free State. I understand that the information from the interview will be used in whole or in part, by the student for his/her research essay.

This interview is being conducted as part of a research project, the completion of which is required as fulfillment of the degree requirements. Participation in this project is completely voluntary. I understand that I may withdraw from participating in this project at any time.

I have been assured that the information I give will be treat with strict confidentiality. My name and the name of my institution will not be mentioned anywhere in the research project without my permission.

I have read this page and agree to participate in this interview.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name and title (Print please): _____

Name of Institution (Print please): _____

APPENDIX D: LETTER ATTACHED TO LPI TEST

**University of the Free State
P O Box 339
Bloemfontein
9300**

19 March 2004

**Central University of Technology, Free State
Private Bag X20539
Bloemfontein
9300**

RE: Completion of the LPI questionnaire

As per our conversations and subsequent agreements, I am sending you the LPI questionnaire which forms part of the study.

The questionnaire consists of two parts; the first part, marked '*self*', should be filled in by you, the respondent. The other part, which is marked '*other*', should be filled in by your direct supervisor and the other three by your subordinates or colleagues who know you well (preferably in the same departments as you)

I will then collect the completed questionnaire when I come over to conduct interviews in May/June 2004.

Thank you in anticipation

**M Mkhonza
Director: Student Development and Governance**

APPENDIX E: LEADERSHIPS PRACTICES INVENTORY (LPI)

To what extent do you engage in the following actions and behaviours? Circle the number that to each statement.

	1 Rarely	2 Once in a while	3 Sometimes	4 Fairly Often	5 Very Frequently			
1. I seek out challenging opportunities that test my skills and abilities.....				1	2	3	4	5
2. I describe to others the kind of future I would like for us to create together.....				1	2	3	4	5
3. I involve others in planning the actions we will take.....				1	2	3	4	5
4. I am clear about my own philosophy of leadership.....				1	2	3	4	5
5. I take the time to celebrate accomplishments when project milestone are reached.....				1	2	3	4	5
6. I stay up to-date on the most recent developments affecting our organization.....				1	2	3	4	5
7. I appeal to others to share my dream of the future as their own.....				1	2	3	4	5
8. I treat others with dignity and respect.....				1	2	3	4	5
9. I make certain that the projects I manage are broken down into manageable chunks.....				1	2	3	4	5
10. I make sure that people are recognized for their contributions to the success of our projects.....				1	2	3	4	5
11. I challenge the way we do things at work.....				1	2	3	4	5
12. I clearly communicate a positive and hopeful outlook for the future of our organization.....				1	2	3	4	5
13. I give people a lot of discretion to make their own decisions.....				1	2	3	4	5
14. I spend time and energy on making certain that people adhere to the values that have been agreed on.....				1	2	3	4	5
15. I praise people for a job well done.....				1	2	3	4	5

	1 Rarely	2 Once in a while	3 Sometimes	4 Fairly Often	5 Very Frequently				
16.	I look for innovative ways we can improve what we do in this organization.....				1	2	3	4	5
17.	I show others how their long-term future interests can be realized by enlisting in a common vision.....				1	2	3	4	5
18.	I develop cooperative relationships with the people I work with.....				1	2	3	4	5
19.	I let others know my beliefs on how to best run the organisation I lead.....				1	2	3	4	5
20.	I give the members of the team lots of appreciation and support for their contribution.....				1	2	3	4	5
21.	I ask "what can we learn?" when things do not go as expected.....				1	2	3	4	5
22.	I look ahead and forecast what I expect the future to be like.....				1	2	3	4	5
23.	I create an atmosphere of mutual trust in the project I lead.....				1	2	3	4	5
24.	I am consistent in practicing the values I espouse.....				1	2	3	4	5
25.	I find ways to celebrate accomplishments.....				1	2	3	4	5
26.	I experiment and take risks with new approaches to my work even when there is a chance I might fail.....				1	2	3	4	5
27.	I am contagiously excited and enthusiastic about future possibilities.....				1	2	3	4	5
28.	I get others to feel a sense of ownership for the project they work on.....				1	2	3	4	5
29.	I make sure we set clear goals, make plans, and establish milestones for the projects I lead.....				1	2	3	4	5
30.	I make it a point to tell the rest of the organization about the good work done by my group.....				1	2	3	4	5

CHALLENGING THE PROCESS

Leaders are pioneers-people who search our opportunities and step into the unknown. They are willing to take risks. They innovate and experiment and they treat mistakes as learning opportunities. Leaders also stay prepared physically, mentally and emotionally to meet whatever challenges my confront them. Challenging the Process involves:

- Searching for opportunities
- Experimenting

The items on the LPI that relate to behaviors involved in Challenging the Process are these:

1. I seek out challenging opportunities that test my skills and abilities.
6. I stay up-to-date on the most recent developments affecting our organization.
11. I challenge the way we do things at work.
16. I look for innovative ways we can improve what we do in this organization.
21. I ask “what can we learn?” when things do not go as expected.
26. I experiment and take risks with new approaches to my work even when there is a chance I might fail.

Suggested Actions for Challenging the Process:

- Treat every job as an adventure.
- Provide challenging assignments (beat the system).
- Question the status quo
- Find something that is broken-and fix it.
- Break free of daily routines.
- Institutionalize processes for collecting innovative ideas.
- Set up little experiments.
- Honor risk takers.
- Foster psychological hardiness.

INSPIRING A SHARED VISION

Leaders spend considerable effort gazing across the horizon of time, imagining what kind of future they would like to create. Through enthusiasm and skillful communication, leaders enlist the emotions of others to share the vision. They show others how mutual interests can be met through commitment to a common purpose. Inspiring a Shared Vision requires:

- Envisioning the future
- Enlisting others

The LPI items that relate to behaviors involved in *Inspiring a Shared Vision* are as follows:

2. I describe to others the kind of future I would like us to create together.
7. I appeal to others to share my dream of the future as their own.

12. I clearly communicate a positive and hopeful outlook for the future of our organization.
17. I show others how their long-term future interests can be realized by enlisting in a common vision.
22. I look ahead and forecast what I expect the future to be like.
27. I am contagiously excited and enthusiastic about future possibilities.

Suggested Actions for Inspiring a Shared Vision:

- Learn from the past
- Act on your intuition
- Test assumptions
- Know your followers
- Appeal to a common purpose
- Communicate expressively
- Believe in what you are saying
- Develop a stump speech.

ENABLING OTHERS TO ACT

Leaders gain the support and assistance of all those who must make the project work or who must live with the results. They stress cooperative goals and build relationships of mutual trust. Leaders make others feel important, strong and influential. Enabling Others to Act consists of:

- Strengthening others
- Fostering collaboration

The following LPI items relate to behaviors involved in *Enabling Others to Act*:

3. I involve others in planning the actions we will take.
8. I treat others with dignity and respect
13. I give people a lot of discretion to make their own decisions
18. I develop cooperative relationships with the people I work with.
23. I create an atmosphere of mutual trust in the projects I lead.
28. I get others to feel a sense of ownership for the projects they work on.

Suggested Actions for Enabling Others to Act:

- Always say 'we'
- Create interactions between and among people.
- Delegate
- Focus on gains, not losses.
- Involve people in planning and problem solving
- Keep people informed
- Give people important work on critical tasks
- Give people the opportunity to be autonomous and to use their discretion.
- Be accessible.

MODELING THE WAY

Leaders are clear about their business values and beliefs. They keep projects on course by behaving in a way that is consistent with these values by modeling how they expect others to behave. Leaders also make it easier for others to achieve goals by focusing on key priorities and breaking down big projects into achievable steps. They model the way by:

- Setting an example
- Planning small wins

In the LPI, the behaviors involved in modeling the way are represented in the following items:

4. I am clear about my own philosophy of leadership.
9. I make certain that the projects I manage are broken down into manageable chunks.
14. I spend time and energy on making certain that people adhere to the values that have been agreed on.
19. I let others know my beliefs on how to test run the organization I lead.
24. I am consistent in practicing the values I espouse
29. I make sure we set clear goals, make plans, and establish milestones for the projects I lead.

Suggested Actions for Modeling the Way:

- Do what you say you are going to do.
- Walk the halls.
- Publicize your “rules of the road”.
- Talk with others about your values and beliefs.
- Be expressive (even emotional) about your beliefs.
- Spend time on your most important priorities.
- Get started. Build on your success.
- Build commitment by offering choices.
- Make people’s choices public and visible to others.

ENCOURAGING THE HEART

Leaders must give encouragement and recognition if people persist, especially when the climb is steep and arduous. To continue to pursue the vision, people need heart. Leaders Encourage the Heart by:

- Recognising contributions
- Celebrating accomplishments

The following LPI items deal with behaviours related to *Encouraging the Heart*:

5. I take the time to celebrate accomplishments when projects milestones are reached
10. I make sure that people are recognized for the contributions to the success of our projects

15. I praise people for a job well done
20. I give the members of the team lots of appreciation and support for their contributions.
25. I find ways to celebrate accomplishments.
- 30 I make it a point to tell the rest of the organization about the good work done by the group.

Suggested actions for Encouraging the Heart:

- Foster high expectation
- Make creative use of rewards
- Say 'thank you'
- Link performance with rewards.
- Provide feedback about results.
- Be personally involved as a cheerleader
- Create social support networks
- Love what you are doing.

APPENDIX F: RESULTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL LPI TEST:

Repondent A

	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29
				27				27		
	90	27	27	26	26	28		27	27	28
			25	25		28		26	28	
	26	26		25			26		27	
					27	27		26		
80				24					26	
			24				25			
70	25	25						25		
				23		26			25	
Moderate			23							
		24	24		26		24	24	24	
	60			22		25			24	
			23	21			23	23	23	
	50	23		21		24	24	22	23	
				20					22	
			22			23	22		22	
40			20	19	24		21			
	22							21		
		21								
30				18		22		21	20	
			19				20		19	
							21			
Low		21	20		23	21			20	18
				18	16					
	20		19			20		19		
		20	18	17	15	22	19	20	18	17
				16	14			19	18	16
	10	19	17		13	21	18	17	18	15
			16	15					17	14
		18	15		12	20	15	16	16	13
		17	14	14	11		14		15	12
		16	13	13	10			17	14	11
			12	9	19	13	16	13	10	

Respondent C

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29
				27				27		
	90	27	27	26	26	28			27	28
			25			28				28
	26	26		25			26		27	27
					27	27		26		
80				24						26
			24				25			
70	25	25		23		26			25	25
Moderate			23		26					24
		24	24				24	24	24	
	60			22						24
				21		25		23	23	23
			23							
	50	23		21		25	24		22	23
				20					22	22
		22				23	22		22	
40			20	19	24			21		
	22									
		21								
				18		22			21	20
30			19				21	20		19
Low				17		21				
		21	20	18	16	23			20	18
							20	19		
	20		19							
		20	18	17	15	22	19	20	18	19
				14				19	18	17
				16			18	17	18	16
	10	19	17	16	13	21	17	19	17	18
		16	15			16	16	16	17	
	18	15		12	20	15	18	15	17	
	17	14	14	11		14		15	16	
			13	10			17	14	16	
	16	13	12	9	19	13	16	13	15	

Respondent F

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29
				27						
	90	27	27	26	26	28		27	27	28
	26	26	25	25		28		26	27	28
					27	27		26	26	27
80				24			25		26	26
	25	25	24					25		25
70				23		26			25	25
Moderate		24	24	23		26				24
							24	24	24	
	60			22	22					
			23		21		25		23	23
		23				25		23	23	
	50	23		21	20		24		22	22
									22	
		22				23	22			
40			20	19	24			21	21	
	22									
		21		18		22			21	20
30							20		21	19
			19				21			
Low		21	20	17	23	21			20	18
				18	16					
	20		19			20		19		
		20	18	17	15	22	19	20	18	17
					14			19		16
				16			18		17	18
	10	19	17	15	13	21	17		16	17
			16				16	16	17	14
	18	15		12	20	15	18	15	13	
	17	14	14	11		14			16	
			13	10			17	14	16	
	16	13	12	9	19	13	16	13	15	

Respondent H

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29
	90	27	27	26	27	28	28	27	27	28
		26	26	25	25	28	28	26	26	27
Moderate	80			24	27	27		26	26	26
			24				25			
	70	25	25		23		26		25	25
		24	24			26		24	24	24
	60		22		21		25		23	23
Low	50	23	21		20		24		22	22
			22			23		22	21	21
	40	22	21		18		22		20	20
			19			21		20	21	21
	30			19				21	20	19
Low		21	20		17		21			
				18	16	23			19	18
	20		19				20		19	
		20	18	17	15	22	19	18	17	17
				16	14			17	18	16
	10	19	17		13	21		16	17	15
			16	15				15	16	14
		18	15	14	12	20	18	15	17	13
		17	14	14	11			14	16	12
		16	13	13	10	19	17	14	15	11
			12	9		16	13	15	10	

Respondent K

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING		
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	
		28	28	28	28	29	29	28	28	29	
				27				27			
	90	27	27	26	26	28			27	28	29
	26	26	25	25		28			27	28	
							26		27	27	
					27	27			26		
80				24					26		
			24				25			26	
70	25	25						25			
					23				25	25	
			23							25	
Moderate		24	24		26		24	24		24	
	60			22	22		25	24	24		
			23		21			23	23	23	
	50	23		21	20		24	22	22	22	
									22		
			22				23	22			
				20	19	24			21	21	
40	22										
		21		18		22			21	20	
30			19				21	20	21	19	
Low				17	23	21					
		21	20	18	16				20	18	
	20					20		19			
			19								
		20	18	17	15	22	19	20	18	17	
					14			19	18	16	
				16			18		17	18	
	10	19	17		13	21	17			15	
			16	15			16	16	16	17	14
		18	15		12	20	15	18	15	16	13
	17	14	14	11		14			16	12	
			13	10			17	14		11	
	16	13	12	9	19	13	16	13	15	10	

Respondent M

PERCENTILE	CHALLENGING		INSPIRING		ENABLING		MODELING		ENCOURAGING		
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	
High	99	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
		29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
		28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28
	90			27				27			
		27	27	26	26	28			27	28	29
			25			28				28	
	26	26		25			26		26	27	27
					27	27					
80				24					26		26
			24				25				
70	25	25						25			
				23						25	25
Moderate			23								24
		24			26		24	24	24		
	60			22			25				
			23		21			23	23		23
	50	23		21		25	24		22		22
				20							
			22				23	22			
	40			20	19	24			21		21
		22									
	30		21		18		22			21	20
			19				21	20		19	
Low				17	23						
		21	20	18	16					20	18
	20						20		19		
			19								
		20	18	17	15	22	19	20	18	19	17
					14			19	18		16
	10			16			18		17	18	15
		19	17	15	13	21	17		16	17	14
			16				16		16	17	13
		18	15		12	20	15	18	15		12
	17	14	14	11		14			16	11	
			13	10			17	14			
	16	13	12	9	19	13	16	13	15	10	

APPENDIX G

Table 6.1: A synthesis off data from the literature study and empirical investigation: a summary

THEME	DATA
Factors that contributed to advancement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents are qualified and experienced for their posts (6.4.1) • Some respondents faced obstacles in traditional male spheres (6.4.1) • Ambition, determination, and commitment were responsible for the respondents' success (6.4.1) • One respondent had to confront management about her promotion (6.4.1) • Most females served on lower levels for longer periods than men (6.4.1) • One respondent made a mid-career change (6.4.1) • One respondent is pursuing a management degree in order to be efficient in her present management post (6.4.1) • Some respondents had to work part-time to finance their studies (6.4.1) • Some respondents felt that they were unfamiliar with men's political games (6.4.1) • Some respondents succeeded because of their continuous quest to learn (6.4.1) • Most respondents attributed their success to hard work (6.4.1) • One respondent attributed her success to the changes in the political situation in South Africa in 1994 (6.4.1)
Support systems Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands are perceived as supportive (6.4.2.1) • Husbands often help with domestic chores (6.4.2.1) • Husband sometimes transport kids to and from schools (6.4.2.1) • Some husbands only saw their role as that of financial provider (6.4.2.1) • Some husbands sacrificed own careers for their wives' (6.4.2.1) • Some husbands only choose certain chores (6.4.2.1) • Some family members can only offer emotional support (6.4.2.1)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most respondents' mothers looked after their children whilst they were pursuing their careers (6.4.2.1;3.3.2.1) • Helpers offer valuable assistance with regards to housework (6.4.2.1) • Most women are still responsible for their triple roles (6.4.2 .1) • Some husbands are not always willing to help with household chores (6.4.2.; 3.3.2.1)
Superiors and subordinates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is sometimes some uneasiness between the sexes (6.4.2 .2) • Men tend to be less sensitive compared to women (6.4.2.2) • Relationships are based on trust and respect • Superiors had an open door policy (6.4.2.2) • Woman bosses tend to be flexible and more understanding (6.4.2.2; 3.3.2.5) • Women tend to stick together and support each other (6.4.2.2;3.3.2.5) • Women bosses seem to understand women's problems better (6.4.2.2) • Participants have professional relationships with their superiors (6.4.2.2) • Some employees have a negative attitude towards change (6.4.2.2) • Some white male feel challenged by the changes taking place in the workplace and in the country (6.4.2.2) • Men seem to value their privacy more than women do(6.4.2.2) • Some men find it difficult to report to women (6.4.2.2) • People's personalities seem to influence working relationships more than gender does (6.4.2.2)
Institutional support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most institutions do not have flexi hours (6.4.2.3) • The environment in most institutions is not conducive to women's advancement (6.4.2.3) • Some institution still debit maternity leave against annual and study leave (6.4.2.3)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most institutions do not have paternity leave (6.4.2.3;3.3.2.1) • Some institutions do not provide child care facilities (6.4.2.3;3.3.2.1) • Management is often not sensitive to women's issues (6.4.2.3) • Institutions could have a shuttle service for parents with school kids (6.4.2.3) • Most institutions do not arrange home-offices for women with small babies (6.4.2.3) • Some institutions do not offer adequate study leave (6.4.2.3) • Women are often given low-status, time-consuming jobs (6.4.2.3;3.3.1.3) • Women do not have sufficient time to do research or study further (6.4.2.3) • Women are often not accommodated as far as their reproductive role is concerned (6.4.2.3) <p>Men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are often given senior positions (6.3.2.3) • are usually more task-orientated than women (6.4.2.3) • often have their own different agenda (6.4.2.3) • are promoted more often than women (6.4.2.3) • receive grants to do research more often than women do (6.4.2.3) • often use tactics to get promotion (6.4.2.3) <p>The gender equity unit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focuses on raising awareness around gender issues and affirming women in promotions (6.4.2.3) • looks at the recruitment and the selection process (6.4.2.3) • looks at all issues pertaining to gender looks at violence on campus (6.4.2.3)
<p>Barriers to women's advancement in higher education Socialisation practices</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submissive mothers serve as role models to their children (6.4.3.1) • Boys and girls are not treated equally at home and even in school (6.4.3.1;3.3.1.1)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls are socialised to be subordinate to boys and to submit to boys' demands (6.4.3.1;3.3.1.1) • Females are subjected to conflicting social expectations (6.4.3.1) • Girls are socialised to prioritise marriage and caring for others over a career (6.4.3.1;3.3.1.1) • When there is poverty, women must have to bare the brunt (6.4.3.1) • Females are socialised to conform to gender appropriate conduct (6.4.3.1;3.3.1.1) • Boys are often given more attention than girls (6.4.3.1) • Girls are expected to fulfill traditional female roles (6.4.3.1) • Cultures are male-dominated (6.4.3.1) • Not all men expect their wives to be passive (6.4.3.1) • English-medium schools also tend encourage assertiveness an open-mindedness in girls (6.4.3.1)
Stereotyping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stereotyping is a-historical (6.4.3.3) • Certain types of jobs are perceived as appropriate for women and others as appropriate for men (6.4.3.3; 3.3.1.1) • Female are usually not expected to be leaders (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1.) • Females' capabilities are often underestimated (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1.) • Women are viewed as inefficient leaders as compared to men (6.4.3.3) • Most institutions/organisations are male dominated because women cannot be entrusted with responsibility (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1.) • The best candidates for the job is often seen as a man (6.4.3.3; 3.2.2; 3.3.1.3) • A woman who performs well in a management position is labeled 'masculine'(6.4.3 .3; 3.3.1.1) • Some women managers still earn less than (white) male managers (6.4.3.3) • Society does not accommodate women's child bearing obligations (6.4.3.3)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most men prefer to marry women with a lower status to theirs (6.4.3.3) • Men with lesser qualifications are often given more senior positions than women with higher qualifications (6.4.3.3) • Some men usually put women down (6.4.3.3) • Some women are able to see right through the facet of power (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1 ; 3.2.2) • It is often more difficult for women to climb the ladder (6.4.3.3) • Some men abuse power (6.4.3.1) • Women are perceived as inferior intellectually and physically (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1; 3.2.2) • Men are often the ones entrusted with responsibility in senior positions (6.4.3.3) • Pregnancy is viewed negatively in the workplace (6.4.3.3; 3.3.1.1) • Society often puts pressure on women to marry (6.4.3.3) • Society perceive men as better leaders (6.4.3.1; 3.3.1.2) • Some women are still abused by their husbands (6.4.3.1) • Women are usually viewed as not good enough for leadership (6.4.3.3; 3.3.1.2) • Men are considered as economic providers (6.4.3.3) • Women tend to lack self-confidence and have a low self-esteem (6.4.3.3; 3.2.1; 6.2.5; 6.2.3) • Women often under-estimate their abilities (6.4.3.3;3.2.1) • Women have a problem regarding themselves as role models (6.4.3.3 ;6.2.5) • Some women and men tend to want to maintain the status quo (women subordination and men's superiority) (6.4.3.3] • Most women are considered to be non-assertive (6.4.3 .3; 3.2.1)
Institutional climate/culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical imbalances played an important role in women's oppression (6.4.3.4)

- Some institutions are still patriarchal and conservative (6.4.3.4)
- Men are often considered to be the best candidates for senior positions (6.4.3.4)
- Institutional climate in most institutions has not changed for the better (6.4.3.4)
- White, elderly males do not seem to accept change (6.4.3.4)
- Men are considered to be the best candidates, especially for senior posts (6.4.3.4)
- Race issues seem to be given more attention than gender issues (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2)
- Women seem to be less considered for promotion than men (6.4.3.4)
- People's mindsets don't seem to have changed (6.4.3.4)
- Men are mostly found in decision making positions (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.2)
- Men, specifically, appear to want to maintain the status quo (6.4.3.4)
- Men usually claim that there are no qualified women (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2)
- The prevailing situation in institutions favours the already privileged; White men (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.3; 3.3.2.3)
- Men are perceived as breadwinners (6.4.3.4)
- Men in leading positions make it difficult for women to climb up the ladder (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2)
- Points made by women in meetings are often re-phrased by men (6.4.3.4)
- Some women usually occupy back seats in meetings (6.4.3.4)
- Some women occupied same post for 18-20 years (6.4.3.4)
- Most women are found in the lower post levels (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.1)
- Assertive women are often labeled 'masculine' or 'bossy' or aggressive (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.2)
- Because of other obligations, women can only pursue their career later in life (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.1)
- Women often under-rate themselves (6.4.3.4; 3.2.1.)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women leaders are (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.3) • Some change has been brought about through pressure from women (6.4.3.4) • Institutions still have a corporate culture which is autocratic and authoritarian (6.4.3.4) • The culture in most institutions is still patriarchal and conservative (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.3) • In meetings, men give women the impression that they (the women) are just tolerated (6.4.3.4; 3.3.2.3) • Female managers still earn less than male managers (6.4.3.4) • Men are usually given preference over women in appointments (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2) • Institutions do not have a set of promotion criteria (6.4.3.4) • Most institutions do nothing in terms of helping women to advance in their careers (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2) • Husbands are said to be breadwinners and therefore it does not seem necessary for married women to be promoted (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.3; 3.3.1.2) • The education system in South Africa is based on that of the Western world (6.4.3.4) • Universities are not accommodating to women (6.4.3.4) • Men keep on shifting the goal posts with regards to promotion (6.4.3.4; 3.3.1.2) • Rules and policies in most educational institutions are foreign to the majority of South Africans (6.4.3.4) • There seems to be few African role models (6.4.3.4) • English is a foreign language in South African and yet it is used as a medium of instruction in the education sector (6.4.3.4)
Work overload	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most women complained about excessive workload (6.4.3.5) • Almost all the women take work home everyday and start working after the family's bedtime (6.4.3.5)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's workload interferes with their' social life and leisure time (6.4.3.5; 3.3.2.1) • Respondents felt that they do not have sufficient time for family (6.4.3.5) • Some respondents have to stay at work after hours, work during vacation and over weekends (6.4.3.5) • Some respondents do a lot of traveling and children often complain (6.4.3.5) • Most respondents experience stress due to work load but are able to deal with it (6.4.3.5; 3.3.1.2) • Some respondents felt that although they are overloaded, the work overload is not related to gender (6.4.3.5) • Some respondents that they cannot find time to study further or time to spend alone (6.3.4.5) • Most respondents have hectic work schedules (6.4.3.5) • Some respondents felt that the job they are doing is interesting (6.4.3.5) • Respondents spend whatever free time they get with their families (6.4.3.5) • Some respondents find time go to the gym and go for walks to relieve stress (6.4.3.5) • Some departments/faculties allowed staff to work flexi-time, especially those with small babies (6.4.3.5) <p>Some respondents felt that working from home motivates children to study (6.4.3.5)</p>
Leadership styles	<p>Women leaders tend to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be viewed as better leaders than men by respondents (6.4.3.6) • use a democratic leadership style (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5) • feel equal to men and be just as task-orientated as men (6.4.3.6) • perform better in a team and take other people's opinions and feelings into consideration (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5) • use a participative leadership style and focus on the total person (6.4.3.6) • be less autocratic (6.4.3.6;3.3.2.5) • have problems with fostering collaboration (6.3.3.6;6.2.5)

- inherit common practices in the organisations (6.4.3.6)
- be go-getters (6.4.3.6)
- find it difficult to exercise control (6.4.3.6)
- understand women's issues better than men (6.4.3.6;3.3.2.5)
- look comprehensively at issues (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5)
- receive little cooperation from both men and women subordinates than male leaders (6.4.3 .6)
- have to do things about three times better to be appreciated and recognised (6.4.3.6)
- have more compassion than men (6.4.3 .6;3.3.2.5)
- more expressive and attuned to people (6.4.3 .6)
- be aggressive in order to be noticed (6.4.3.6)
- care, and can transcend beyond the barriers of professional relationships (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5)
- be sensitive to people's needs and are better listeners (6.3.3.6)
- make better leaders as a result of family ties and responsibilities (6.4.3.6)
- be labeled 'bossy' when they perform as well as leaders (6.4.3.6; 3.2.5)

Male leaders tend to:

- be more rigid and aggressive (6.4.3.6;3.3.2.2)
- use an autocratic leadership style and often do not consider others' opinions and feelings (6.4.3.6;3.3.2.5)
- be more task-orientated (6.4.3.6)
- be less sensitive than woman leaders (6.4.3.6)
- be the dominant species (6.4.3.6;3.3.2.5)
- perform better as individuals (6.4.3 .6)
- be more in control (6.4.3 .6)
- receive more recognition than female leaders (6.3.3.6)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conflict and hostility often arise as a result of some people not being sure of how to relate to a female leader (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5) • it is often difficult for female leaders to change the old way of doing things because of their low numbers (6.4.3.6) • male leaders have more influence because of their high numbers (6.4.3.6) • leadership styles seem to depend on a variety of individual characteristics (6.4.3.6; 3.3.2.5) <p>Respondents were uncertain whether:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is a relationship between leadership and gender (6.4.3.1) • male leaders are more in control than female leaders (6.4.3.1) • women are actually made of a different material (6.4.3.4) • women want to emulate men's way of leading (6.4.3.4) • some men have a more feminine leadership style. (6.4.3.4)
Sexual harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are harassed both sexually and emotionally (6.4.3 .7;3.3.2.2) • Some institutions have a conservative culture and things like sexual harassment are considered taboo (6.4.3.7; 3.3.2.2) • Some victims are afraid to come forward for fear of victimization (6.4.3 .7) • Some people handling sexual harassment cases are not trained and are therefore insensitive (6.4.3.7) • Some people handling cases are not sensitive enough (6.4.3.7) • Men are usually given the task of handling sexual harassment cases (6.4.3.7) • Some men who handle sexual harassment cases, protect the perpetrators (6.4.3.7) • Most men do not take sexual harassment cases seriously (6.4.3.7; 3.3.2.2) • Sexual harassment policies are often not implemented or in some institutions, do not exist, the situation might therefore be open to abuse (6.4.3.7)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some reported cases are ignored (6.4.3.7; 3.3.2.2) • Some respondents and people at grassroots level are not aware of the sexual harassment policy (6.4.3.7) • Women who report cases are sometimes threatened (6.4.3.7) • Victims of sexual harassment usually just need somebody to talk to (6.4.3.7) • It is often difficult for women to win sexual harassment cases (6.4.3.7) • Victim often resort to suffering inside rather than report the cases (6.4.3.7) • The absence of witnesses in sexual harassment cases often make it difficult for the cases to be investigated (6.4.3.7;3.3.2.2) • There seems to be gender and cultural differences on what actually constitute sexual harassment (6.4.3.7) • Some reported cases of sexual harassment are handled satisfactorily (6.4.3.7)
Racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racial discrimination still seems to prevail (6.4.3.8) • Some Blacks even had to leave the institution (6.4.3.8) • Sometimes the language that is not understandable to most Blacks is still used in meetings (6.4.3.8) • Some Blacks may feel that they are not taken seriously (6.4.3.8) • Some white men often look at who (in terms of race and gender) is making a point rather than the point itself (6.4.3.8) • Black men are sometimes not sensitive to black women's plight (6.4.3.8) • Most Black women are found at the lowest rung of the ladder (6.4.3.8) • Black women still experience a double oppression (6.4.3.8) • Black women are under-represented at management level (6.4.3.8) • Most Blacks still play a supportive role in terms of level and area of employment (6.4.3.8) • Blacks are mostly not catered for in social events (6.4.3.8)

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO WOMEN'S UNDER-REPRESENTATION	
Institutional commitment	<p>Women:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • must become role models in academic (6.4.4.1) • should be trained to develop self-confidence and assertiveness (6.4.4.1) • should be given sabbatical to study further (6.4.4.1) • should be trained to be sensitive to gender issues and take initiative in bringing about change (6.4.4.1) • should be recruited into the institution in larger numbers (6.4.4.1; 6.4.2.3) • should not be punished for being child bearers (6.4.4.1) • their potential and capabilities must be taken into consideration in promotions (6.4.4.1) • should be given equal opportunities to men (6.4.4.1) <p>Institutions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • should groom women for senior posts in the institution (6.4.4.1) • institutions can provide child care facilities (6.4.4.1) • should allow women to work flexi-time (6.4.4.1) • should provide home-offices (6.4.4.1) • should change recruitment systems to accommodate women (6.4.4.1) • should change the cooperate culture to accommodate women (6.4.4.1) • should make everybody accountable for equity, even if it means forcing people to do it (6.4.4.1)
Institutional gender policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender policies should be clear and easy to interpret (6.4.4.2) • Diversity or equity office must sincerely address gender issues (6.4.4.2) • Gender policies should be implemented, monitored and evaluated (6.4.4.1) • Transformation process must be sped up (6.4.4.2) • People should be made aware of the existence of gender policies (6.4.4.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions should be geared to remove barriers to women's advancement ([6.4.4.2) • Human resources policies must be easy to understand (6.4.4.2) • Gender policies should be coupled with the change in the institutional culture (6.4.4.2) • Gender policies should focus on giving equal employment opportunities to men and women (6.4.4.2) • Institutions must be held accountable for equity (6.4.4.2)
<p>The effectiveness of the legislative frameworks</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People should be made aware of the existing legislation (6.4.4.3) • Recommendations must be implemented (6.4.4.3.) • Legislation should be easy to understand even for the man in the street (6.4.4.3) • Institutions should willingly comply with legislation (6.4.4.3) • The playing field should be leveled for previously disadvantaged groups (6.4.4.3) • Black women should not be expected to compete with Black men or White women (6.4.4.1) • Sufficient effort should be made-providing numbers does not constitute desire to change (6.4.4.3) • The focus should be on both gender and race (6.4.4.2) • Institutions should change people's mindset and the institutional culture (6.4.4.3) • Legislation should be translated into action (6.4.4.3) • Institutions should not be concerned with just gaining publicity (window dressing) (6.4.4.3) • Affirmative Action should be taken into account in appointments (6.4.4.3) • Change from institutions ' side must be voluntary (6.4.4.3) • Implementation of legislation should be done at all levels (6.4.4.3) • Employment Equity Act and The Higher Education Act should be made functional documents (6.4.4.3)

Leadership and management training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training should not be for women only but for every staff member according to their needs and work experience (6.4.4.4) • People should train in order to keep abreast of what is happening globally (6.4.4.4) • Men believe and are believed to be more intelligent than women and think they do not need training (6.4.4.4) • Training is necessary because demands in higher education are changing and challenges for students are also changing (6.4.4.4) • Some women in senior management felt they need training in management skills because they have never had any exposure to this kind of training (6.4.4.4) • Some respondents question why men never used to be trained for management positioned (6.4.4.4) • Female leaders need training to handle authority and responsibility and to be able to deal with their subordinates, especially male ones (6.4.4.4) • Women need training in assertiveness and self-confidence (6.4.4.4;4.4.1) • Actual training needs rather than assumed training needs must be taken into account (4.6.7) • Women themselves must suggest their own training needs (4.6.7) • Training programmes must focus on three main forms of management training; which are career development, egalitarian gender roles and coping with demands placed upon by new legislation and a changing workforce (4.6.7) • Joint management training for men and women is more preferable than women-only programmes (4.6.7) • Training programmes must aim at empowering women and promoting individual and social change (4.6.7) • Training programmes must impact on skills development and fundamental management competencies (4.6.7)
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The programmes should include knowledge of the law, legislation and human rights (4.6.7) • Training in leadership and management will help give women more self-confidence (4.6.7) • Training programmes will help women gain skills that enable them to undertake leadership positions, understand institutional culture, strengthen networking opportunities and increase promotion opportunities (4.6.7)
Networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women should establish their own informal women networks which will give them an opportunity to share experiences and common problems (6.4.4.5; 4.6.2) • Networks will help women grow and develop [6.4.4.5; 4.6.2) • Networks should preferably be based on gender and not on race (6.4.4.5) • Networking provides an opportunity for senior women's voices to achieve audibility and credibility for women across the sector (4.6.2) • Network programmes increases the likelihood of women progressing to senior positions and to equip them with the capabilities required to succeed in challenging circumstances (4.6.2) • Networks provide an immediate source of information, advice, support, insight and understanding about what is happening in the workplace at organisational, national and international level (4.6.2; 6.4.4.5) • Women must meet as often as men in order to have more opportunities to discuss work issues and other issues of common interest (6.4.4.5; 4.6.2) • Women must share family responsibilities with their spouses so that they can also make time to meet each other (6.4.4.5; 4.5.3) • Women should not network in tight, closed clusters that exclude other women (6.4.4.5)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men have stronger bonds and meet often outside work (6.4.4.5) • This gives them opportunity to discuss work openings and meet Chief Executive Officers and other relevant people (6.4.4.5)
Mentoring programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In stitutions must have formal mentoring programmes that are monitored by the Human Resources Department (6.4.4.6) • The benefits of mentoring include career planning, a high rate of promotion and better performance (6.4.4 .6) • Male mentors should be able to share information with females (6.4.4.6) • Supervisor must find time to mentor their subordinates (6.4.4.6; 4.6.2) • Mentors must be trained in mentoring ([6.4.4.6) • Mentors need to be committed (6.4.4.6; 4.6.2) • Women academics must be role models for other women (6.4.4.7; 4.6.2) • Women networks will give them an opportunity to mentor each other (6.4.4.7) • Some respondents mentor junior staff members voluntarily (6.4.4.7) • Some schools/departments have own mentoring programmes (6.4.4.7) • Mentoring can occur across the gender line, but the problem is that men are not always willing to share all the information with women (6.4.4.7) • Benefits of mentoring relate to individual career planning and effectiveness, improving job performance, lowering employee turnover, enhancing creativity and acculturating women into organisational leadership positions (4.6.2) • Other benefits of mentoring include developing networks and dealing with the organisational climate (4.6.2) • Mentoring programmes which are facilitated benefit both individuals who are mentored, those who are mentoring, and the organisation (4.6.2) • Role modelling is central to the concept of mentoring (4.6.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who are mentored often report higher levels of satisfaction and career mobility and a higher rate of promotion than those not mentored (4.6.2) • The concept of mentoring can be seen as a barrier to woman in education mainly due to the prejudice aimed at denying them access to influential powerbases and information networks (4.6.2) • Few women in senior positions means fewer women to act as role models or mentors for women since men usually choose another man as their protégé (4.6.2) • Women can still secure mentors as often as men and successful cross-sex mentoring does occur (4.6.2) • But same-sex role models are seen as more effective in providing personal support and giving a positive incentive through illustrative success (4.6.2)
<p>Changing socialisation and cultural practices –addressing stereotypes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programmes aimed at empowering women must be initiated (6.4.4.8) • Men and boys should take full responsibility for housework (6.4.4.8) • Society must realise that girls and women have potential and capabilities just like boys and men (6.4.4.8) • People need to be sensitised on gender stereotypes from an early age (6.4.4.8) • Society must refrain from viewing women as emotionally unstable (6.4.4.8) • Society must treat men and women equally and women must be accommodated after childbirth just like men used to be accommodated after military training (6.4.4.8; 4.6.1) • Women must not be perceived as emotional, soft and the ones to mediate when there is conflict (6.4.4.8) • Women and girls must be encouraged to take subjects that were traditionally thought to be male subjects (6.4.4.8) • Child rearing practices should foster non-sex typed functioning (4.5.2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents should refrain from emphasizing the importance of gender in children's lives and refrain from using gender discriminatory language (4.5.2) • Media organisations must closely examine their gender demographic at all levels and review their coverage of accurate gender portrayals and possible distortions (4.5.2) • Sex-typing in schools must be eradicated (4.5.2) • Laws banning any form of discrimination in any educational institution must be instituted (4.5.2) • Change in men and women's attitude towards gender equality will promote women empowerment (4.5.2)
Changing relationships in the family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be a balance in the division of labour between the sexes, especially in the home (4.5.3) • Women must refrain from doing all the emotional work in relationships (4.5.3) • Women must communicate their rights, their true feelings and their need in an uncompromising manner (4.5.3) • Men must stop reinforcing helplessness and dependency in their female partners (4.5.3) • Men and women must re-evaluate previously-held beliefs about their different roles, for example, women can go to work and men can stay home as housekeepers
Career pathing	<p>Some women:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Want to be leaders in the academia (6.4.5) • Want to improve the standard of other women's lives (6.4.5) • Would have retired after five years (6.4.5) • Wants to be associate professor (6.4.5) • Want to own a women's center (6.4.5) • Might apply for the same post after five years (6.4.5) • Derive satisfaction from the current job (6.4.5) • Hope for higher position (6.4.5)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not want higher post till children are grown up (6.4.5) • Hope to head a continental school of science and industrial research (6.4.5)
Challenging the process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents do not seem to fear taking risks (6.2.1.1) • Respondents seek opportunities to test their skills and abilities (6.1.1.1) • Respondents stay up-to-date on most recent developments in the institution (6.2.1.1) • Respondents look for innovative ways for improving what the institution does (6.2.1.1)
Inspiring a shared vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents challenge the institutions on how things are done (6.2.1.2) • Respondents are able to communicate a positive outlook on the institution's future (6.2.1.2) • Respondents are able to motivate others on realising their long-term future interests (6.2.1.2) • Respondents enlist a common vision, look ahead and forecast what they expect the future to look like (6.2.1.2)
Enabling others to act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondent might experience problems with regard to delegation, strengthening and empowering others, building trust and fostering collaboration (6.2.1.3) • Respondents might it difficult to make others feel important and to gain others' support and assistance (6.2.1.3)
Modeling the way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents have problems with self-esteem, regarding themselves as role models, setting an example and being consistent in practicing the values they espouse (6.2.1.4) • Respondents seem to find it difficult to make it easier for others to achieve their goals (6.2.1.4) • Respondents seem to be unclear about their business values and beliefs (6.2.1.4)
Encouraging the heart	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents are able to motivate and encourage others to take ownership of projects and activities (6.2.1.5)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents are able to recognise and reward people for their contributions and achievements and success (6.21.5)
Non-sexist education	
At school level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools should set out to alter cultural practices and values and interrogate socially sanctioned practices that devalue women and deny them basic human rights (4.4.1.1) • The curriculum needs to promote critical thought and not the acceptance of the status quo in a racist and sexist society (4.4.1.1[a]) • Teachers must understand how they are responsible for transmitting aspects of the hidden curriculum that reinforce gender differences (4.4.1.1[b]) • The curriculum must be changed to make it gender sensitive-eliminating gender stereotypes and re-establishing social relations between men and women (4.4.1.1[b]) • An anti-sexist curriculum should focus on the examination of women's subordination through history, women's participation in history-making, the value of work commonly performed by women, the importance of women in processes of decision making, and a focus on women's experiences (4.4.1.1[a]) • Textbooks should be re-written to include crucial issues concerning gender in order to provide school girls with role models (4.4.1.1[a]) • Introducing courses that eliminate gender stereotypes by incorporating subjects such as domestic science, agriculture, household repair or maintenance, car and machine repair, typing and book keeping (4.4.1.1[a]) • Offering boys and girls alternative role models, thus blurring masculine and feminine roles (4.4.1.[b]) • During their training, teachers must be made aware of their position in society and their role in the transmission of gender stereotypes (4.4.1.1[b])

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher education institutions must implement training programmes aimed at making men and women aware of the teachers' roles as reproducers of gender inequality (4.4.1.2[a])
At higher education institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring full and equal access to formal education for women and girls (4.4.1.2[a]) • Education will increase women's access to jobs, their economic independence and improve their position in the family (4.4.1.2[a]) • Education will increase women's access to jobs, their economic independence and improve their position in the family (4.4.1.2[a]) • Creating a pool of women able to seek employment in the higher education sector (4.4.1.[a]) • Allocating scholarships to a diverse range of women, particularly for women in developing countries (4.4.1.2[a]) • Institutions should address the numerous problems faced by women postgraduate students in order to improve their entry, performance and completion rate (4.4.1.2[a])
Moving towards equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing a Gender Management System which will create equitable gender relations for men and women irrespective of class, race, nationality and other attributes (4.6.8) • Mainstreaming gender into all aspects of management and administration in the higher education sector (4.6.8) • Challenging the status of women and encouraging the address of the more subtle forms of discrimination such as sexual harassment and other forms of sexism (4.6.8) • Women must become and remain aware of the politics of bribery and intimidation practised by patriarchy against women (4.6.1) • According to feminism women must be accorded the right to full opportunities for employment and promotion in all spheres of work (4.6.1)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women must be free to participate in national liberation movements, trade unions and other organisations (4.6.1) • Women must fight for full equality and for the improvement in their economic position and against discrimination and the subservient role they play in society, (4.6.1)
Fair appointment and recruitment procedures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-sexist procedures for selection, interviewing and appointment must be adopted (4.6.3) • Promotion exercises should be clearly enunciated and made known to women who do not succeed in promotions (4.6.3) • Recruitment, appointment and promotion to senior management positions should take place through competitive procedures which are known to all (4.6.3) • Institutions should provide special in-service training in management and leadership to ensure that there is a pool of women qualified for senior management positions (4.6.3)(4.4.1.2) (6.4.4[iv]) • Through affirmative action, institutions should open the system to recruit, train and hire people who may not look like corporate executives have traditionally looked, and who may not think like traditional corporate executives have traditionally thought (4.6.4) • Institutions should require that women be represented at all levels, especially key decision making structures responsible for establishing promotions criteria, selecting conference representatives and allocating funds and research awards (4.6.4)
Eradicating sexual harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal procedures for dealing with sexual harassment cases must be devised and be widely communicated in the institution(4.6.9) • Institutions must be committed to ensuring the health, welfare and safety of all employees (4.6.9)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Grievance procedures must be clarified and communicated to the institutional community (4.6.9)• Sexual harassment should not only be a women's concern but men also must be made aware of the unwanted and unsolicited attention (4.6.9)• Institutions should create an atmosphere in which women can, without delay, report any acts of sexual harassment (4.6.9)• Men must be given a clear indication of when certain behaviour is inappropriate or offensive and this must be done consistently, frequently and as a matter of urgency (4.6.9)• Institutions must have a sexual harassment officer, consultant or listener, whom women can approach with regard to the grievance procedures and policy regarding sexual harassment (4.6.9)
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