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**Organisational barriers to women's equal representation
in Secondary School principal posts in the Wynberg
Region of the Western Cape Education Department.**

by

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**A research report submitted in *partial fulfilment* for the requirements for the degree
of Master of Education in Educational Administration,
Planning and Social Policy**

Department of Education

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2001

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this research report from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

Date: 5.9.2001

DEDICATIONS

To my husband, Mark Ashley Hanekom and my children, Darren, Cayla and Kian, with love, for without their support and understanding, this would not have been possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Prof. Crain Soudien, thank you for the support, encouragement and advice.

To Prof. Herman W. Kruijsse, thank you for your advice and assistance.

ABSTRACT

This study looks at the under-representation of female educators in senior management positions and their perceptions of extrinsic barriers in promotion. In order to establish whether the school as an organisation plays a role in constraining women's leadership paths, the following key research question was asked:

Is women's under-representation in principal posts at secondary schools of the Western Cape Education Department in the Wynberg Region influenced by organisational barriers which exist within the school environment?

The research method selected for use in this report was survey research. Thirty four schools in the Wynberg Region were investigated. Male and female principals and only females in post level two and above were selected to take part in the survey. The design of the study was to provide empirical evidence to test the validity of perceptions of barriers to women in secondary schools in the Wynberg Region.

The researcher developed her research instrument based on the studies that had been done in the field of women in management. The measures used in this study involve two types of data. The first consists of numeric information obtained from Section A, B, and C of the questionnaire. The second set of data include a descriptive analysis of responses to a

structured set of barrier statements in Section B and open-ended questions in Section D of the questionnaire.

The evidence presented leads to the conclusion that women are under-represented in positions of leadership at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region of the Western Cape. At the time the research was conducted there were only eight female principals at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region. The analysis of the demographic variables indicate that this under-representation increases with each post level. This gender gap cannot be explained by age, level of education, or years of experience. The results also indicate a preference for the appointment of female teachers for promotion posts in recent years.

When the opinion variables were analysed, there was a significant difference between male and female perceptions of organisational culture. The difference in perceptions could constitute a barrier to women's advancement because the necessary support will not be provided by male principals because they are unaware of the needs of females.

The majority of respondents did not identify with most of the barriers identified in the literature and they disagreed that there were organisational barriers that inhibited women's ability to attain leadership positions. The only statements which the overwhelming majority agreed with were the following:

- Old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real barrier to women.
- The male dominated culture of the secondary school is an obstacle to women's promotion.
- Work and home life should be kept separate.

These results were extremely surprising. Given all the research evidence presented in international studies in favour of the presence of organisational barriers these results were not expected. The immediate challenge is to understand why these women are so compelled to minimize personal discrimination when prevailing evidence indicates the contrary.

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Research at the organisational level, done by Baron, Mittman , Newman (1991); Jacobs (1992) and Pfeffer & Davis-Blake (1987), has shown that management jobs are still dominated by men and that given the option, many organisations prefer to hire or promote men into administrative and management positions. Estler (1975: 364) says that male dominance patterns continue in educational administration as well, "though women are the majority of employees in education, they are the minority of administrators, and their numbers decrease with each step up the hierarchical ladder."

The issue of unfair discrimination within the workplace is being addressed by the South African government and an Employment Equity Bill has been drafted to eliminate disparities in the labour market. The Employment Equity Bill (1998: 20), compels employers to analyse their "employment policies, practices, procedures and working environment, in order to identify employment barriers which adversely affect people from designated groups." The term "designated groups" refers to "black people, women and people with disabilities" (Employment Equity Bill, 1998: 8). According to this Bill (1998: 20), employers are obligated to determine the degree of under-representation of people from the designated groups in various occupational categories and levels in the workforce. Where under-representation of designated groups has been identified, the

employer has to ensure that the issue is addressed according to an “employment equity plan” within a period of five years.

This research report focuses specifically on the influence of gender on women’s career advancement in the educational field. It attempts to establish whether there are “employment barriers” within the school environment which may be responsible for the under-representation of women in management posts. Bell, Denton & Nkomo (as cited in Fagenson, 1993: 107), say that until “we can expand our knowledge toward fully understanding how gender affects the experiences of women managers in organisations we cannot hope to offer prescriptions for removing these ceilings and advancing their careers.”

The literature on school management and opportunities for promotion provided for female teachers suggests that there are organisational barriers which inhibit their prospects for advancement. “The pattern that emerges is that women who strive to achieve are systematically discouraged from reaching their highest potential” (Dale, 1973: 123).

Shakeshaft (1989: 91) says that women’s lack of opportunity can be more fully explained by “a framework that holds organizational structure as paramount in preventing women from moving into school administration.”. Kanter (1977) supports this view and argues that discriminatory organisational structures and processes are largely responsible for the fate of people in organisations and helps explain why women have

difficulty reaching upper management levels. According to research done by Blum, Fields & Goodman (1994), the characteristics of an organisation are responsible for a substantive portion of variation in the percentage of management positions filled by women. Ball suggests that, “the micro-political processes and constraints of the organisation; the use of influence and power are critical in the advancement or blockage of individual careers and the careers of particular groups of teachers” (1990: 167).

Fagenson (1990) also supports the idea that women’s experiences in organisations may be influenced by the organisational context. Pfeffer & Salancik (1978); Shakeshaft (1989) and Hall (1993) identified various organisational factors that limit women’s promotion to top management.

Before proceeding, certain terms need to be clarified in order to lend precision to the report. The term glass ceiling has become a familiar term describing “the invisible but powerful barriers to the advancement of women executives” (Garland, 1991: 29).

Morrison and colleagues describe the glass ceiling as a “transparent barrier that [keeps] women from rising above a certain level in corporations” (1987: 13). They consider it a barrier for women as a group because women’s individual advancement is limited due to the fact that they are women and not because they lack ability to handle jobs at a higher level. The United States Department of Labour defined the glass ceiling as “those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent individuals from advancing upward in their organization” (1991: 1).

This research focuses specifically on the extrinsic barriers to women's advancement within the school as an organisation: "Extrinsic barriers indicate environmental mutables which influence the entry and progress of women into the management hierarchy of the teaching profession" (Van der Westhuizen, 1991: 551).

Since the mere perception of a barrier appears to influence people's conduct within the workplace, the research does not distinguish between real and perceived barriers.

Kanter (1977) points out that "opportunity structures shape behaviour in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies" (as cited in Shakeshaft, 1989: 91). This view is supported by Ridell (1989: 124), who says that "teachers' perceptions of such issues might play a reproductive role in bringing about gender differentiation." Thus "women who believe that the glass ceiling will operate may be less likely to apply for open positions than equally qualified men" (Powell & Butterfield, 1994: 82).

Fagenson (1993) and Hall (1993) use the term "organisational barriers" to discuss obstacles to women's promotion. For the purpose of this report, organisational barriers will be defined as those factors which exist within the school as an organisation that inhibit women from reaching top level management positions. One must however, bear in mind that "any scientifically selected range of barriers is not necessarily applicable to all women on all levels of posts and in any educational system in the world" (Van der Westhuizen, 1991: 540).

For the purposes of this report, gender denotes a social-structural feature and should not be confused with sex. Sex refers to the biology and anatomy between males and females whereas gender refers to a set of qualities and behaviours expected from males and females by society. Thus, gender refers to the relationship between women and men based on socially defined roles that are assigned to one sex or another. Gender roles are biologically determined to a limited extent only, they are for the most part, socially constructed.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The study was initiated in 1998, at a time when South Africa was undergoing a major transformation in the educational sector. Six thousand teachers were retrenched and teachers and learners faced an uncertain future.

The massive exodus of principals from the teaching profession has had serious implications for educational leadership in schools in the Western Cape. No provision was made for the training and development of leaders to fill the posts which had been vacated, nor had any effective mechanism been devised for the election of candidates.

Although the government had embarked on equal opportunity programmes to implement gender inequality, no such programme existed in the educational department. Gender issues were not high on the priority list of many principals and teachers given the turmoil in educational field. Female teachers are grossly under-represented in management positions in the Western Cape, despite the fact that they make up the

majority of employees in the educational sector. Arnot and Chabane (1995) completed a report for the National Teacher Education Audit. It was revealed in Table 7 of the document that despite the fact that women make up 70% of the total teaching corps in the Western Cape, only 35% of the Heads of Department, 12% of the Deputy Principals and 26% of the principals are women. This supports the conclusion made by de Witt that “men manage and women teach” (1991: 530).

It was in the context of these statistics that this study was undertaken in the 34 secondary schools belonging to the Western Cape Education Department in the Wynberg Region. Within this region there are ex-Model C (White) schools; ex-House of Representative (Coloured) schools and one school belonging to the ex-Education and Training Department.¹

By general standards of comparison, the Wynberg region could be classified as a middle class area. However, a closer study of the area reveals many complexities. The economic status of residents may range from abject poverty on the one end of the scale to great affluence on the other end. The difference in economic status is reflected in the conditions at the schools. The ex-Model C (white) schools are considered to be more advantaged than the other schools. They tend to have better teaching facilities and are able to employ additional teachers to keep the pupil to teacher ratio low. The schools situated in the poorer areas have to contend with dismal teaching conditions such as overcrowded classes, fewer resources and buildings in a state of disrepair.

¹ The old system of classification of schools has been maintained in order to differentiate between schools.

OBJECTIVES OF THE REPORT

The aim of the project is to test the hypothesis that women's under-representation in principal posts at secondary schools of the Western Cape Education Department in the Wynberg region is influenced by organisational barriers which exist within the school environment.

In order to establish whether the school as an organisation plays a role in constraining women's leadership paths, several questions were asked. These questions provided the contextual background information required to answer the research question.

1. How many females are principals, deputy principals, heads of department at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region?
2. How many females in HOD and deputy principal posts applied for principal posts advertised in the Western Cape Education List of Vacancies?

The first question provides insight into whether females are under-represented in managerial posts or not. Establishing the number of females in promotion posts is in accordance with the Employment Equity Bill (1998: 20) that states that the employer has to determine the degree of under-representation of people from the designated groups.

The second question gives an indication of the number of females applying for principal posts. The third question sheds light on whether women in the teaching profession could identify with any of the barriers listed in the literature.

The research report is an exploratory study undertaken to answer the following question. Is women's under-representation in principal posts at secondary schools of the Western Cape Education Department in the Wynberg region influenced by organisational barriers which exist within the school environment? As indicated earlier, this report focuses specifically on extrinsic barriers within the school environment. It does not as made clear earlier, distinguish between real and perceived barriers. According to Settle and Alreck (1986), perceptions are what really count as they facilitate the discovery of trends.

Adopting a theoretical perspective from which to develop the research proved to be extremely difficult. The researcher developed her research instrument based on studies that had been done within the field of women in management. The theoretical framework was developed as the research progressed.

The theoretical framework of this report was influenced by feminist theory. It must be noted that the research perspective was developed within the explorative character of the study and that the researcher does not claim to have a detailed understanding of this particular methodology. The research report merely touches the surface of feminist methodology and this is recognised as a serious limitation of this study.

As a result of time and cost restraints the research focuses on a particular area ie. secondary schools in the Wynberg region of the Western Cape. The geographical location is an obvious limitation to the study and could impact on the study. Further research has to be done in primary schools, other areas in the Western Cape and also other regions in South Africa. There appear to be more female principals in primary schools and research could be carried out to establish the reasons for these differences. A female school principal inferred that the domination of males in management positions at secondary schools is a phenomenon peculiar to secondary schools in the Western Cape. Apparently there are more female principals at black schools in other regions of South Africa. This is an interesting observation which should be verified by further research.

CHALLENGES

Designing an instrument that was sensitive to the subtle, covert forms of discrimination which women in management positions in secondary schools face, proved to be a major challenge. Research has documented “the existence of formidable, confusing and demoralising external barriers which inhibit women’s achievement in educational management” (Greyvenstein, 1989: 22). According to deWitt (1991: 545), many contemporary researchers regard these barriers as psychological and self-inflicted internal factors which are mainly activated by external factors and limiting situations which women still have to endure in contemporary society.

According to Ball, discrimination “is structured into daily practices of organizational life. It operates through covert acts of omission and by indifference” (1990: 196).

The school day offers those in authority sufficient opportunity to hand out those countless, meaningless letdowns in small doses so that they are often unrecognisable and difficult to pinpoint. Given enough time, however, these apparently insignificant behaviours and attitudes eventually undermine women, corrode their self-esteem and make them believe that they do not have the necessary qualities to run a school. "...It is representation of countless unremarkable incidents, all of which draw attention to the fact that those teachers are women teachers, not just teachers" (Cunnison, 1989: 153).

According to Vaughan and Lasky (1991: 54), producing evidence of discrimination has generally been difficult not least because employers do not admit easily to discriminatory practices within their workplace, but resent research into personnel policies. Those in authority may also be unaware of actions, which may undermine women and impede their acquisition of leadership skills. The actions themselves may be so innocuous that women themselves may be unaware of the discrimination toward them. For example, women may be unaware of the amount of knowledge and management skills their male colleagues are acquiring on an informal level from those in leadership positions.

According to Ouston (1993: 50), "the pressure to internalise societal bias as well as the lack of understanding of what sex discrimination looks like, means that women don't recognize what has happened to them."

Another factor, which contributes to the continuation of discrimination, may be the attitudes of women themselves: "Many, especially, those who have attained senior posts,

hold strongly to the view that no discrimination exists and that the problem lies in the lack of commitment among their female colleagues” (Ball, 1990: 204). Ridell (1989: 137), who documented that very few women were prepared to speak out or admit any discrimination at their schools, supports this position. She goes on to say that “ the fact that senior women teachers were just as adamant as the senior men that the school was an essentially neutral institution may have serious implications for the policy of working for change through getting women into promoted positions” (Ridell, 1988: 137).

Thus extracting and interpreting information in an attempt to establish the existence of discrimination would prove to be an extremely formidable task in the light of previous research done in this area. Many may deny that gender discrimination takes place or may claim ignorance of its existence. Interpreting how honestly the questions were answered presented a major challenge.

RATIONALE

Gardner (1995: 304) maintains that if it is assumed that leadership will happen naturally or that leadership can be inculcated incidentally, we ensure that there will be an unacceptable low number of individuals who can fill leadership positions. He says “we make it less likely that leaders will emerge from less dominant groups and less privileged institutions in society” (Gardner, 1995: 304).

The lack of female representation in leadership positions, despite the fact that they dominate the teaching profession is a very disturbing fact, which must be addressed as

soon as possible. At present no attempts are being made to equip women to take up leadership positions in the teaching field or to dispel the myths surrounding the promotion of women. It is essential that the Western Cape Education Department embarks upon a programme to develop leadership potential. When the Employment Equity Act is passed, the Education Department will be forced to address the issue of women's under-representation in leadership posts. Attention should be focused particularly on those groups who have not been given the opportunity to develop their leadership potential during the previous regime.

There is a perception among many principals and teachers that gender issues are of no consequence to the day to day running of the school. The adoption of this stance has serious consequences for the future management of schools. The report of the task team on education management and development initiated by the government has suggested that "schools must accept prime responsibility for developing the capacity to manage themselves, and the capacity of those involved in management" (Report of the task team on education management development, 1996: 31). If this were the case, the plight of women will be ignored even further and nothing will be done to address the problems that women face because in a man's world "there is no problem." This view is supported by Gray (1989: 42) who says that the biggest difficulty for male heads, is the acceptance that gender issues are involved at all. Women are presently under-represented in management positions at secondary schools and if positive action is not undertaken women will continue to be relegated to the lower ranks and earn lower salaries.

Follet (1995: 88) says that “the equality of women in the work force is no longer a political luxury. It has become a competitive necessity.”

It is imperative that women become more vocal and make their needs and difficulties known before policies become law. This is the right time for women to unite, to face their problems and do something to alleviate them. This study hopes to sensitise people and make them aware of the problems which women face when aspiring to leadership positions. The research hopes to highlight possible areas in the school, which could hamper women from gaining the necessary management expertise.

Increasing the number of women in leadership positions, will assist in changing the paradigm that “men manage.” It will change the patriarchal nature of the school and encourage aspiring female teachers and students to realise their potential because women are also in power. This view is supported by Ball (1990: 73) who says that “in schools it is commonly argued that the relatively small numbers of women in senior positions means that female pupils lack role models of female achievement”

South African schools can benefit from research done in the private sector as well as in government departments on the issue of “women’s under-representation” in management positions. Schools can learn not only from the experiences and successes of other countries but also from their failures. For example, in Australia and Britain it was found that making equal opportunity a law does not necessarily lead to the expected outcomes. Positive action must be undertaken to address the imbalance. The South African society

has to open itself up to new ideas and become more critical and discerning when new plans are implemented. It needs to realise that gender issues have an important role to play in the transformation of the education system.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is only in the last ten years, according to Boydell and Hammond (as cited in Riches and Morgan, 1989: 38), that gender studies in management have begun to surface. Most of the research on women in management has been done in the corporate sector in America and Great Britain. Australia is also beginning to provide much information. Women in school management is a developing area of study in the USA, according to Shakeshaft (1987: 142). Saran and Trafford (1990: 142) say that interest in this topic is at a nascent stage in Britain, but has been given some impetus by the influence of arguments about developing human potential, irrespective of gender. Compared to the rest of the world, a limited number of studies are being done in South Africa on women in school management. Issues that are being looked at according to Van der Westhuizen (1991:516), give attention to the following:

- Women as an inextricable part of South Africa
- Anomalies regarding the ideal of equal opportunities for women in the work force
- Promotion possibilities for women in recognised professions
- Vocational orientation of girls and other related issues

No recent South African piece of work could be found that investigates the influence of extrinsic organisational barriers on women's ability to be promoted in secondary schools.

The literature indicates that women are under-represented in senior managerial positions in all areas of work. A study, titled "Executive women: Twenty years later," conducted by Sutton and Moore (1985) revealed that top management is one of the employment

sectors in which women have the fewest opportunities. Employment statistics show wide disparities between the number of men and women in leadership positions. Dubno (1985: 235), Blum *et al.* (1994: 242) and Jacobs (1992: 282) all found evidence of discrimination toward women and reported the difficulties which women experience in overcoming the barriers to their advancement. Research on the proportion of females in leadership positions in educational institutions, supports the conclusions reached in the private sector and other public institutions. Riehl and Lee (1996: 880) and Stockland and Johnson (1981: 242) indicated how men and women are distributed quite differently in the categories of teaching and school administration.

The literature on women in management suggests that there are organisational barriers that inhibit their prospects for advancement. The term “glass ceiling” is frequently used to describe the invisible but powerful barriers to the advancement of women. The concept of the glass ceiling was first used by Louise Connolly in 1919 when she wrote an article titled “Is there room at the top for women educators?” (Tyack and Hansot, 1982: 840). She concluded that women have “arrived in numbers only in the lower strata of the upper crust” (Tyack and Hansot, 1982: 840).

This research report focuses specifically on the informal barriers faced by women in organisations. Although the research literature indicates that not only do women as a group face barriers to career progression but that women from ethnic and minority groups face additional barriers in their workplace. Research findings relating to specific groups of women have not been reviewed and this limitation is acknowledged.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

A brief overview of some of the perspectives that have been offered to explain the dearth of women in leadership positions will be discussed in order to shed some light on the origin of these organisational barriers. The literature offers many explanations for the under-representation of women in management positions but both Jacobs (1992: 285) and Ibarra (1992: 422) concur that there are only a few theories which provide a basis for understanding the degree of organisational resistance against women. Some of the perspectives that are discussed relate to socialisation, human capital, prejudice, discrimination and experience.

According to the socialisation perspective, the inherent differences in the ways that men and women behave in the workplace result from early learning experiences. Hennig and Jardim (1986: 635) suggested that women may be ill-prepared, as a result of their socialisation experiences, to cope with the male-dominated norms in organisations.

The human capital perspective (Blau and Ferber, 1987) claims that men and women receive equivalent returns for their resources and investments in the workplace. This theory suggests that it is the differences between men and women with respect to achievement that disadvantages them and makes them less desirable network contacts.

Supporters of the experience-based-bias argument believe that the small number of women in leadership positions is due to the fact that “women have not acquired the

necessary inputs for leadership” (Bilimoria and Piderit, 1994: 1455). It is also believed that women are under-represented because they are “less likely than men to possess characteristics desirable for inclusion at these levels” (Bilimoria and Piderit, 1994: 1455).

According to the sex-based-bias argument, there are mechanisms at work which hold women back, irrespective of their qualifications. For instance, “women do not receive the same support as their male peers... they are subject to greater scrutiny and expectations than are men... attributions of their characteristics, performance, and behaviours are vastly detrimental to their success in organizations...” (Bilimoria & Piderit, 1994: 1456).

The resistance-to-threat hypothesis, supported by Blalock (1967: 286), suggests that resistance to minority groups increases as their numbers increase. Morrison and Von Glinow (1990: 426) proposed the systemic barriers perspective that suggests that sex differences reflect the expectations and biases of the organisational members.

Proponents of the structuralist perspective say that “informal power and opportunity structures in organizations serve to exclude women” (Mainiero, 1986: 633). According to Mainiero, Kanter (1977) saw these structures as informal cycles of power and powerlessness that influence the relative availability of opportunities and resources for organisational members. Those who are part of the cycle of power are able to empower themselves through political alliances and information, whereas those individuals caught in the cycle of powerlessness are relegated to the bottom of organisations. According to Lincoln and Miller (1979), Thompson (1967) and Pfeffer (1981), being part of the power

network is important, because it is through these informal alliances that one learns the ropes, builds coalitions and gains information to move ahead. Kanter (1977) showed that when women were compared to men, they lacked lines of information and support that were crucial to their success.

According to Mainiero (1986: 634), structural theorists suggest that not only have women difficulty in gaining access to more powerful, visible jobs, but also the way in which women have been treated in organizations intensifies and perpetuates their structural segregation. It is often the “subtle barriers that prevent women from gaining access to the determinants of structural power” Mainiero (1986: 634).

The literature of feminism is rich and extensive. The feminist perspective has changed over time. The feminist discourse in the 1960s looked at the similarities and differences between men and women. In the 1970s the feminist debate looked at variations between groups and categories of women. The more recent debate has been influenced by postmodernism. At its simplest level, it argues that we cannot use an all embracing notion of “women” and “gender”. A brief overview of the various feminist perspectives will be provided.

Allison (1995: 64) says that supporters of the liberal feminist perspective argue that males and females are basically the same and apparent differences result from acculturation, particularly in unequal expectations and opportunities. Liberal feminists strive for equality with men; “ examples include attempting to assure more opportunities

for women in school administration and in the education profession and demanding equal pay for women and their male counterparts” (Allison, 1995: 64). Liberal feminists believe that men and women should be equally represented and treated equally in all fields.

Traditional marxist theory provides a critique of the position of women in society. It argues that trying to gain equality under a class system is impossible. Women’s oppression is a symptom of a more fundamental form of oppression ie, capitalist system and social organisation.

Radical feminism theory proposes that it is the social institution of gender, not the economic system, which is a source of women’s oppression ie, patriarchy is responsible for the oppression of women.

Socialist feminist theory has attempted to combine the best part of radical feminism with a class analysis of women’s oppression. This theory argues that both class society and the institution of gender must be eliminated for women to freely determine the conditions of their own lives.

According to Allison (1995: 64), the post modern feminist position is that women are significantly different from men in their intellectual and moral perspective. They emphasise that women should transform their professions by bringing “their own special qualities, their way of knowing and being, to their work” (Allison, 1995: 64). They do not want women to have an equal place in a patriarchal system. Instead they want women to

keep their own way of experiencing and looking at the world. Research in the field of educational leadership tends to be written from a male perspective. Gosette and Rusch (1995: 346) argue that

the text, conversation, writings and professional activities that construct our knowing and understanding of leadership come from an embedded privileged perspective which has largely ignored status, gender and race and insidiously perpetuated a view of leadership that discourages diversity and equity.

According to Blackmore (1994: 99), women have been cast in organisational theory as being deficient in terms of leadership skills and attributes. She says that theories of leadership have relied upon empirical studies of those who are or have been in formal leadership positions, that is men. Thus the “behaviours, traits and characteristics displayed by men in formal positions of authority have become the ‘given’ of leadership” (Blackmore, 1994: 99).

These theories of leadership, which have largely been written by men have had a major impact on the way women are perceived when they apply for leadership positions. According to Shakeshaft (1987: 40), there are literally hundreds of studies that indicate that negative attitudes toward women by those who hire constitute the major barrier to female advancement in school administration.

An important observation that emerged from the literature was that despite the differences in the organisation, types of work, levels of experience in the women involved in the various studies, the same themes appeared throughout the literature. On the basis of the literature review, the key issues concerning barriers to women were grouped into five major sections:

- Stereotyping of women
- Human resource management
- Organisational culture
- Training and development
- Work and home life

STEREOTYPING OF WOMEN

The category “stereotyping of women” is used to look at stereotypes, and the thoughts and practices which emanate from them, and their effects on the career progression of women. Stereotypical views have direct influence on all of the five sections mentioned above. Stereotyping has an influence on the way women are perceived in the workplace. In terms of management, a number of researchers (Eveline, 1998; Marshall, 1995 and Powell, 1988) have shown that a good manager is invariably described in masculine terms so that not only are managers mostly men, but good management is considered to fall in the male domain. In the discussion that follows, a review of generally held stereotypical views has been presented in order to provide a theoretical basis for the approach taken in the study.

Women lack aspirations.

According to Bohan (1993: 10), women's experience, including their oppression, is "a result of qualities within themselves, rather than a reflection of the social system that shapes their lives". Marshall (1995: 12) suggested that women are unable to stand up to the challenge of corporate life because they are not ambitious enough and are too preoccupied with other aspects of their lives. According to Ridell (1989: 135), this view was repeated many times by male teachers and reflects the belief that because women bear children, it is perfectly natural for them to have to take full responsibility for their children's upbringing. Women's position in the workforce must therefore be regarded as being of secondary importance. According to Riches (1990: 144), in staff selection, the male model provides the norm for the characteristics sought in management posts, and women "with their supposed deficiencies of being 'less ambitious,' lacking in confidence, 'over' emotional, 'too' family centred, or 'underachieving' tend to be set aside for men who do not seem to have these apparently undesirable characteristics."

Women lack confidence.

Another stereotype is that women naturally are short of confidence. Ouston (1993: 68) makes the observation that many believe that the problem of non-progress is the fault of women themselves because they do not have confidence in their abilities. Schmuck (as cited in Shakeshaft, 1989: 84) lists lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem as internal barriers, which prevent women from considering management roles in schools. Shakeshaft (1989: 84) says that low self-confidence might be viewed as a product of the system that keeps women separated from experiences that would help build confidence in

the public sphere. She says that lack of self-confidence may in fact be seen as “ a consequence of a sex-structured society that generates a belief in females that they lack ability - a belief reinforced by an organizational system that prevents women from developing confidence in public sphere activities through lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback” (Shakeshaft, 1989: 85).

Women lack interest in promotion.

In relation to the belief that women lack ambition, a number of studies (Kanter, 1977; Wheatley, 1981) reject the notion that females are not in leadership positions by choice. Studies indicate that if women believe that it is possible for them to be hired as school administrators, they are likely to aspire to these positions. “It is only when women believe that becoming a school administrator is impossible that they have no interest in such positions” (Ouston, 1993: 51). Kanter (as cited in Fagenson, 1993: 82) supports this position and says that “what appears to be a problem of lack of motivation may in effect be a response to blocked opportunities”. Kanter (1977: 145) asserts that “ things may become evaluated as less desirable as they become less likely.” Donelson & Gullahorn (1977), Barnett & Baruch (1979), Jovick (1981) and Coffin & Ekstron (1979) support the view that people who have the chance at being hired in administrative positions are more likely to aspire to these positions.

The cinderella syndrome.

According to Greyvenstein (1989: 17), women “wait to be chosen, discovered, invited or persuaded to accept a promotion position.” This is referred to as the Cinderella Syndrome where women feel unworthy for leadership positions unless their competency is discovered by someone else. A number of studies (Hilsum & Start, 1974; Grant, 1987 and ILEA, 1987) have reported that men are more active in seeking promotion than women; they apply for more jobs and are more persistent in their applications.

Powney & Weiner (1991) identified the women career “drifter” who works hard and loyally for her organisation, expecting promotion as a reward. They say that these women do not initiate career change, but respond to those that become available. Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) suggest that women may not be learning the rules of the game for being promoted in their organisation. They suggest that women show a distaste for self-promotion and hold on to the “merit dream”, that promotion is achieved on the basis of merit and hard work.

HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Human resource management constitutes a different category of factors affecting the advancement of women. According to Storey (1989), human resource management is the process of recruiting and selecting people to positions, managing their performance and rewarding them for their contributions and providing appropriate developmental opportunities. Hyman (1994: 50) argues that these processes are contingent on how merit

is interpreted. She concludes that “what counts as important and valued knowledge is socially constructed” (Ibid).

An overview of the theoretical basis for statements in the questionnaire, which possibly fall within the ambit of human resource management has been presented to shed light on their origins.

Women are judged differently from their male colleagues.

This section explores the literature which supports the view that men and women are judged differently. McNeil (1987) and O’ Donnell & Hall (1988) reported that female teachers are judged differently by their colleagues and subordinates in like situations.

They say that even the definition of task and skill, merit and competence is gender biased. Burton (1987: 438) supports this view by saying that

definition of what is meritorious can undergo change depending upon the power of a particular group to define it ...skill is a direct correlate of sex and power of those defining it, an ideological category rather than an economic fact.

Research done by Riches (1990) and Torrington & Weightman (1989), has shown that the whole notion of competence has created fear for women in schools as they feel that male managers would not be objective in appraising what women do. Women’s fears however are not unfounded as research has shown that if women speak in a “different voice” (Gilligan, 1982: 15), have different values to the mainstream or have different ideas of career and commitment to those considered appropriate in senior management, they could be seen as being unacceptable. This view is supported by Marshall, (1993: 25) who says that in male-dominated societies, women have not been accepted as legitimate

decision-makers if their interpretation of reality has differed significantly from established notions of the truth. He says that this in turn has limited women's power to name and interpret their own experiences. According to Ouston (1993: 50), most of the reasons why women do not become school administrators can be explained by understanding that women are not valued as much as men and that this bias results in negative attitudes and practices toward women aspiring to be school administrators. Research done by Broverman *et al.* (1970) has shown that because women are viewed as different and unequal on many dimensions, this puts women at a distinct disadvantage because men have more power and therefore the characteristics associated with men will be valued more than the characteristics associated with women. Research done by Schein (1973: 229) has shown that people believe that women lack requisite management characteristics.

The need for women to prove their competence.

Newton and Fitt (as cited in Ibarra, 1981: 442) reported that male mentors are less likely to assume that women are competent and thus defer establishing relationships with women proteges until they have proven themselves. Spencer (1987: 134) found that men are assumed to possess all the competence until such time that they demonstrate otherwise, but women need to demonstrate their competence before this will be recognised. Similar findings were reported by Singleton (1993: 171) who found that people tend to assume that men possess the necessary qualities to do the job whereas women have to prove over and over again that they can do the job before their abilities are recognised. These fears were expressed by respondents in Edson's (1981: 178) report;

the women were unhappy about the fact that inexperienced men are sometimes selected for promotion positions because of their so-called potential while a women has to first provide proof of management potential before being considered for the promotion post. Bilimoria and Piderit (1994) also report that women are subjected to greater scrutiny and expectations than men. According to Singleton (1993: 172) there is pressure on women to over-perform, as compared to men, in order to achieve the same professional recognition. It was reported by one of the respondents in the Oregon investigation that “women have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as the male aspirants to have the same promotion opportunities” (Edson, as cited in Van der Westhuizen, 1991: 543).

Gender difference in career conception.

This section provides support from literature that there is a difference in the way males and females view what is important for career advancement. Shakeshaft (1989: 88) says that status has been defined by males and is organised hierarchically so that it mirrors a value system that describes administration as more important than teaching. Leithwood *et al.* (1996: 908) say that there is a notion that “those who are able to move farther from direct work with children are viewed as more professional.” Women who decide to teach, rather than administer are judged from this framework. This view is supported by Smith *et al.* (1977); Grant (1983) and ILEA (1984) who report that women teachers tend to attach greater importance to working with children but this quality is not valued that much by promoters. Grant (1989: 43) reported that some women in her research sample attributed the relatively slow climb up the promotional ladder to their involvement in routine, class-based activities during their early years in teaching. According to Ouston

(1993: 31), getting selected for promotion posts constitutes a primary obstacle for women because women's conceptions of career are not yet fully understood by the majority of selectors who judge them in "typically androcentric ways" (Ouston, 1993: 31).

The influence of male dominance on selection criteria.

The analysis now turns to the influence of male dominance in selection criteria.

Ouston (1993: 13) was of the opinion that a governing body which is predominantly male and middle-aged may lead to the recent advance made by women being halted. She felt that in the absence of explicit criteria, lay selectors may rely more heavily on "unfriendly myths" to guide their choice. These concerns have also been highlighted by Baltzell and Dentler (1983: 7); Ball (1990: 172) and Schmitt and Schechtman (as cited in Leithwood *et al.*, 1996: 297)) who have found that the process by which administrators are selected appears to be far from systematic. It has been reported that specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated and this opens the way for widespread reliance on interpersonal perceptions of the selectors.

According to Van der Westhuizen (1991: 552), men prefer to appoint men because the homogeneity of a top management team is held in high regard by them. Thus men are still given the preference when decisions are made about educational management posts. He says that these prejudiced attitudes come clearly to the fore when people are recruited for top management positions. Although it may be left out of the wording of advertisements and list of appointment criteria, it may be observed in the way the

interviews are conducted and in the eventual decisions on which candidates should be recommended. According to Marshall and Mitchell (as cited in Leithwood *et al.*, 1996: 900), the administrative culture is dominated by norms such as the prohibition against risk-taking, the need to remake policy quietly and avoid moral dilemmas and an unofficial intolerance of divergent values. He says that these norms can create an inhospitable context for outsiders or newcomers such as women. Dipboye (as cited in Blum *et al.*, 1994: 262) is of the opinion that women may be denied promotion into and within management ranks not so much because of biases of individual decision makers, but because the commonly held view in the organisation is that men, not women, should be managers. Hitt and Barr (as cited in Bilmoria & Piderit, 1994: 1457), Tolbert and Oberfields (1991) and Nieva and Gutek (1980) support the notion that many organisations prefer to hire men for management positions. It has also been reported by King (1981: 112-163) and Leithwood *et al.* (1996: 355) that men and women are not inclined to work under a woman and that people do not take orders from a female boss with the same acceptance as a male boss.

Restrictions placed on women in the past.

King (1981: 179) found that promotion opportunities for women in education are affected because of restrictions placed on their appointments in the past. She said that women were not considered, for example, for promotion to circuit inspector, since one of the unwritten requirements was that promotion would take place from the position of school principal and "few women, particularly in Afrikaans-medium schools, are accepted as school principals" (King, 1981: 179). This particular problem has also been

highlighted by Lyons (as cited in Acker, 1989: 44) who describes teaching as having a bureaucratic promotional structure in that each step provides the necessary qualifications for entry to the next and subsequent steps.

Lack of policies and programmes to address gender discrimination.

Fagenson (1993: 310) stated that organisations need to have policies and programmes that address issues such as sex discrimination and family, career conflict faced by women managers. It has also been reported by Al-Khalifa (as cited in Ouston, 1993: 99) that knowledge of gender-linked issues is not normally required preparation for management and is not a priority in selection criteria for principalship. She says that it is “one of the anomalies of the literature on management and its practice, that headteachers can be considered ‘effective’ while ... demonstrating ineptitude in the relationship with women” (Al-Khalifa, 1993: 99).

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

According to Phillips, Little and Goodine (1997), organisational culture consists of the realities, values, symbols and rituals held in common by members of an organisation and which contribute to the creation of norms and expectations of behaviour. James and Saville-Smith (1992) concluded that organisational culture defines the conduct within an organisation and determines what is and what is not valued, and how authority is asserted.

Burton (1998) says that masculine values underpinning organisational culture have a systemic influence, which creates an environment which is more favourable to men. Behaviours such as working long hours, putting in “face time”, competitiveness and willingness to put work above all else (McKenna, 1997; Cornelius, 1998 and Raggins *et al.*, 1998) have been defined by authors as masculine, and which have come to dominate organisations. McKenna (1997) and Cornelius (1998) say that these values and behaviours create a kind of organisational culture, which women tend to find inhospitable.

According to Phillips *et al.* (1997: 577), men and women can experience organisational culture very differently and can have different views as to whether or not gender discrimination is an issue. The theoretical basis for statements in the questionnaire which fall into this particular category have been discussed in order to shed light on their origin.

Sexist attitudes.

This section briefly looks at the research done on the effects of sexist attitudes on women in school administrations. According to Coe (as cited in Ouston, 1993: 5), men are still the prime barrier to women management. He says that old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real, not imagined barrier to the progress of women. Ouston (1993: 50) identifies sex discrimination, based on the overwhelming evidence (Khalifa and Migniulo, 1992; Gerver and Hart, 1990 and Driver, 1990), as the number one barrier to women in school administration, despite changes in the law and social context that might indicate that sex discrimination no longer exists. Research done

by Morrison *et al.*, (1987) and Stroh *et al.*, (1992) concluded that even though women do all the right things and have the right qualifications, they continue to be blocked in their rise to the top.

Male dominance.

According to Boltman & Deal (as cited in Leithwood, 1996: 897), current approaches to organisational analysis place great importance on culture as a defining characteristic and a determinant of organisational performance. Ball elaborates how this becomes meaningful in gender terms, "to all intents and purposes, mixed schools, particularly secondary schools, are male institutions. The definition of the school reflects the values and meanings of men's culture" (Ball, 1990: 192). Cunnison (1985) identified the male-dominated culture of the secondary school as an obstacle to women's promotion. This viewpoint is supported by Ball (1990: 191) who says that women are severely disadvantaged in career terms by the male dominance of schools, although most teachers vehemently deny this. Research done by Kanter (1977), Marini (1989), Riger and Galligan (1980) has shown that a male hierarchy - one composed predominantly of men - is a critical structural feature influencing the processes affecting men's and women's managerial advancement. According to Ouston (1993: 77), male dominated hierarchies do little for women entering the teaching profession. She says that these women constitute a generation of teachers without role models to influence or support them. Research done by Evetts (1991) and Grant (1989) shows the importance of career encouragement and sponsorship, not always available to women in systems dominated by male preferment. South, Markham, Borjean and Corder (1987) have found that

managerial hierarchies, composed largely of men tend to reduce women's encouragement, or the encouragement from peers and supervisors for advancement and women's training (Kanter, 1977; Marini, 1989). Fagenson (1993: 278) says that men control the powerful positions in practically all hierarchies. She says that it is the men who make the rules that select and reward their successors - people like themselves who, they presume share their circumstances, interests and goals.

The influence of the organisational structure.

This section looks at the literature which investigates the influence of the organisational structure on women's career aspirations. Shakeshaft (1989: 91) says that women's lack of aspiration in administration might more accurately be seen as an expected response to lack of opportunity and be more fully explained by a framework that holds organisational structure as paramount in preventing women from moving into school administration. She says that what has been called women's lack of aspiration may be a very logical and effective coping strategy ie, not to want what is out of one's reach. Van der Westhuizen (1991: 549) is of the opinion that individuals who are given few opportunities to rise in the promotion structure of an organisation are inclined to distance themselves down the years from promotion opportunities. They suppress their earlier aspirations and gradually sink into an attitude of reduced dedication to their profession and become less inclined to take any further responsibility. This in turn results in them being excluded from promotion possibilities.

Lack of support and feedback.

Laws (1976: 33) contends that aspiration levels are defined and adjusted according to received feedback. This implies that experiences in schools might also be important in prompting teachers to develop aspirations. Evetts (1987) said that the advice and encouragement of people with the power to control the promotion system, was a significant factor in the career achievement of women in her survey. Yet it has been reported that, "women do not receive the same support and assistance as their male peers" (Bilimoria and Piderit, 1994: 1456). Davidson and Cooper (1986) found that women managers reported less on-the-job support than male managers. Kanter (1977) suggested that men do not identify with women and so fail to mentor and sponsor them. According to Morrison, (as cited in Ohlott *et al.*, 1994: 50), a lack of acceptance and collegueship contribute to the discouragement and isolation many female managers appear to feel, and support is one of the key elements of successful diversity initiatives. Ohlott, Ruderman & McCauley (1994: 63) said that if women are placed in positions in which they face substantial obstacles and receive less support than men, women may be set up to fail. Increasing the probability of failure offers yet another subtle way of discriminating against women. Morrison, White and Von Velsor (1987) showed that women need more encouragement than men to reach executive levels. They say that encouragement from colleagues and those in more senior positions is likely to increase women's awareness of the initial and continued training needed for managerial skills and give the confidence to undertake such training. Besides the lack of support from senior colleagues, research done by Rosen, Templeton and Kichline (1981), Ouston (1993), and Shakeshaft (1989) has found that women have greater difficulty getting feedback from male administrators.

There also appears to be a view that women lack experience in management. According to Van der Westhuizen (1991: 542), the lack of necessary experience in educational management posts and existing discrimination towards women in the educational profession are the two factors reported by most respondents as barriers.

Importance of visibility.

Research done by Weightman (1989) and Doe (1989) has shown that men tend to do the high profile, straightforward jobs that are part of the natural progression up the hierarchy. Research in education by Torrington & Weightman (1989) and Coe (1992) has found that women tend to get cross curricular, pastoral and support activities rather than straight line management jobs which lead to senior posts. This has a negative influence on women's progression up the hierarchy ladder because "(w)ithout jobs that offer opportunities to gain visibility and influence, women are unable to gain access to the source of structural power and remain caught in the cycle of powerlessness" (Mainiero, 1986: 634). Ohlott, Ruderman & McCauley (1994:62) say that denying women access to high-level responsibilities, creates a vicious cycle in the selection and developmental process. Women may be seen as being less qualified than men because they have not had the opportunity to show what they can do when faced with these kinds of challenges. Ouston (1993: 52) says that this visibility gives men an edge over women when it comes to hiring, since men will already have been seen in leadership positions. In addition, she says that women have been taught to be modest and are, therefore, more likely to give others credit for the work they have done.

Social isolation and hostility.

In addition to the lack of support and training which women face, research done by Morrison (1992), suggests that prejudice, resentment and hostility still play a role in female relationships with bosses, subordinates and peers. O'Farrell & Harland (1982: 558) suggested that minority individuals may experience social isolation and hostility. Greyvenstein (1989: 24), describes these feelings of hostility experienced by women as follows: "A feeling of loneliness, isolation and lack of acceptance particularly as a result of subtle reactions of rejection on the part of peers and subordinates in the ranks of both male and female colleagues." Van der Westhuizen (1991: 535), says that women use very effective but subtle techniques to convince other capable women to cling to the stereotype image of obedient, subservient and subordinated femininity...." Shakeshaft (1989:104) on the other hand, found that women in any category are more favourable to women in school administration than are men.

Influence over important decisions.

Ouston (1993: 76) says that women's influence over important management decisions are very limited. According to Van der Westhuizen (1991: 553), the low proportional representation of women in top management teams of schools strengthens the peripheral approach to women and their shift to portfolios where they have little say regarding educational management issues. Cunnison (1989: 156) describes how women deputies who wanted to gain experience of mainstream administration had been deliberately excluded from areas of timetabling and curriculum. It was also reported by Shakeshaft (1989: 112) that women's contributions were often ignored and that women were made to

feel invisible.

TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Access to high profile developmental opportunities is often gained through informal networks and mentors. Research shows that women tend to lack access to these informal networks. According to Townley (1989), women are also less likely to have a mentor to provide them with support needed to ensure success. The theoretical basis for statements in the questionnaire which fall into this category will be discussed.

Networking.

Networking has been listed as an important support system to help people advance their career prospects. Mainiero (1986: 633) says that being part of the power network is important, because it is often through these informal alliances that one learns the ropes (Lincoln & Miller, 1979), builds coalitions to gain support (Thompson, 1967 & Pffer, 1981) and gains information necessary to move ahead (Feldman, 1981).

Greyvenstein (1989: 29) says that informal and formal networks form a major barrier for women aspiring to and in management positions due to their predominantly male constitution. She says that “the old boy network or buddy system allows for the promotion of males, and also causes women in management positions to be isolated from the informal system of visibility, information and support” (Greyvenstein, 1989: 29).

According to Ibarra (1992: 422), voluminous anecdotal and survey research (eg. Kanter,

1977; Harland & Weiss, 1982; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989 and O' Leary & Ickovics, 1992) indicates that women in organisational settings lack access to or are excluded from emergent interaction networks. According to Fagenson (1993: 224), being "left out" from informal social gatherings and social functions also excludes them from important opportunities to cultivate professional connections. Gold (1993: 94) says that there is a need to recognise and understand the 'other decision-making routes' because of the difficulties women might have in gaining access to the unofficial power base if for example, men meet in a pub after school, or if the power base is built around a staff football team. Research on women's proportional representation within work groups (Martin, 1985; Konrad & Gutek, 1987; Zimmer, 1988; Yoder, 1991 and Wharton, 1992) has demonstrated that under-representation of women is associated with increased performance pressures, isolation from informal social and professional networks, and stereotyped role encapsulation of women.

Sponsors and mentors.

Covel (as cited in Shakeshaft, 1984: 116) found that although most women have not had either sponsors or mentors, most who have been successful in acquiring administrative positions have sponsors or mentors. He found that sponsorship or mentoring appears to be an important process in women's administrative career. Greyvenstein (1989: 28) says that the mentor process is an important component in the professional development of women with a view to preparing for top management posts in the teaching profession. Tharenou, Latimer and Conroy (1994: 904), found that women may need others for encouragement more than do men. Grant (1989: 43) says that unlike men, most women

do not have a same sex-peer reference group moving alongside them through each stage of the promotional system to whom they can refer, and for those in the lower rungs there are very few female role models ahead of them. According to Ohlott, Ruderman and McCauley (1994: 147), the lack of appropriate role models presents additional challenges to women in organisations. According to Riches (1990: 147), the lack of female role models and male sponsors is consistent with cross-cultural research evidence on the importance of this factor in managerial advancement. Van der Westhuizen (1991: 554) says that the school principal is usually the ideal mentor for women members on staff. The principal however, is often unaware of the great need in this respect. He says that practice has shown that male members are not very willing to be a support for a woman colleague. It is also interesting to note that "most women who aspire to management posts are not always aware of the value of the mentor process" (Van der Westhuizen, 1991: 554). It has also been reported by Wisker (1996: 77) that the few women who do make it to the top are not viable role models nor do they give other women a helping hand upward. Van der Westhuizen (1991: 554) says that a woman who achieves a top position, feels that she has reached this milestone by her own efforts and is then disinclined to help other women.

Developmental opportunities.

Based on the review of research literature, Ohlott, Ruderman and McCauley (1994: 50) suggest that women are probably denied access to important developmental opportunities. It was reported by Ohlott *et al.* (1994: 63)) that there were subtle, discriminating staffing practices at work, which denied women access to key

responsibilities. Studies by Mai-Dalton and Sullivan (1981), Rosen, Templeton & Kichline (1981), Powell (1980) and Gold and Pringle (1988) indicate that men are less likely to assign challenging tasks to female subordinates than male subordinates. Ohlott, Ruderman and McCauley (1994: 50) suggest that managers are less willing to take the risks with women or place them in highly visible positions. Thus, these women may be less likely to receive assignments in which they grapple with unfamiliar responsibilities.

Work experience.

Based on research done by Davies and Easterby(1984); Dipboye (1987); Hall (1976); Kelleher, Finestone and Lowry (1996) and McCall, Lombardo & Morrison (1988) it has been found that developmental job assignments are extremely important in preparing both men and women for upper management positions. Tharenou, Latimer and Conroy (1994: 904) stated that men have more opportunities to gain skill through work experience. In addition to this, women managers still receive less training than comparable men. Since training develops knowledge, skills, credentials and credibility, this appears to be one of the factors that eliminates women from the candidate pool when promotions arise.

WORK AND FAMILY

The final section looks at the difficulties that women face in combining their professional duties with family responsibilities. In particular, it focuses on perceptions of others in the workplace and how this affects women's career progression. Generally, people are perceived as being committed if they are willing to work long hours and put the needs of

the organisation first. Traditional beliefs about the nature of work persist and include notions such as:

- commitment to career and organisation is demonstrated by “face time”
- presence (long hours) is the best indicator of productivity
- real work can only be accomplished full-time
- those who are serious will be available at all times.

Values such as these tend to have a negative impact on women’s career progression when certain family commitments such as sick children, child minders not arriving for work, etc may force them to be absent or arrive late for work. Women who take accouchement leave or decide to extend their leave to care for their children may also find that this has a negative effect on their career progression. The theoretical basis for the statement in the questionnaire which falls into this category will be discussed further.

Separation of work and home life.

Fagenson (1993: 122) says there is a patriarchal assumption that people at work exist apart from other aspects of their lives. According to Bellah (as cited in Leithwood *et al.*, 1996: 902), the bureaucratic logic of modern organisations, which separates public and private life and values rationality over emotions is increasingly criticised as creating societies in which people suffer from disconnectedness and anonymous social relations. Wolff (1977: 901), says that “an ostensibly gender-neutral distinction between public and private life” invariably works to exclude women. This view is supported by Acker

(1990: 149) who says that within this logic, jobs are abstract categories to be filled by disembodied workers who have no other existence which might interfere with their work. Since women do not have the luxury of such a choice, "Organisations structured along such a fundamental separation between work life and home life can only find room (at the top, especially) for those who choose to accept the dichotomy" (Wolff, 1977: 901). According to Van der Westhuizen (1991: 539), the personal lives of women teachers have an inextricable effect on their work. Since many organisations believe that work and home life should be kept separate, these values could constitute a barrier to the career progression of women.

According to Downs (1997: 1), feminism has been dogged by a kind of "denial-cum-wishful thinking" that the need for fierce political engagement is now safely behind us. She is of the opinion that the need for feminist struggle persists. Taking cognisance of this view, this study hopes to shed light on how gender affects the career progression of women.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The theoretical framework of this study was influenced by feminist theory. According to this approach, there is a need for women to break their silence, speak their truths and become visible in the public arena. By approaching the issue of organisational discrimination through the experiences of a sector of women in the educational field, the

report allows the voices of women to be heard so that their perspectives can be added to those of the prevailing male dominated theories.

Numerous theories have been presented to explain the dearth of women in senior management positions. Some make women responsible for the situation in which they find themselves, while others focus on the external factors which stunt women's career advancement. One is aware that in contemplating change, there is a need to keep in sight and address both the individual and collective responsibility to bring about change. Thus all these theories have a role to play in understanding the situation in which women find themselves. Due to the nature of the report, it was a conscious choice however, to focus only on the external barriers to women's success.

At the time of starting the work, there was a lack of recorded and published information on the factors that have contributed to the under-representation of women in leadership positions in education in South Africa. Thus this study would contribute to the literature on the effects of organisational characteristics on the percentage of management positions filled by women in South Africa.

Looking at the role organisational discrimination plays in women's career advancement allows one to view the problem from a less familiar location and to gain alternative perspectives on it. By making people more aware and sensitive to the problems faced by women aspiring to leadership positions it is hoped that the necessary support system will eventually be provided to encourage these women to realise their ambitions.

An important observation that has emerged from the review of the literature was that despite the differences in the organisation, types of work and levels of experience of these women, the same themes appeared throughout the literature. Women spoke about

- *continuously struggling for acceptance
- *having their professional expertise and knowledge overlooked
- *being highly visible, yet ignored
- *constantly under scrutiny
- *treated differently
- *reduced opportunities
- *difficulty of getting the experience of discrimination recognised etc.
- *difficulty of separating work and home life.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In starting this chapter, certain terms are defined in order to provide clarity to the work.

According to Jankowicz (1991: 158), a method is a “systematic and orderly approach towards the collection of data so that information can be obtained from those data.”

Methods are the actual tools by which data are gathered. Methodology on the other hand is the logic or philosophy underlying particular methods.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Adopting a perspective from which to conduct this study proved to be extremely problematic. Initially, the research attempted to follow a traditional quantitative, (inductive) route, followed by a detailed descriptive analysis of the results where the researcher is simply a vehicle for transmission with no voice of her own. Fine (1994: 17) calls this stance “ventriloquy”. It was hoped that by maintaining a stance of detachment, one would begin “to see beneath the appearances created by an unjust social order to the reality of how this social order is in fact constructed and maintained” (Harding, 1986: 1).

As the research progressed it became evident that I as the researcher played an integral role in the research process and that the author is indeed “ part of the research not only because the questions posed reflect a focus on one set of concerns rather than another, but

also the construct developed (ie, the organization of the data) and even the form and style of communication all are linked to the perspective and orientation that the author brings to the research project” (Gitlin, 1994: 187). Gitlin (1994: 187) recommends, that in order for the research to be authentic, the relationship between what is said and the person(s) doing the talking must be made apparent.

When it was subsequently discovered that feminist researchers also raised these issues, the researcher changed her stance and adopted the feminist methodology. The research report is located within the general framework of the feminist methodology employed by Kathleen Weiler. It must be emphasised however, that the research perspective was developed within the explorative character of the study and that the researcher does not claim to have a detailed understanding of this particular methodology. The feminist perspective has been behind a great deal of my thinking, but has not been fully incorporated into the work. The research report merely touches the surface of the feminist methodology employed by Weiler and this is recognised as a serious limitation of this study.

According to Weiler (1988: 58), there are three major themes in this methodology. First, the feminist researchers begin their research from a grounded position in their own subjective oppression in a patriarchal society. Weiler says that before “women researchers can understand the experiences and consciousness of other women we must come to understand ourselves and the ways in which we know” (1988: 59). The second characteristic of this methodology is the emphasis on “lived experience and the

significance of every day life” (Weiler, 1988: 58). Thirdly, Weiler states that feminist research is politically committed. She says that by rejecting the possibility of value-free research, feminists asserts their commitment to changing the position of women and therefore changing society. Weiler (1988: 59) is of the opinion that this methodology can provide a valuable means to address the relationship between structural oppression and the realities of every day life. It is within this context, that the research attempts to identify barriers that block the individual careers of female teachers within the school as a organisation.

In order to satisfy the first criterion of the feminist methodology employed by Weiler, the researcher has to ground her research by recognising her oppression as a woman in a male dominated society. Weiler is adamant that women must understand themselves and the way they know. The researcher is a female science teacher, teaching at a secondary school in the Wynberg region. Being the only female in the Physical Science Department has sensitised the researcher to the oppressive nature of male domination. In addition, at the time the research was conducted, there was only one female in a permanent HOD position at that particular school and only eight female principals at secondary schools in the Wynberg region. It was within this context that the researcher formulated her research question.

In order to satisfy the second criterion of this methodology, ie the emphasis on the “lived experience and the significance of everyday life” (Weiler, 1988: 58), a questionnaire was

drawn up to ascertain the female perspective on promotional opportunities at secondary schools.

An explorative study was undertaken to establish whether women's under-representation in principal posts in the Wynberg Region could possibly be influenced by organisational barriers within the school environment. According to Van der Westhuizen, "researchers differ radically from one another about which barriers in educational management are the most general and the most acute in the struggle of women to come into their own in the professional arena" (1991: 540).

This research report examines a range of extrinsic barriers suggested in the literature which possibly influence the professional progress of women. A similar study was undertaken by Lesley Greyvenstein in 1989 when she made an in-depth study of the intrinsic and extrinsic barriers which prevent women from achieving fully on a professional level in the context of educational management. This research report follows a similar method to that was used by Tharenou, Latimer and Conroy (1994: 899-931). They examined a range of personal and situational variables obtained from literature that has been used to explain the advancement of men and women as managers. The first developed a questionnaire using the measures of managerial advancement obtained from literature. The construct validity of these measures was tested statistically and by analysing survey data from a new sample. In order to establish whether male and female managers responded differently to the questions, Chi 'Square' tests for gender differences

were conducted for all respondents. Similar studies have been done by Gattiker & Larwood (1990) and Jaskolka, Beyer & Trice (1985).

In order to construct a scientific framework for the analysis of the stated problem, an in-depth study of various organisational barriers listed in research papers was undertaken. The methodology used by Shakeshaft (1989: 10) was used. Titles of articles and articles under the following headings: educational administration, female, feminine, feminism, sex, sexism, sex- role, sex role, sexuality, woman and women were located using hand and computer searches. All articles and books relating to women administrators in any educational setting were selected. Research done outside the educational field on women in management was also studied to identify possible constraints to women's leadership paths in organisations.

In order to investigate the validity of the stated problem, a questionnaire was drawn up based on the information obtained from the literature study. Before the questionnaire was finalised, a pilot study was conducted to determine whether it would supply the type of information required. A random sample of five schools in the Wynberg region was used to test the questionnaire.

PILOT SURVEY

A random sample of five schools was chosen from the 34 secondary schools in the Wynberg region. The sampling technique suggested by Mulder (1989: 58) was used. The

schools were arranged in alphabetical order and numbered from 1 to 34. Each number was written on a piece of paper and thoroughly shuffled. The papers were then taken out one by one until the predetermined number (5) had been obtained.

DATA COLLECTION

The questionnaire was reviewed by the Western Cape Education Department and permission was granted to conduct the research at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region of the Western Cape. All 34 secondary schools in the Wynberg Region were investigated. The principals were contacted telephonically to discuss the research project and permission was requested to visit the schools. The questionnaires were personally delivered to each of the schools and given to the principals to peruse and distribute. A covering letter giving a brief outline of the research project was provided. The principals at thirty three secondary schools agreed to participate in the research project and only one principal (female) objected to the nature of the research and refused access to the school. The principal did not furnish reasons for her objection and refused to discuss the matter any further.

During the first phase of the research project, the finalised questionnaires were given to female heads of department, female deputy principals and principals of each school. The information gathered from these questionnaires and from the literature study was used to construct questions for the interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected respondents. The interviews were semi-structured to provide each subject

with the opportunity to discuss any aspect not covered in the questionnaire and to prevent the problem of the person only reacting to the contents supplied.

Male and female principals and only females in post level two posts and above (ie. heads of department, deputy principals and principals) were selected to take part in the survey.

Most of the respondents were female because the study was aimed at ascertaining the female perspective on promotional opportunities.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research method selected for use in this study was survey research. Survey research tends to be aimed at discovering quantifiable links between variables. It is distinguished from experimental research by the fact that the variables cannot be manipulated.

According to Bryman (1989: 29), the information is collected on a number of variables and the degree to which they are causally related has to be inferred. The design of the study was to provide empirical evidence to test the validity of perceptions of barriers to women in secondary schools in the Wynberg Region. Women in promotion posts and principals at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region of the Western Cape formed the population of this study. Findings based on data collected from the sample are generalized only to that population.

QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION

The questionnaire was designed with several objectives in mind. Firstly, an attempt was made to establish whether there were barriers that limited women's ability to be promoted and secondly, to establish the number of females who were principals, deputy principals and Heads of department at secondary schools in the Wynberg Region. This would provide insight into whether females were under-represented in managerial posts or not. The third objective was to ascertain the number of females in HOD and deputy principal posts who had applied for principal posts advertised in the Western Cape List of Vacancies. The intention was to develop an indication of the number of females who were applying for principal's posts. The fourth objective was to establish whether there was a significant difference between the responses of males and females to each question in section B of the questionnaire.

Two sets of questionnaires were distributed. One set was given to the principals and the other set was given only to female teachers in promotion posts. The questionnaire was divided into four sections viz., A, B, C and D. The principals were asked to complete Section A; B and C and the females were asked to complete Section A; B and D.

Section A provided the researcher with demographic details about the respondent. It also provided information on the number of women in management and administration posts at schools.

Section B, consisted of structured statements worded in such a way that short, concise answers could be given. The respondents were asked to tick the column that reflected their opinion. They were allowed to make additional comments in the space provided below each statement. A key was used to indicate whether they agreed, disagreed or whether they felt that the statement did not apply to their working situation. The statements were built up around organisational barriers identified in the literature study. No attempt was made to differentiate between real and perceived barriers because the researcher merely wanted to ascertain whether the respondents could identify with the organisational barriers listed in the literature. This would give the researcher an indication of whether there were indeed factors present or perceived to be present which inhibit the leadership paths of women. The results obtained from this section were also used to determine whether there was a significant difference between the perceptions of principals and the perceptions of females in management posts on organisational barriers within the school.

Section C and D consisted of open-ended questions. The principals were asked to complete Section C and the females in management positions were asked to complete Section D. The respondents were free to answer the questions in their own words. The answers to the open-ended questions were noted to see whether any additional problems could be found.

DATA ANALYSIS

The measures used in this study involve two types of data. The first consists of numeric information obtained from Part A; B and C of the questionnaire. These numeric measures included the percentage of management positions filled by males and females, the number of female and male heads of department; deputy principals; principals and the number of women who applied for principal posts and responses to the statements taken from the literature. The second set of data included a descriptive analysis of the responses to a structured set of barrier statements numbered one to forty in Section B.

Raw data transferred from the questionnaire to summary sheets form the major part of the database. The information was arranged in such a way that the responses could be counted by computer. The tallied frequencies were used to draw tables, plot graphs and do calculations so that each of the questions could be analysed and inferences made.

The analysis was conducted in the context of the explorative character of the study. The results are presented in two parts, each part consists of a number of steps. Part one presents the results of the analysis of the demographic variables. First a descriptive analysis was conducted by cross tabulating gender with the remaining variables. Where necessary, a non-parametric test was conducted to evaluate the level of statistical difference between gender. Then, the mutual relationship between the main demographic variables was investigated by an optimal scaling technique.

Part two presents the results of the analysis of the opinion variables. Since the questionnaire was self-constructed, three steps were necessary to analyze the opinion variables. First, the consistency (construct validity) of the questionnaire was analyzed. This was done by the use of a scaling test and type of cluster analyses. Then, based on the results of these analyses, the questionnaire was tested for significant differences in gender. Finally, selected questions were validated by evaluating their power to predict the difference of opinions between male and female teachers.

Part three is a descriptive analysis of the responses to the structured questions. The questions which generated a yes, no or non-applicable responses were tabulated in a frequency table. The responses to the open questions were noted for further discussion.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The research was conducted in the Wynberg Region of the Western Cape. There are thirty four senior secondary schools within this region. The majority of schools, 38%, were ex-model C, Co-ed schools; followed by ex-House of Representatives, Co-ed schools (32,8%). Male and female principals and only females in post-level two posts and above (heads of department, deputy principals and principals) were selected to take part in the survey.

The survey was undertaken in 1998, at a time when major changes were taking place in the educational sector. A total of sixty six people responded to the questionnaire. There were sixteen males and fifty females. The ages of these teachers varied between twenty seven and fifty eight years.

The analysis was conducted in the context of the explorative character of the study.

This research report is not purely qualitative since it has made substantial use of quantitative research methods in its exploration. The research focuses on the views and interpretations of those being studied and where statistics are used they tend to be of the non-parametric kind because few assumptions can be made about underlying distributions of data due to the small number of subjects studied.

Detailed explanations of the various statistical procedures have been deliberately omitted in this chapter and can be found in the appendices. The results are presented in two parts. Part one represents the quantitative component of the analysis and part two represents the qualitative component. Each part consists of a number of steps.

Step one of the quantitative component presents the results of the analysis of the demographic variables. Initially, sixty seven variables were extracted from Section A and Section B of the questionnaire. A statistical computer programme was used to establish whether there were any connections between these variables. The results of the test revealed a relationship between the following demographic variables: gender; academic qualification; professional qualification; post-level; teaching subject and school type. The mutual relationship between the seven main demographic variables was investigated by an optimal scaling technique.

In order to establish whether there was a link between gender and the other variables a quantitative analysis was conducted by cross tabulating gender with the remaining variables. Where necessary, a non-parametric test was conducted to evaluate the level of statistical difference between gender and the other variables.

Step two of the quantitative component presents the results of the analysis of the opinion variables. These variables were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. Since the questionnaire was self-constructed, three steps were necessary to analyze the opinion variables. First, the consistency (construct validity) of the questionnaire was analyzed.

This was done by the use of a scaling test and a type of cluster analysis. Then, based on the results of these analyses, the questionnaire was tested for significant differences in gender. Finally, selected questions were validated by evaluating their power to predict the difference of opinions between male and female teachers. The analyses of the questionnaire showed a fair level of construct validity.

RATIONALE FOR THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Since discrimination is vague, subtle and difficult to prove, a detailed statistical analysis of the data was undertaken to provide a foundation for building documented empirical evidence for the existence of this illusive phenomenon. The analysis could also provide a yardstick for testing and checking the accuracy of people's perceptions.

Since the report focuses on a specific group of women in the Wynberg Region, the results cannot be generalized to the larger population with any degree of scientifically measured confidence. Since confidence placed in these findings is a matter of judgement and judgement is based partly on the design of the test and partly on the assessment skills of the conductor of the experiment, rigorous testing of the research instrument as well as detailed analysis of the statistics was felt to be necessary.

PART 1: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND OPINION VARIABLES

Sixty seven variables were extracted from Section A and B of the questionnaire. There were twenty seven demographic variables and forty opinion variables. The statistical analysis revealed that there were seven demographic variables that shared a common factor. They were gender; academic qualification; professional qualification; management training; post-level; teaching subject and school type.

The PRINCAL procedure was used to establish which of these variables were linked to gender. It was subsequently discovered that professional qualification; management training and post-level were linked with gender and that academic qualification; teaching subject and school type shared some other common factor. Since the researcher was only interested in the influence of gender on the variables no attempt was made to find out more about other common factors. This could be explored in further research. These seven variables were divided into two dimensions. Dimension one consisted of the following variables-professional qualification; management training; post-level and gender. Dimension two consisted of academic qualification; teaching subject and school type.

A statistical analysis was done in order to establish the relationship between the demographic and the opinion variables. The results revealed that there were 28 opinion variables that loaded high on dimension one and twelve that loaded high on dimension two. The 28 variables that loaded high on dimension one, indicated that these variables

were linked with professional qualification; management training; post-level and gender. In order to establish how these variables were linked with gender, a Chi-square analysis was conducted to establish whether males and females responded differently to these statements. The results revealed that these 28 variables showed a significant difference between male and female responses. The pattern of differences between gender, shown by these questions revealed that more female teachers than expected were in agreement with the questions whereas; more male teachers than expected were in disagreement with the questions. There were two questions, ie, Q30 and Q34 which were particularly good at differentiating between male and female responses. Generally women felt that they have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as the male aspirants to have the same promotion opportunities. They were also of the opinion that specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated. Males however, did not appear to support these two viewpoints. A detailed explanation of the statistical methods used can be found in Appendix 2 and 3. Graphs and tables have been included to support the conclusions reached in this study.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

A brief overview of the main demographic variables have been presented in frequency tables. Where necessary, a non-parametric test was conducted to evaluate the level of statistical difference between gender.

The majority of the teachers were female: 16 males and 50 females (one respondent did not fill out the gender, thus n=65). The age of teachers varied between 27 and 58 years old. Most of the respondents were over forty years of age. Table one shows the distribution of ages over gender.

Table 1. The relationship between age and gender.

	Age			
	27-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
Females	2	24	14	10
Males	-	1	7	7

Almost half of the respondents, 46,2%, had a Bachelors degree. The majority, 46,5%, were BA graduates; 23,9% has B.Sc degrees and 14,9% were BA Hons graduates. The highest degree was a Masters degree. Table 2 presents the relationship between academic qualification and gender.

Table 2. The relationship between academic qualification and gender.

	Academic Qualification						
	Matric	BA	B. Com	BSc	Hon	MA	Other
Females	4	22	3	9	9	1	1
Males	-	8	-	7	1	-	-

Forty per cent (40.3%) of the respondents categorized themselves in their ¹professional qualification as 'HEd'. Table 3 presents the relationship between professional qualification and gender.

Table 3. The relationship between professional qualification and gender.

Professional Qualification								
	BEd	MEd	HEd	PTD	UEd	Std	Ed	Other
Females	10	1	23	5	8	-	1	1
Males	7	1	3	1	2	1	-	1

Almost one third, 30.7%, of the teachers with experience between five and 17 years was female. The median (50%) was 18 years of experience, and 10.7% of the sample had worked thirty years or longer as a teacher. Table 4 represents the relationship between gender and teaching experience.

Table 4. The relationship between gender and teaching experience.

Teaching experience in years				
	5-10	11-20	21-30	31-40
Females	10	25	13	1
Males	-	6	8	2

¹ The term professional qualification refers specifically to teaching related qualifications.

Half of the male teachers and 37% of the female teachers mentioned training in management. Although, relatively more males than females were trained in management, the difference is not statistically significant, Chi sq (1) = .88, P = .35 .

Table 5 represents the relationship between post-level and gender. Only 59 respondents filled out their present post-level. The sample consists of 36,3% Heads of Department; 19,4% Deputy Principals and 22.7% Principals.

Table 5. The relationship between post-level and gender.

	Post-level					
	Teacher	Acting Head Dept	Head Dept	Acting Dept Principal	Dept Principal	Principal
Female	4	2	24	1	8	5
Male	-	-	-	-	5	10

When Post-level is recategorized into two categories by neglecting the subcategories 'Acting and Deputy Principal' (n=55), a statistically significant difference between gender and post level appeared to exist. Male teachers dominate Principal posts: Chi sq (1) = 18.49, P < .001. (See Table 6).

Table 6. The relationship between principal posts, HOD posts and gender.

	Post-Level	
	HOD	Principals
Female	26 (65%)	14 (35%)
Male	-	15 (100%)

The relationship between management and the recategorised post-level was statistically significant, implying that having a management training is more important at a 'Principal post-level' than at a 'HOD post-level'. Chi sq (1) = 5.72, P = .02 .(See Table 7).

Table 7. The relationship between management training and post-level.

Management	Post-Level	
	HOD	Principals
Yes	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)
No	15 (53.6%)	13 (46.4%)

Table 8 presents the distribution of appointment dates over gender (n=60). The small increase in the ratio over the years suggests a preference for female teachers (see Table 8) for promotion posts.

Table 8. The relationship between appointment dates and gender.

	Appointment Date			
	'70-'79	'80-'89	'90-'95	'96-'98
Females	1	14	17	13
Males	1	3	6	5

Since all male teachers in our sample were principals or deputy principals, an investigation of the relationship between teaching subject and gender is confounded. Table 9 (n=66) could indicate a preference of males in science and mathematics. It furthermore shows a dominance of teachers teaching language over teachers teaching other subjects.

Table 9. The relationship between teaching subject and gender.

	Teaching Subject								
	Math	Eng	His	Afr	Bio	Acc	Sc	Other	None
Females	6	10	6	13	4	2	2	7	-
Males	4	1	1	1	1	-	3	2	3

The next step in the analysis was to investigate the relationship between the main demographic variables. A PRINCALS procedure was used to analyze the variables. PRINCALS (Gifi, 1990) is a combination of PRINCIPAL component analysis and Alternating Last Squares. It is a non-linear technique in particular suitable to analyze non-metric variables. (See appendix 2).

DISCUSSION ON THE ANALYSIS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

The seven main variables which form the focal point of the discussion are

- Gender
- Academic qualification
- Professional qualification
- Management training
- Post-level
- Teaching subject
- School type

The level of statistical difference between the above variables was tested using the ChiSq test. These tests revealed the following:

- Relatively more males than females were trained in management. The difference however, was not statistically significant.
- A significant difference between gender and post-level appeared to exist. Male teachers dominated the principal posts.
- The relationship between management training and post-level was statistically significant.
- The relationship between teaching subject and gender is confounded since all the male teachers in the sample were principals or deputy principals. The results could indicate a preference of males in science and mathematics.

The significance of the statistical section will be expounded in order to highlight certain sociological implications of the research. The results of the empirical investigation provide an overview of the post-level, category, experience, academic, professional and educational management qualifications of the respondents.

A significant statistical difference exists between gender and post-level. Male teachers dominate the principal and deputy principal positions whereas females dominate the Head of Department positions. These results support the conclusion reached by the Gender Equity Task Team that "Education management in South Africa has traditionally been and remains male dominated at the most senior levels of decision-making" (Wolpe, Quinlan, and Martinez, 1997: 1).

The results also indicate a preference for the appointment of female teachers for promotion posts in recent years. More women are being appointed in HOD posts than in previous years. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that there are more women in HOD positions, this has not led to far greater increase in the number of female principals in secondary schools. In fact, in the Wynberg Region the number of female principals had decreased as the study progressed. In the year 2001, there were only six female principals as opposed to eight when the study began.

There appears to be a paradigm shift in the collective consciousness on whether women have the ability to fill management posts effectively. It is no longer politically correct to support the stereotypical view of women being inadequate for management. The majority of the respondents vehemently opposed the notion that women are under-represented in

top management positions because they are less likely than men to possess characteristics desirable for inclusion at this level. They also prefer to believe that women have equal opportunities and that there are no barriers to their ability to be promoted. Yet, the response to whether schools prefer male candidates for senior positions elicited an overwhelming response that schools still prefer male candidates for senior positions. The contradictory evidence produced in this report has to be further researched. On the one hand, the overwhelming majority deny discrimination against women, yet admit that males are still preferred for senior positions.

The results indicate that relatively more males than females were trained in management. Women's ability to be promoted appear to be jeopardized by the lack of management training.

When the opinion variables were analysed there was a significant difference between male and female perceptions of the organisational culture. The difference in perceptions could constitute a barrier to women's advancement because the necessary support will not be provided by male principals because they are unaware of the needs of females.

PART 2: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OPINION VARIABLES

The second step in the analysis of the opinion variable is descriptive. The qualitative analysis emanates directly from the quantitative analysis.

An attempt was made to fit the forty statements in Section B into five broad categories. The following categories were constructed:

- Stereotyping of women
- Human resource management
- Organisational culture
- Training and development
- Work and home life

It must be noted that the categories should not be seen as discrete arguments and some overlapping of ideas may occur between categories.

Stereotyping of women.

According to Sue Loughlin (1999: 10), organisational and managerial values in organisations tend to be characterised by stereotypical views of women's roles, attributes, preferences and commitments. Questions 1-7, examine these perceptions to see whether the factors identified in literature are salient to secondary schools in the Wynberg Region.

Table 18: Stereotyping of women.

	Agree	Not Applicable	Disagree
Q1 Women are underrepresented in top management positions because they are less likely than men to possess characteristics desirable for inclusion at these levels.	1	6	58
Q2 Women lack experience in school management	19	5	43
Q3 Women with family responsibilities cannot make the necessary commitment to their managerial careers.	9	3	53
Q4 Women lack confidence regarding their own abilities.	17	1	49
Q5 Women do not aspire to promotion and leadership posts.	11	2	53
Q6 Women tend to wait to be chosen, discovered, invited to accept promotion posts.	23	3	40
Q7 Gender inequality in leadership positions is due to women's lack of training, experience and career commitment.	11	2	53

The overwhelming majority disagreed with the statements. There was also no significant difference in the way males and females responded to the above questions. Based on the results, it appears that gender stereotyping is not perceived to be a problem nor applicable to most of the respondents. Thus, gender stereotyping cannot be categorized in this study as a barrier to women's advancement to managerial levels. These results however, have to be taken at face value, as it does not support the latest research done by Cornelius (1998); Eveline (1998); Marshall (1994) and Powell (1988) who have found gender stereotyping to be pervasive and widely shared. It may be that people are reluctant to admit that these stereotypes are prevalent within their organisations.

Human Resource Management.

According to Storey (1989), human resource management is the process of recruiting and selecting people to positions, managing their performances, rewarding them for their contribution and providing appropriate developmental opportunities. Questions 28 to 37 deal with this particular aspect.

Table 19: Human resource management.

	Agree	Not Applicable	Disagree
Q28 School organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions.	38	7	21
Q29 Women are subjected to greater scrutiny and higher expectations than men.	31	3	33
Q30 Women have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as the male aspirant to have the same promotion opportunities.	26	7	31
Q31 Men are selected for promotion positions because of their so - called potential while a woman has to provide proof of management potential before being considered for the promotion post.	26	8	29
Q32 Getting selected to a promotion post constitutes a primary obstacle to women's advancement.	21	11	29
Q33 Lack of experience in educational administration has excluded women from promotion posts.	21	9	35
Q34 Specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated.	27	8	27
Q35 A governing body that is predominantly male and middle-aged constitutes a barrier to female advancement in school administration.	20	18	28
Q36 Knowledge in gender linked issues is not a priority in selection criteria for principalship.	33	9	21
Q37 Women are underrepresented in managerial positions because of restrictions on their appointments in the past.	48	5	14

The majority of the respondents agreed that school organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions. They also felt women are under-represented because of restrictions placed on their appointments in the past. Respondents were equally divided on the statement that specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated. They were also divided on the perspective that women are subjected to greater scrutiny and higher expectations than men. The pattern of differences shown by the Chi-Square analysis, showed that more female teachers than expected were in agreement with questions 28; 30; 31 and 34, whereas more male teachers than expected

were in disagreement with these questions. Most of the females were in agreement with the following statements:

- School organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions.
- Women have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as the male aspirants.
- Women have to provide proof of management potential before being considered for promotion posts.
- Specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated.

The difference in the way males and females responded to the above statement supports the research finding of Still (1997: 5). He reported that men felt that women were given equal opportunities to progress, and that the organisational culture was supportive of their career aspirations whereas women felt “disadvantaged” compared with men in the areas of recruitment, selection, promotion, conditions of service and personal qualities.

It is quite disconcerting to note that the majority of the respondents agreed that gender-linked issues are not a priority in selection criteria for principalship. This particular issue was raised by Al-Khalifa (as cited in Ouston, 1989: 99), who said that it is an anomaly that headteachers can be considered effective while demonstrating an ineptitude in the relationship with women. The general feeling that gender issues are of no consequence to the running of the school has serious consequences for the future management of schools. The White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service (1998: 1) has noted the fact that despite the fact that the majority of women are employed in areas such as education and health, few are in decision-making positions. The Employment Equity Act (1998) has

formulated rules and regulations to address the gender imbalance. The government however, will not be able to implement change within schools unless these issues at the grassroots level are addressed. Since gender linked issues are not considered to be important, there will be no pressure on schools to put policies and programmes into place to address the dearth of women in senior management positions at secondary schools.

Organisational Culture.

The category, organisational culture, examines how different people perceive and experience the organisation in which they work. In this section, various policies, practices, realities and values held in common by members and which contribute to the creation of norms and expectations of behaviours are explored.

Table 20: Organisational culture.

	Agree	Not Applicable	Disagree
Q9 Women do not receive the same support and assistance as their male peers.	27	5	35
Q10 There is a lack of access to a network that provides women with information in administrative strategies.	24	9	31
Q12 Staffing policies should be designed and implemented to eliminate gender-bias.	52	6	9
Q14 Organisational barriers exist within the school which inhibit women's ability to attain leadership positions.	15	10	39
Q15 Women in positions of responsibility are often demeaned and undermined by their male counterparts.	20	11	36
Q16 Men tend to be more visible in leadership positions at school than women.	47	6	14
Q18 Old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real barrier to the progress of women.	34	7	26
Q19 Women who show an interest in administration often receive negative feedback from their peers.	17	6	43
Q20 The male dominated culture of the secondary school is an obstacle to women's promotion.	30	10	27
Q21 Women's influence over management decisions is very limited.	17	9	41
Q23 Women often feel "invisible" because their contributions are often ignored.	19	8	39
Q24 Women's involvement in the classroom often goes unrecognised because administration is regarded as more important than teaching.	23	8	36
Q26 Women and men are not inclined to work under a woman.	16	7	43
Q27 Women who aspire to leadership positions receive very little support and encouragement from their female colleagues.	18	3	46
Q28 School organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions.	38	7	21

When the frequencies of the responses are tallied, it appears that most of the respondents did not perceive the organisational culture of the school to be a barrier to the advancement of women. In fact, they did not identify with most of the barriers identified in the literature and disagreed that there were organisational barriers within the school which inhibit women's ability to attain leadership positions. The majority of the respondents did not feel the need for the design and implementation of staffing policies to eliminate gender bias. The only statements which the overwhelming majority agreed with, were the following:

- Old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real barrier to women.
- The male dominated culture of the secondary school is an obstacle to women's promotion.
- Work and home life should be kept separate.

When a Chi Squared Analysis was done to differentiate between the opinions of males and females, a distinct difference emerged. An analysis of Table 13, Appendix 3, shows that the questions in Table 20 on page 75, loaded high on dimension one. The following questions (15; 20; 21; 28) show a significant difference between male and female opinion. More females than expected were in agreement with the questions, whereas more males than expected were in disagreement with the questions. The difference in perception of the organisational culture could constitute a barrier to women as male principals would not be able to provide the necessary support as they are unaware of female grievances. Once again it appears that there are certain issues that are particularly sensitive to women that are being overlooked by men. More women than expected agreed

with the following barriers in literature. Women who aspire to leadership positions often encounter relationship problems with their colleagues. They felt that women who show an interest in administration often receive negative feedback from their peers. They also felt that male teachers have difficulty in accepting women's perspectives as valuable and informative. There was also a perception amongst the females that women's influence over management decisions is very limited. The male dominated culture of secondary schools is considered to be an obstacle to women's promotion.

Training and Development.

Research indicates that women are offered fewer developmental experiences than men (Tharenou, 1995 and Tharenou et al., 1994). Most of the respondents in the research sample, however, did not perceive training and development to be a problem for women. They did not feel that male managers were unwilling to provide women with opportunities to develop management and leadership skills or that women were given less responsibility than their male counterparts. The majority of the respondents perceived the lack of experience in educational administration to be responsible for women being excluded from promotion posts. Most respondents did not see the value of mentors and felt that women do not need mentors to assist them in acquiring leadership skills.

Table 21: Training and development.

	Agree	Not Applicable	Disagree
Q11 There is an unwillingness on the part of male managers in schools to provide women with the opportunity to develop management and leadership skills.	20	10	37
Q13 Women in leadership positions are given less responsibility than their male counterparts.	11	8	47
Q17 Male principals are less likely to give direct feedback to females concerning their work.	18	12	36
Q33 Lack of experience in educational administration has excluded women from promotion posts.	21	9	35
Q38 Women need mentors to assist them acquire the necessary leadership skills.	20	5	39

There was a significant difference in the way males and females responded to question 17. More females than expected agreed that male principals are less likely to give direct feedback to females concerning their work whereas more males than expected disagreed with the statement.

Work and family.

The majority of the respondents (70,1%), felt that work and home life should be kept separate. Organisational values like these could hinder women's career progress because many women do not have the luxury of keeping their work and home life separate. McKenna (1997) found that women are still not able to separate their personal and professional lives as easily as men and are less willing or able to define themselves in terms of work alone.

It is interesting to note that the two questions where male and female opinions differed the most fall into the category of human resource management. Women believe that they have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as male aspirants to have the same promotion opportunities. They also felt that specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated. (See Table 19).

The answers to the open-ended questions in Section D were noted to see whether any additional problems could be found. Only eight of the forty females who responded to the question applied for the principal posts and none was appointed. It is also interesting to note that only 50% of the females felt that they had the necessary skills to take up a principalship. The other females indicated that they felt insecure because they lacked the experience. Some said that they were not qualified enough and needed to learn more. Others said they were recently appointed to their present positions or that there were more able administrators available at the time. Certain women said that they were not prepared to tolerate extra stress in the transitional phase of education. Many indicated that they enjoyed being in the classroom and were not interested in a principalship. Some females said that they lack ambition; the quality of their personal lives was more important and that they did not have the total commitment to the school in terms of time and mental energy since their families were also important. Women also indicated that they were not interested in applying for the positions because the posts were not close to their place of residence or that there were no posts advertised at their present schools. Some females also said that bulletins were not often made available; that they were happy in their current positions or that they had other interests to pursue.

Only 50% of the females said that they had the necessary skills to take up a principal post. These women said that they were involved in most aspects of administration and some had acted in a temporary capacity as principal of the school. In general, they felt confident of their abilities as a result of being exposed to daily management, often doing duties without official recognition. They indicated that they were excellent organisers, good disciplinarians and administrators and that they had the necessary people skills to do an effective job. Those women who felt that they did not have the necessary skills said that they had too little exposure to the administration of the school. They also indicated that they would prefer knowing all aspects of running a school before applying. Some said that they needed a few more years as a deputy principal to gain more confidence and develop the necessary skills. Others indicated that they were not interested because of the chaos, violence and politics at schools. One person said that she was too critical of the system in general. Someone also indicated that she did not have the "tough personality" to lead a school. Others indicated that they preferred being in a classroom to managing a school.

Most of the women (65%), felt that the school provides sufficient opportunities to develop leadership and management skills. It appears that opportunities do exist at most schools, although some women are experiencing problems at certain schools. Certain females indicated that in theory there is opportunity for growth but in practice not. It was indicated that a lack of time prevents them from acquiring the necessary skills as most of their time was taken up with teaching. Although assistance in any work is said to be welcomed, tasks were still delegated to certain people thus preventing them from

acquiring the necessary expertise. Some females also indicated that their initiatives and growth were stifled and ignored and that no in-service training was being done.

The majority of women, (67,5%) felt that management and leadership training would increase the number of women in leadership positions at schools. It was felt that it would give women more confidence and expertise and make them more aware of their potential. This would also provide some kind of yardstick against which people's skills could be measured. It would enable women to develop management skills especially in those schools where a good support structure was not in place. Some females also felt that the attitude of the current top structure would have to change first. Other females felt that training would not increase the number of women in leadership positions because education cutbacks had resulted in fewer Heads of Department posts. They felt that many schools still prefer to appoint male candidates and these attitudes would have to change first. They also said that women's attitudes need to change and that they should be willing to put their professional lives above their personal lives.

The female respondents listed the following practices which could possibly limit women's achievement of leadership positions in schools:

- women's views not being taken seriously
- their contributions often ignored
- administration duties not rotated, thus allowing only few people to gain expertise and visibility
- lack of valuable information

- women not being approached or encouraged to apply whereas their male colleagues are told to apply for promotion posts at the schools
- the reduction of the number of HOD posts by the department
- taking accouchement leave was felt to have a negative impact on their promotability.

There appear to be some practices at schools which could possibly enhance women's achievement. Some schools had a gender-equality programme where women were appointed to HOD positions in order to ensure a favourable balance between the sexes.

Administrative duties were rotated among staff members. It was also found that a positive environment which supported the endeavours of teachers had a major impact on the well-being and confidence of teachers.

The majority of women indicated that they had experienced some form of gender discrimination at school. One female indicated that although she had never experienced discrimination personally, she had witnessed and heard sexist remarks being made.

Another respondent indicated that jokes hide a lot of "real" feeling. Others indicated that there was some discounting of input during meetings and that men appeared to be skeptical of females' views and suggestions made by females were often ignored but when males made the same suggestions they were considered. It was also mentioned that schools had a tendency to maintain certain extracurricular activities, especially male dominated sports codes, which created opportunity for gender discrimination. It was mentioned that at certain schools males were pre-selected for promotion posts. One respondent said that she was appointed as acting deputy principal when no males were

available, but rejected when she applied for a permanent post. One female said that she was unfairly denied promotion and that the principal had lied about her abilities and contributions at a hearing. For this particular woman, the attempt to confront the hierarchy of the school turned out to be a deeply shaming experience. In order to protect themselves all her inadequacies were highlighted and very little credit was given to her contributions to the school. Another respondent was told that the post was suited for a male. Some females felt that their principals viewed them as being of lesser value and not satisfactory for leadership positions. It was also mentioned that generally principals are not understanding when family emergencies arise.

Women were equally divided on whether women are under-represented in managerial positions at their schools. Those who felt that women were not under-represented said that there were not enough permanent posts for promotion and that women tend to underestimate their abilities. One person felt that in a "boys only" school there are fewer female teachers therefore one should expect fewer women in management positions. Another person said that appointments are made according to merit not gender. It was also mentioned that if a female with the right credentials should apply for a promotion, serious consideration should be given to correcting the gender imbalance. Certain women also felt that there are few women in management posts because women tend to underestimate their own abilities and are reluctant to come forward and apply for promotion posts.

Numerous suggestions were made concerning methods that the school could employ to encourage women to apply for promotion posts. It was suggested that mentorship and career development should be an open policy to those who show an interest. Job-sharing, rotation of tasks and providing opportunities for those people with skills to train others should also be considered. Women should be called upon to fill demanding administrative and leadership positions, even if it is only for a short period. They should also be encouraged to serve on committees and staff development programmes. The top structure also needed to boost the morale of teachers by giving them credit for what they do. The female voice needs to be heard and their contributions recognised. It was also felt that the reduction in the number of promotion posts by the Education Department had exacerbated the situation. Some respondents also suggested that the Governing Bodies pay for HOD posts and thereby create opportunities for promotion.

Women's feelings concerning encouragement received from those in more senior positions varied. Some females have indicated that they receive much encouragement from their principals and ex-principals. Principals who encouraged and advised them had a positive impact on their career development. These principals exposed them to different administrative tasks and even coerced them to take up the challenge of a more senior position. Those women who received positive feedback and appreciation and who were given additional administrative responsibilities appear to be more confident of their abilities.

In conclusion, it appears that the majority of the respondents did not identify with most of the organisational barriers in literature and did not perceive organisational barriers to be present within the school. There is however, a perception amongst most of the teachers that old fashioned sexist attitudes are a real barrier to women and that the male-dominated culture is an obstacle to women's promotion. They also felt that work and home life should be kept separate.

Although the majority of females indicated that there were no organisational barriers within the school environment, there were certain questions that showed a significant difference between male and female opinion. More women than expected agreed with the following barriers in the literature:

- School organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions.
- Women have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard as the male aspirants.
- Women have to provide proof of management potential before being considered for promotion posts.
- Specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated.
- Women who aspire to leadership positions often encounter relationship problems with their colleagues.
- Women who show an interest in administration often receive negative feedback from their peers.
- Male teachers have difficulty in accepting women's perspectives as valuable and informative.

- Women's influence over management decisions is very limited.
- Male principals are less likely to give direct feedback to females concerning their work.

The statements above can be classified as extrinsic organisational barriers to women's promotion. In the chapter that follows an initial attempt is made to account for the apparent contradictions.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study focused on the issue of under-representation of female educators in senior management posts and their perceptions of extrinsic barriers to promotion. The purpose of the study is to identify the extrinsic barriers to promotion of women in the literature, and then to determine the extent, by means of quantitative analysis, of how female educators perceive them. The very nature of the report, ie. the length, offers serious limitations to the kind of analysis that can be done. The report therefore, does not explore reasons for the under-representation of women in management positions. Although suggestions have been offered, further empirical work has to be done in order to provide explanations for the findings.

The extrinsic barriers identified in the literature were made to fit into five broad categories viz., stereotyping of women; human resource management; organisational culture; training and development and work and home life. These extrinsic barriers were empirically verified by means of a structured questionnaire. Perceptions of extrinsic barriers experienced by female educators fell mainly into the category of human resource management. Human resource management refers to the process of recruiting and selecting people to positions, managing their performances, rewarding them for their contributions and providing appropriate developmental opportunities. Extrinsic barriers in the other categories were apparently not widely experienced by female educators in secondary schools in the Wynberg Region. In fact, the majority of respondents said

that there were no organisational barriers within the school which inhibit women's ability to attain leadership positions.

The results of this study support the findings of Deventer and Van der Westhuizen (2000: 235). They found that societal stereotyping, psychological expectations, motivation and career expectations were not perceived to be a barrier to promotion. On face value it appears that gender stereotyping cannot be classified as a barrier to women's advancement. The fact, however, that the majority of respondents did not identify with most of the other extrinsic barriers in the other categories was extremely surprising.

The evidence presented thus far leads to the conclusion that women are under-represented in positions of senior leadership at secondary schools in the Wynberg region of the Western Cape. The analysis of the demographic variables indicates that this under-representation increases with each post level. Whilst females dominate the Heads of Department positions, they are seriously under-represented in the positions of Deputy Principal and Principal. This gender gap cannot be explained by age, level of education, or years of experience. This research supports findings of Brannon (1996); Blum, Fields, and Goodman (1994), that although women are increasing their numbers in managerial and executive positions, those positions are still generally dominated by men.

In an attempt to rule out the possibility for the under-representation of women being due to women's disinterest in the position of principalship, women were asked whether they had applied for principal posts. They were asked to give reasons in the event of them not applying for these positions. In the group of women surveyed only a small proportion of

women indicated that they were not interested in the principalship. However, only eight of the forty females who responded to the question applied for principal posts and none were appointed.

In order to establish whether there are barriers which limit women's ability to be promoted it was interesting to note that when the opinion variables were tallied, most of the respondents did not perceive organisational culture of the school to be a barrier to the advancement of women. In fact, they did not identify with most of the barriers identified in the literature and they disagreed that there were organisational barriers which inhibited women's ability to attain leadership positions. The majority of respondents did not feel the need for the design and implementation of staffing policies to eliminate gender bias.

These results are extremely surprising because given all the research evidence presented in international studies in favour of the presence of organisational barriers these results were not expected. If one accepts what these women in the study are saying ie. there are no organisational barriers to women's ability to attain leadership promotion to senior positions then it means that women are not occupying principal posts because they do not deserve these positions. In other words they do not have the necessary innate abilities nor characteristics necessary for inclusion at these senior levels. A conclusion of this nature is unacceptable because there is no justifiable evidence showing lack of ability amongst the women in the research sample. The majority of the females were university graduates with a Higher Diploma in Education. The evidence presented in this study is

contradictory and weighed to denial. These findings support research done by Crosby (1982); Taylor, Wright and Porter (1993); Taylor, Ruggiero & Louis (1996) and Ball (1990:191). They have shown that individual disadvantaged members rate their experience with discrimination low, compared with that of their group.¹

An in depth analysis of these research finding has to be undertaken to explain the blatant discrepancy between the demographic and opinion variables as this is a perceptual phenomenon of potential psychological and social significance. Some possible explanations for the apparently contradictory findings have been explored but these will need to be validated in future research.

Firstly, the research evidence may suggest that women themselves are responsible for their under-representation. Since women do not perceive the organisational barriers to be responsible for the dearth of women in principal positions it may indicate that women do not have the necessary personal characteristics to assume these positions despite having the necessary academic qualifications. Could the evidence put forward by other researchers indeed be true? Hennig and Jardim (1986: 635) suggested that women may be ill-prepared, as a result of their socialization experiences to cope with the male-dominated norms in organizations. The respondents in this survey would beg to differ. The overwhelming majority disagreed with the general stereotypical views of

¹ The phenomenon whereby individuals tend to minimize discrimination they have experienced personally compared to that which the group has experienced has been encountered by other researchers and has been labelled *the personal/group discrimination discrepancy* by TAYLOR, WRIGHT, MOGHADDAM and LALONDE (1990).

women ie. they do not have the necessary characteristics desirable for inclusion at these levels; gender inequality leadership positions is due to women's lack of training, experience and career commitment, women wait to be chosen, discovered, invited to accept promotion posts etc.

The possibility may exist that this study may have inadvertently biased the sample selection toward the more advantaged group members. These relatively advantaged respondents may represent those few who genuinely have not experienced organisational barriers in their career and therefore could not identify with the majority of women in the research literature.

Another possibility may lie in the wording of the statements and questions. Did the respondents clearly understand terminologies like "organisational barriers; organisational culture etc?" Some evidence exists that they may not have understood these terms . For instance, the majority of the respondents agreed that the male dominated culture of secondary schools is an obstacle to women's promotion; that old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real barrier to the progress of women and that school organisations still prefer male candidates for senior positions. These are all features of organisational barriers yet, when they responded to the statement that organisational barriers exist within the school which inhibit women's ability to attain leadership positions, the overwhelming majority disagreed with the statement.

Women may be unaware of the myriad of subtle, yet effective forms of discrimination that exist within organisations. According to Trentham (1998: 5), membership within

a discriminated-against social group does not always result in increased awareness of discrimination. She says that women may be more aware of discrimination in the general business world, but have little awareness of similar problems in their place of work. Studies (Crosby, Clayton, Alksnis, and Hemker, 1986; Crosby et al., 1989) have demonstrated that women may acknowledge the existence of discrimination at a societal level without recognizing its existence at the personal level. The analysis of the research results may reveal similar evidence. The fact that the majority of female respondents disagreed that women need mentors to assist them acquire the necessary leadership skills may indicate that women are not aware of the grooming that takes place behind the scenes in preparation of candidates for senior positions. These results support the conclusion reached by Van der Westhuizen (1991: 554) that women who aspire to management positions are not always aware of the value of the mentor process. Could the possibility exist that women are not aware of the "informal power and opportunity structures in organizations (that) serve to exclude women" (Mainiero, 1986: 633), or could they be in a state of denial?

The findings in this study suggest the possibility that the women are in a state of denial. It would however be premature to conclude that women were denying the reality of their situation, since "denial implies first, that members of a group are in reality relatively disadvantaged and second, that they are unaware of that reality" (Taylor, Ruggiero and Louis, 1996: 1). Further research however, has to be conducted to study the influence of organisational culture on the lives of the women at secondary schools in order to establish

whether or not women are denying the reality of the situation in which they find themselves.

The implications of these results are disquieting. They may lead to the erroneous conclusion that discrimination against women is not a serious problem in need of immediate attention. They also imply that women are coping with the psychological burden of failure to attain promotion posts without full appreciation of the role that powerful, external forces such as discrimination might be playing. The immediate challenge is to understand why these women are so compelled to minimize personal discrimination when the prevailing evidence indicates the contrary. This calls for further examination of these contradictory findings in future research.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PERSONAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENT:

(TO BE COMPLETED BY FEMALE HEADS OF DEPARTMENT; FEMALE DEPUTY PRINCIPALS AND PRINCIPALS)

1	AGE:
---	------

2	SEX
---	-----

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

3.1	ACADEMIC:
3.2	PROFESSIONAL:

4	TEACHING EXPERIENCE (IN YEARS):
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5	MANAGEMENT TRAINING RECEIVED:
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6.1	POST LEVEL (NEW):
6.2	DATE OF APPOINTMENT TO ABOVE POST LEVEL:

7	SUBJECTS AND STANDARDS CURRENTLY BEING TAUGHT:

7	SCHOOL
---	--------

(SECTION 8;9 AND 10 TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PRINCIPAL)

		MALE	FEMALE
8.1	NO. OF DEPUTY PRINCIPALS		
8.2	NO OF HEADS OF DEPARTMENT		

	SEX COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL GOVERNING BODY	
9.1	NO. OF MALES	
9.2	NO. OF FEMALES	

10.1	TOTAL NO. OF MALE STUDENTS	
10.2	TOTAL NO. OF FEMALE STUDENTS	
10.3	TOTAL STUDENT POPULATION	

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B. (TO BE COMPLETED BY FEMALE HEADS OF DEPARTMENT; FEMALE DEPUTY PRINCIPALS AND PRINCIPALS)

Read each of the statements. Use the key below to indicate whether you agree, disagree or whether you feel that the statement does not apply to your working situation. Tick the column that reflects your opinion. Should you wish to make any additional comments, space has been provided below each statement on the questionnaire.

1	2	3
Agree	Not applicable	Disagree

1	Women are under-represented in top management positions because they are less likely than men to possess characteristics desirable for inclusion at these levels.	1	2	3

2.	Women lack experience in school management.	1	2	3

3.	Women with family responsibilities cannot make the necessary commitment to their managerial careers.	1	2	3

4.	Women lack confidence regarding their own abilities.	1	2	3

5.	Women do not aspire to promotion and leadership posts.	1	2	3

6.	Women tend to wait to be chosen, discovered, invited or persuaded to accept promotion posts.	1	2	3

7.	Gender inequality in leadership positions is due to women's lack of training, experience and career commitment.	1	2	3

8.	Women's so called lack of aspiration in administration might be seen as an expected response to lack of opportunity to rise in the promotion structure of the organisation.	1	2	3

9.	Women do not receive the same support and assistance as their male peers.	1	2	3

10.	There is a lack of access to a network that provides women with information in administration strategies.	1	2	3

11.	There is an unwillingness on the part of male managers in schools to provide women with the opportunity to develop management and leadership skills.	1	2	3

12.	Staffing policies should be designed and implemented to eliminate gender-bias.	1	2	3

13.	Women in leadership positions are given less responsibility than their male counterparts.	1	2	3

14.	Organisational barriers exist within the school which inhibit women's ability to attain leadership positions.	1	2	3

15.	Women in positions of responsibility are often demeaned and undermined by their male counterparts.	1	2	3

16.	Men tend to be more visible in leadership positions at school than women.	1	2	3

17.	Male principals are less likely to give direct feedback to females concerning their work.	1	2	3

18.	Old fashioned sexist attitudes are still common and represent a real barrier to the progress of women.	1	2	3

19.	Women who show an interest in administration often receive negative feedback from their peers.	1	2	3

20.	The male dominated culture of the secondary school is an obstacle to women's promotion.	1	2	3

21.	Women's influence over management decisions is very limited.	1	2	3

22.	Male teachers have difficulty in accepting women's perspectives as valuable and informative.	1	2	3

23.	Women often feel "invisible" because their contributions are often ignored.	1	2	3

24.	Women's involvement in the classroom often goes unrecognized because administration is regarded as more important than teaching.	1	2	3

25.	Women's characteristics and behaviour are not evaluated in the same way as men.	1	2	3

26.	Women and men are not inclined to work under a women.	1	2	3

27.	Women who aspire to leadership positions receive very little support and encouragement from their female colleagues.	1	2	3

28.	School organizations still prefer male candidates for senior positions.	1	2	3

29.	Women are subjected to greater scrutiny and higher expectations than men.	1	2	3

30.	Women have to be unusually qualified and have to work twice as hard the male aspirants to have the same promotion opportunities.	1	2	3

31.	Men are selected for promotion positions because of their so – called potentials while a women has to provide proof of management potential before being considered for the promotion post.	1	2	3

32.	Getting selected to a promotion post constitutes a primary obstacle to women’s advancement.	1	2	3

33.	Lack of experience in educational administration has excluded women from promotion posts.	1	2	3

34.	Specific selection criteria for hiring administrators are seldom articulated.	1	2	3

35.	A governing body that is predominantly male and middle-aged constitutes a barrier to female advancement in school administration.	1	2	3

36.	Knowledge in gender linked issues is not a priority in selection criteria for principalship.	1	2	3

37.	Women are under-represented in managerial positions because of restrictions placed on their appointments in the past.	1	2	3

38.	Women need mentors to assist them acquire the necessary leadership skills.	1	2	3

39.	Work and home life should be kept separate.	1	2	3

40.	Women in positions of power do not support and encourage other female teachers .	1	2	3

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C. (TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PRINCIPAL)

1. Does the school provide teachers with sufficient opportunities to develop leadership and management skills? Elaborate.

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.....
.....

2. Identify any policies or practices at your school which could possibly limit/enhance women's achievement of leadership positions.

.....
.....
.....

3. Do you believe that women are under-represented in managerial positions at school?

.....
.....
.....

4. What can your school do to empower women and encourage them to apply for promotion posts?

.....
.....
.....

5. Do you provide support and encouragement to female staff members aspiring to leadership positions? Explain.

.....

.....

.....

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D. (To be completed by female Heads of Department & female Deputy Principals)

1. Several principal posts were advertised in the Western Cape List of Vacancies.
Did you apply for any of these posts? (If you did not apply, please give reasons.)

.....
.....
.....

2. Do you feel that you have the necessary skills to take up a principal post.
Explain.

.....
.....
.....

3. What kind of organisational or administrative tasks are you currently involved
in at the school? Next to each task indicate whether you were allocated these
duties or whether you volunteered your services.

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Does the school provide you with sufficient opportunities to develop leadership

and management skills?

.....
.....
.....

5. Do you feel that management/ leadership training would increase the number of women in leadership positions at the school? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

6. Identify any policies or practices within your school environment which could possibly limit / enhance women's achievement of leadership positions in secondary schools.

.....
.....
.....

7. Have you ever experienced gender discrimination at the school? Explain.

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.....
.....

8. Do you believe that women are under-represented in managerial positions at

your school?

.....
.....
.....

9. What can your school do to empower women and encourage them to apply for promotion posts?

.....
.....
.....

10. To what extent has a person in a more senior position at your school encouraged you in your career development? How did this person encourage you?

.....
.....
.....

11. To what extent have colleagues encouraged you in your career development? How do they encourage you?

.....
.....
.....

12. Do you have a role model or mentor? If you do, explain how this person assists

you achieve your career objectives.

.....
.....
.....

13. Do you provide support and encouragement for other female staff members aspiring to leadership positions? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

14. When the principal requires administrative tasks to be done, does he / she call upon the male and female teachers equally? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

15. How often do you discuss matters pertaining to administration and management with (a) your principal (b) senior members of the staff? Elaborate.

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APPENDIX 2

PRINCAL'S PROCEDURE

PRINCALS' most important criterion is minimizing stress. It reduces the number of variables by regrouping them into new categories. The categories of variables are rearranged until an optimal transformation is found. In order to minimize instability of the solution, in addition to 'Post Level', the following variables were recategorised. Academic Qualification was regrouped into three categories: BA/Matric, BSc/BCom, Hon/MA. Professional Qualification was also regrouped into three categories: Std/Ptd, BEd/MEd, HEd./UEd. Teaching subject was not regrouped but the category 'other' was excluded from the analysis. Finally, 'School type' was regrouped into two categories: Integrated versus Boys and Girls separated.

The best solution to represent the relationship between the variables was a two dimensional solution with the eigenvalue of 0.33 for Dimension One and 0.21 for Dimension Two. Thus, the total solution explained 54% of the total variance.

In order to establish the relationship between the seven variables, the PRINCAL procedure was used. The component loadings of the variables are presented in Table 10, When the loadings of the different variables on a common factor are determined, they can actually be regarded as correlations between the variable and the factor. The square of this loading can be viewed as a description of that portion of the variance of the variable which is involved with the common factor. If one looks at gender and post-level in Table 10, "Gender" and "Post-level" dominate dimension one. They load high on Dim 1 and low on Dim 2. The second dimension was dominated by "School-type," Professional qualification and "Teaching subject." Both latter variables also load considerably high on dimension one.

Table 10. Component loadings of the variables.

Variable	Component Loadings	
	Dim1	Dim2
Gender	.737	.121
Academic Qualification	.601	-.579
Professional Qualification	.455	.575
Management	.545	.391
Post-Level	-.728	-.280
Teaching Subject	.524	-.543
School type	.258	-.523

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between the variables, the variables were plotted on a graphs (Figure 1 and 2) with component loadings as the coordinates. The length of a vector indicates the relative importance of the variable. The angle of a variable indicates the relationship with the other variables: the smaller the angle the higher the association. Thus, perpendicular vectors suggest no relationship. Opposite vectors are highly related but the categories of the variables are reciprocal.

Figure 1. clearly shows the link between professional qualification, management training, gender and post-level. Professional qualification, management training and gender are clustered together in the top right-hand corner of Figure 1. These three variables are also directly opposite post-level. Teaching subject, Academic qualification and Type of school are clustered together in bottom right-hand corner of Figure 1.

Figure 1.

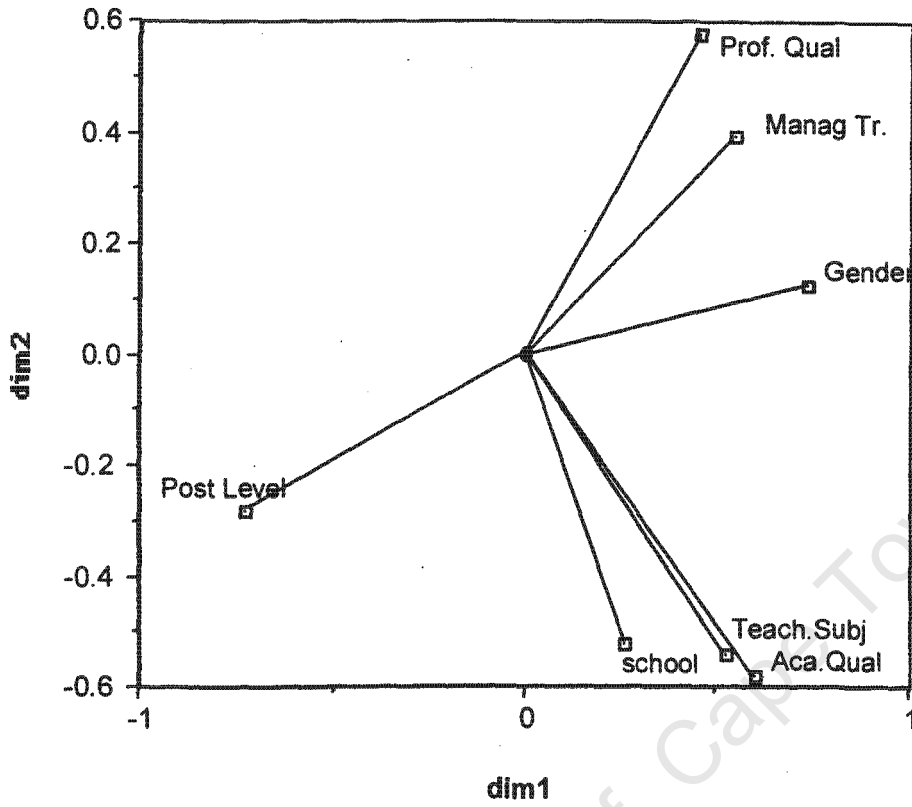
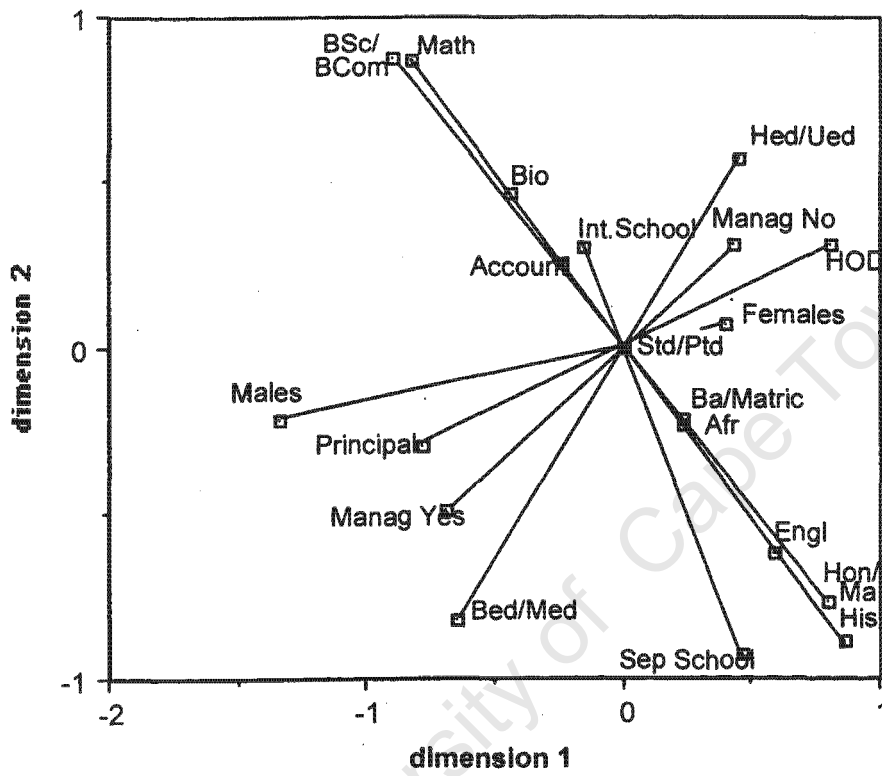


Figure 1 shows the relationship between Gender, Post Level and Management; it confirms our earlier insight provided by the ChiSq test. These variables, however, seem relatively independent of Type of school, Academic Qualification and Teaching subject. Professional Qualification seems related to Management training, Post-level and Gender.

Figure 2 shows that the relationship between gender and post-level was determined by more principals being male than female and more HODs being female than male.

Figure 2.



APPENDIX 3

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OPINION VARIABLES

The first step in the analysis of the opinion variables is quantitative. Table 11 presents the frequencies in which the categories occur per question. Some of the questions seem to differentiate better than others. Eighteen respondents (26%) considered Q35 as not applicable.

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Table 11. Frequencies of the categories per item.

Item	Missing	Agree	Not Applicable	Disagree
Q1	2	1	6	58
Q2	0	19	5	43
Q3	2	9	3	53
Q4	0	17	1	49
Q5	1	11	2	53
Q6	1	23	3	40
Q7	1	11	2	53
Q8	0	28	8	31
Q9	0	27	5	35
Q10	3	24	9	31
Q11	0	20	10	37
Q12	0	52	6	9
Q13	1	11	8	47
Q14	3	15	10	39
Q15	0	20	11	36
Q16	0	47	6	14
Q17	1	18	12	36
Q18	0	34	7	26
Q19	1	17	6	43
Q20	0	30	10	27
Q21	0	17	9	41
Q22	0	21	5	41
Q23	1	19	8	39
Q24	0	23	8	36
Q25	1	26	6	34
Q26	1	16	7	43
Q27	0	18	3	46
Q28	1	38	7	21
Q29	0	31	3	33
Q30	3	26	7	31
Q31	4	26	8	29
Q32	6	21	11	29
Q33	2	21	9	35
Q34	5	27	8	27
Q35	1	20	18	28
Q36	4	33	9	21
Q37	0	48	5	14
Q38	3	20	5	39
Q39	2	47	3	15
Q40	0	8	4	55

In order to evaluate the reliability of the questionnaire, consistency between the forty items was examined by Cronbach's Alpha reliability test. Only cases without missing values were used in the analysis (n=45). The reliability coefficient reached $\alpha = 0.9302$, suggesting a high level of consistency. As shown in Table 12, however, not all items seem to measure the same construct. For example, the column labeled *corrected item total correlation* represents the correlation between an item and the sum of the scores of the remaining items. Thus, item Q1 (-.0438) seems to measure something unrelated to the construct the other items seem to measure.

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Table 12. The Item-total Statistics of the reliability analysis (Alpha).

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1	83.3111	338.1737	-.0438	.9310
Q2	83.8222	325.9677	.3563	.9297
Q3	83.4889	337.4828	.0018	.9318
Q4	83.8222	324.5586	.3891	.9294
Q5	83.6444	329.4616	.2770	.9302
Q6	84.0889	329.8556	.1975	.9315
Q7	83.6000	330.1545	.2676	.9303
Q8	84.2667	319.0636	.5118	.9282
Q9	84.1556	313.4525	.6747	.9265
Q10	84.0000	324.5000	.3930	.9294
Q11	84.0889	316.4010	.6185	.9271
Q12	84.9556	337.9071	-.0192	.9322
Q13	83.8444	321.4980	.5036	.9283
Q14	83.9556	321.7707	.4739	.9286
Q15	84.0667	316.2909	.6343	.9270
Q16	84.8222	328.3768	.3125	.9300
Q17	84.1333	314.8000	.6815	.9265
Q18	84.4889	313.6646	.6922	.9264
Q19	83.9778	316.5222	.6266	.9271
Q20	84.3333	315.3182	.6501	.9268
Q21	83.9556	315.1798	.6850	.9265
Q22	84.0667	313.3818	.6878	.9264
Q23	84.0222	315.2495	.6567	.9268
Q24	84.1333	321.0273	.4720	.9286
Q25	84.2667	313.7909	.6684	.9266
Q26	83.9333	319.7000	.5368	.9280
Q27	83.9778	319.2040	.5270	.9281
Q28	84.5333	318.5727	.5658	.9277
Q29	84.2444	310.8707	.7470	.9257
Q30	84.2000	314.5273	.6566	.9267
Q31	84.1333	314.3909	.6752	.9266
Q32	84.0889	317.2192	.5932	.9274
Q33	83.9778	314.3859	.6942	.9264
Q34	84.2222	315.8586	.6238	.9271
Q35	84.2444	319.9162	.5559	.9278
Q36	84.5778	334.1131	.0940	.9321
Q37	84.8000	325.2091	.3939	.9293
Q38	83.9333	328.7000	.2468	.9308
Q39	84.6222	331.1495	.1787	.9314
Q40	83.6000	333.2909	.1585	.9310

Furthermore, the column labeled *Alpha if item is deleted* is Cronbach's α of the remaining items when an item was removed. Thus, deleting item Q1 increased α (.9302 < .9310) and would improve the consistency of the questionnaire.

The selection of items, which increases α when deleted and or items with a correlation of lower than .40 (their contribution is only 16%) reveal insight in which items dominate in the high α . Thus, Q1 to Q7, Q10, Q12, Q16, Q36 to Q40 seemed to deviate from the remaining items in what they measure.

The results of the reliability analysis suggest a clustering of at least two groups of variables. A PRINCALS analysis was used to explore the clustering of variables. A two dimensional solution explained 40% of the total variance. The Eigenvalue for dimension one and two were respectively, 0.31 and 0.09.

Table 13 presents the component loadings and reveals the same pattern as indicated by the reliability test: a set of variables that refers to another underlying construct. Eleven of the items identified by the reliability test, turned out to define dimension two. Three items, Q10, Q16 and Q37, however, did load higher on dimension one than on dimension two. The items identified by the reliability test are printed in bold.

Both analyses were consistent in their results. The level of reliability and the amount of explained variance were relatively high and although the questionnaire seems to suggest

to measure two aspects of the construct it was supposed to measure, a fair level of construct validity was reached.

Table 13. Component loadings of the variables.

Variable	Component Loading	
Q1	.156	-.482
Q2	.268	.550
Q3	-.060	.393
Q4	.345	.661
Q5	.116	.533
Q6	.220	.627
Q7	.133	.179
Q8	.515	-.004
Q9	.682	.123
Q10	.508	-.017
Q11	.743	-.166
Q12	.198	-.348
Q13	.530	-.034
Q14	.547	-.330
Q15	.748	-.226
Q16	.449	.128
Q17	.759	-.077
Q18	.762	-.238
Q19	.632	.078
Q20	.754	-.118
Q21	.681	-.024
Q22	.730	-.136
Q23	.761	-.168
Q24	.627	-.071
Q25	.754	.185
Q26	.492	.329
Q27	.469	.516
Q28	.584	.036
Q29	.721	.017
Q30	.734	-.174
Q31	.702	-.198
Q32	.539	.084
Q33	.667	.019
Q34	.594	-.029
Q35	.709	-.010
Q36	-.042	.428
Q37	.410	-.032
Q38	.225	.581
Q39	.234	-.217
Q40	.228	.463

On the basis of reliability and the PRINCALS results, the 40 items in Table 13 were transformed into two additive scales. One scale was based on the (28) variables that loaded high on dimension one; the second scale was based on the (12) variables that loaded high on dimension two.

To investigate whether these scales differ significantly from each other, a paired Ttest was conducted. Examination of the distribution of both scales, however, showed that scale two (12 variables) did not meet the assumptions of the model. Scale two was therefore square root transformed.

The results of the paired Ttest revealed that both scales differed significantly and thus validated the results of both previous analyses, $T(66)=-27.68, P<.001$. Two oneway ANOVA's were conducted to examine each scale separately on their power to distinguish in gender. Only scale one (28 questions) showed a significant difference between male and female opinions: $F(1,64)=12.87, P<.001$. Scale two (12 questions) differentiated poorly between males and females: $F(1,64)=0.39, P>.53$.

In order to evaluate the predictive power of the scale, a logistic stepwise regression analysis was conducted with gender as the dependent variable. The model fit improved significantly: the log likelihood value (-2LL) decreased from 73.11 to 60.50, $\text{ChiSq}(1)=12.66, p<.001$.

The accuracy of the model is also illustrated by the classification table.

Table 14 shows that 44 female and 5 male teachers were classified correctly. Six females, however, were incorrectly classified as male and eleven males were incorrectly classified as females. Thus, the model correctly predicted 74.24% of the observed classification.

Table 14. Classification table for gender based

on (the new) scale one.

Observed	Predicated	
	Male	Female
Male	5	11
Female	6	44

Since, however, 69% of the males were incorrectly classified by the model based on the additive scale, the next analysis was conducted to establish whether a better prediction could be obtained by analyzing which of the individual variables (questions) differ significantly between male and female opinions.

A Chi-Square analysis was conducted per variable with gender as the grouping variable. Table 15 shows that only 10 variables were accountable for the difference in gender. Two variables were significant (Q5 and Q29) but rejected because of their low level of expected frequency.

The pattern of differences between gender, shown by the Chi-Square analysis, of the remaining questions was straightforward: more female teachers than expected were in agreement with the questions whereas; more male teachers than expected were in disagreement with the questions. Furthermore, Q15 seemed the less powerful in

differentiating between female and male opinion, in contrast to Q30, which reached the highest Chi-Square, and the smallest probability of being a coincidence.

Table 15. Chi-square analysis of selected questions.

Question	ChiSq	Df	Sign
Q15	6.08	2	.047
Q17	8.91	2	.011
Q20	7.15	2	.028
Q21	6.77	2	.034
Q22	6.27	2	.044
Q25	6.74	2	.034
Q28	8.85	2	.012
Q30	15.95	2	.000
Q31	12.89	2	.002
Q34	6.99	2	.030

The final step in the analysis was to validate the above findings by evaluating which of the above variables (questions) had sufficient predictive power to discriminate significantly between male and female opinions. Again a logistic stepwise regression analysis was conducted with gender as the dependent variable. Two variables, Q30 and Q34, were selected ($p < .05$) and improved the model fit significantly: the log likelihood value (-2LL) decreased from 67.48 to 44.35, $\text{ChiSq}(2) = 23.14$, $p < .001$.

Table 16 presents the classification table and shows that 37 female and 10 male teachers were classified correctly. Eight females, however, were incorrectly classified as male and five males were incorrectly classified as females. Thus, the model correctly predicted 78.33% of the observed classification.

Table 16. Classification table for gender based on Q30 and Q34.

Observed	Predicated	
	Male	Female
Male	10	5
Female	8	37

Although the difference of the opinions between male and female teachers seems to be fairly distinguished by Q30 and Q34, the coefficient of Q34 is relatively low and was only significant at 10% level (see Table 17).

Table 17. The selected variables (P<.05) and their coefficients and constant.

Variable	B	Wald	df	Sign
Q30	-2.193	6.231	1	.01
Q34	-.604	2.128	1	.10
Constant	8.024	9.065	1	.00

Thus, Q30 and Q34 only, seem better in differentiating between opinions of male and female teachers than the additive scale one: Gender is fairly predicated by the equation:

$$Y = 8.02 + (-2.193q30) + (-.604q34)$$