

**PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADULT ROLE AMONG ADOLESCENT
GREEK GIRLS IN JOHANNESBURG**

by

PANAGIOTA PANARETOS

Submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in the subject

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR E M LEMMER

NOVEMBER 2002

SUMMARY

The formulation of the perceptions of the adult role among adolescent Greek girls in Johannesburg, is a complex matter. The girls are influenced by their Greek cultural upbringing, while also experiencing the effects of inherent gender inequalities in the education system. This study investigated the perceptions of the adult role among adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg and the implications for educational provision. A literature survey investigated the formation of gender identity among adolescent girls. Existing research on the issues of gender in education was reviewed. A qualitative study of the life-world of eight adolescent Greek schoolgirls was conducted. Data elicited from semi-structured interviews were analysed, discussed and synthesised. The major findings emanated. The girls were influenced in their adult role perceptions by their cultural backgrounds, but all expressed a desire to strive for new levels of independence. Guidelines for relevant educational provision were proposed.

KEY WORDS

Adolescent

Adult

Adult role

Career guidance

Cultural values

Curriculum

Empirical investigation

Gender

Greek adolescent girls

Hidden curriculum

Identity

Johannesburg, South Africa

Life-world

Peer group

Qualitative research

Self-concept

Semi-structured interviews

Social change

Socialisation

Vocational choice

I declare that: **Perceptions of the adult role among adolescent Greek girls in Johannesburg** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature:

Panarelis

Date: 2003-02-04

ARV
305.2350968221 PANA

UNISA	
BIBLIOTHECA LIBRARY	
Clasif	2003-07-
Klas	
Adress	
As wia	



0001826711

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADULT ROLE AMONG ADOLESCENT GREEK GIRLS IN JOHANNESBURG

CHAPTER		Page
1	PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIM AND METHOD	1
1.1	BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.1.1	Historical perspective	1
1.1.2	The Greek community today	3
1.1.3	The goals of education	4
1.2	PROBLEM FORMULATION	6
1.3	AIM OF INVESTIGATION	7
1.4	METHOD OF STUDY	8
1.5	CHAPTER DIVISIONS	10
1.6	SUMMARY	11
2	THE FORMATION OF GENDER IDENTITY AMONG ADOLESCENT GIRLS	13
2.1	INTRODUCTION	13
2.2	DEFINITION OF TERMS	13
2.2.1	Self-concept	13
2.2.1.1	The physical self-concept	14
2.2.1.2	The intellectual self-concept	15
2.2.1.3	The psychological self-concept	15
2.2.1.4	The social self-concept	15
2.2.1.5	The moral self-concept	16
2.2.1.6	The gender self-concept	16
2.2.1.7	The ideal self (ego-ideal or idealised self-image)	16
2.2.1.8	Self-esteem	17
2.2.1.9	Different perspective of the self-concept	17
2.2.1.10	The self-concept and change	17
2.2.2	Identity	18
2.2.2.1	Aspects of identity	19

2.2.2.2	Public identity	19
2.2.2.3	Personal identity	20
2.2.2.4	Individual identity	20
2.2.2.5	Identity formation in adolescence	21
2.2.3	Roles	22
2.2.3.1	Role prescriptions	22
2.2.3.2	Role expectations	23
2.2.3.3	Role fulfilment	23
2.2.4	Gender identity	24
2.2.4.1	Gender role	25
2.2.4.2	Core gender identity	27
2.2.4.3	Body image	28
2.2.5	Adolescence	29
2.2.5.1	What is adolescence?	30
2.2.5.2	Key developmental tasks of adolescence	32
2.3	BIOLOGICAL VIEWS OF ADOLESCENCE	34
2.3.1	Introduction	34
2.3.2	The biological theories of adolescence	34
2.3.2.1	The recapitulation theory	34
2.3.2.2	Spiral growth pattern theory	35
2.3.2.3	Criticism of the biological views of adolescence	36
2.4	THE CREATION OF GENDER IDENTITY: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE THEORIES RELATING TO THE FORMATION OF FEMININITY	36
2.4.1	Introduction	36
2.4.2	The psychoanalytical approach	37
2.4.2.1	Sigmund Freud: Anatomy is destiny	37
2.4.2.2	Erik Erikson: A sociopsychanalytical approach	39
2.4.2.3	The Neo-Freudians	42
2.4.2.3.1	Clara Thompson	42
2.4.2.3.2	Karen Honey	43
2.4.3	Carl Gustav Jung	44
2.5	THE FEMINIST CRITIQUE	46
2.5.1	Introduction	46
2.5.2	Kate Millet	46
2.5.3	Simone de Beauvoir: Women are not born, but made	47

2.5.4	Carol Gilligan	47
2.6	THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY	48
2.6.1	The agents of socialisation	49
2.6.1.1	Parental influence	49
2.6.1.2	The role of the school	50
2.6.1.3	The peer group	52
2.6.1.4	Cultural values	53
2.6.1.5	Class differences	55
2.7	THE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT THEORY	57
2.7.1	Jean Piaget	57
2.7.2	Lawrence Kohlberg	58
2.7.3	Kohlberg and Gilligan: Sex differences in moral reasoning	60
2.7.3.1	Carol Gilligan: Listening to the voices of women	62
2.8	Contemporary approaches to the issue of female gender identity formation	63
2.8.1	Nancy Chodorow	63
2.8.2	Janet Lever	65
2.9	THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE ADOLESCENT GIRL	66
3	GENDER IN EDUCATION	68
3.1	INTRODUCTION	68
3.2	WOMEN AND CHANGE: A NEW APPROACH TO WOMEN'S EDUCATION	69
3.2.1	Factors contributing to the change of attitude towards women	70
3.2.1.1	A new domestic role	70
3.2.1.2	A new economic role	70
3.2.1.3	A new political role	71
3.2.1.4	Social movements and social change	71
3.2.2	Women in the work force	72
3.2.3	The role of education in a changing world	72
3.2.3.1	The school as an agent of socialisation	73
3.2.3.2	The culture of schools	74
3.2.3.2.1	Goals of education	74
3.2.3.2.2	Structure of schools	74
3.2.3.2.3	Instructional techniques	74

3.2.3.3	The curriculum	75
3.2.3.4	Learning and resource materials	76
3.2.3.4.1	Toys	76
3.2.3.4.2	Text books	77
3.2.3.5	Teachers	78
3.2.3.5.1	Teacher expectations	78
3.2.3.5.2	Behaviour	78
3.2.3.5.3	Achievement	79
3.2.3.6	Teacher-pupil interaction	79
3.2.3.6.1	Talk	79
3.2.3.6.2	Waiting	80
3.2.3.6.3	Identity	80
3.2.3.6.4	Reward and punishment	80
3.2.3.7	Effects of biased interaction	81
3.2.3.8	Teachers as models	81
3.2.3.9	Career guidance	82
3.2.3.9.1	Vocational choice	82
3.2.3.10	Mathematics	82
3.2.3.10.1	Mathematics and the hidden curriculum	82
3.2.3.11	Science	83
3.3	WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE	83
3.3.1	Introduction	83
3.3.2	Enrolment trends	84
3.3.3	Primary education	84
3.3.4	Secondary education	85
3.3.5	Higher education	85
3.3.6	Women in the labour market	86
3.3.6.1	Women's professions	88
3.3.6.2	Changing concepts of women's work and professions	89
3.3.6.3	Positive action for women managers	91
3.3.6.3.1	Women managers in the private sector	92
3.3.6.4	Women entrepreneurs	93
3.3.6.5	Internationals policy and equality of educational opportunity	94
3.4	WOMEN IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF SOUTH AFRICA	95

3.4.1	Introduction	96
3.4.2	Conceptualising gender in education	97
3.4.3	Gender in the education struggle	98
3.4.4	Education and the position of women	98
3.4.4.1	Introduction	98
3.4.4.2	Pupils	99
3.4.4.2.1	School attendance	101
3.4.4.2.2	The curriculum	102
3.4.4.2.3	Educational outcomes	104
3.4.4.3	Higher Education	105
3.4.4.4	Teachers	106
3.4.4.5	Education in politics	107
3.4.4.6	SADTU	108
3.4.4.7	Women in the labour market	109
3.4.5	The current position of women in South Africa	111
3.4.5.1	Women and education	111
3.4.5.2	Women and the economy	112
3.4.5.3	Women, power and decision-making	113
3.4.6	Conclusion	114
3.5	THE EDUCATION OF THE GREEK GIRL IN JOHANNESBURG	115
3.5.1	The adolescent Greek school girl in Johannesburg	115
3.5.2	Greek girls and curricular choices	117
3.5.3	Patterns of attainment	117
3.5.4	Higher education	118
3.5.5	The labour market	120
3.5.6	Conclusion	124
4	RESEARCH DESIGN	125
	Design of study	125
4.1	INTRODUCTION	125
4.2	PURPOSEFUL SAMPLING	126
4.2.1	Site selection	126
4.2.1.1	Place	126
4.2.1.2	Group of people: participant selection	127
4.2.1.3	Activity involved	127
4.2.1.4	Sample size	128

4.3	STATEMENT OF SUBJECTIVITY	129
4.4	PHASES OF DATA COLLECTION	130
4.4.1	Locating participants	131
4.4.2	Data collection	132
4.4.3	Closing data collection	133
4.5	DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES	133
4.5.1	Interviewing techniques	134
4.5.1.1	Semi-structured interviews	135
4.5.1.2	Recording of interviews	136
4.6	DATA SORTING	137
4.7	DATA ANALYSIS	138
4.8	RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY	139
4.9	LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	140
5	INDIVIDUAL LIFE EXPERIENCES OF ADOLESCENT GREEK SCHOOLGIRLS IN JOHANNESBURG	141
5.1	INTRODUCTION	141
5.2	CHARACTERISTICS AND BACKGROUND DATA	142
5.2.1	Age and family background	142
5.2.2	Educational background at the time of the interviews	143
5.2.3	Degree of acculturation of the participants	145
5.2.4	Observations and discussion of the interview process	146
5.2.5	Discussion of birth cohort characteristics	148
5.3	PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF KEY THEMES	150
5.3.1	Marriage	150
5.3.1.1	The concept of marriage	150
5.3.1.1(a)	Discussion of the concept of marriage	153
5.3.1.2	Expectations of marriage	153
5.3.1.2(a)	Discussion of expectations of marriage	158
5.3.1.3	Choice of marriage partner	159
5.3.1.3(a)	Discussion of choice of marriage partner	162
5.3.1.4	Spouse support	163
5.3.1.4(a)	Discussion of spouse support	167
5.3.2	Family life	168

5.3.2.1	Perception of family life	169
5.3.2.1(a)	Discussion of perception of family life	172
5.3.2.2	Attitudes towards motherhood	172
5.3.2.2(a)	Discussion of attitudes towards motherhood	174
5.3.2.3	Coping strategies	175
5.3.2.3(a)	Discussion of coping strategies	177
5.3.2.4	Child care	177
5.3.2.4(a)	Discussion of child care	179
5.3.3	Career and work	180
5.3.3.1	Career choices	180
5.3.3.1(a)	Discussion of career choices	183
5.3.3.2	Career and independence	184
5.3.3.2(a)	Discussion of career and independence	188
5.3.3.3	Earning potential	189
5.3.3.3(a)	Discussion of earning potential	191
5.3.3.4	Commitment to work	191
5.3.3.4(a)	Discussion of commitment to work	195
5.3.3.5	Special concerns related to the workplace	195
5.3.3.5(a)	Discussion of special concerns related to the workplace	198
5.4	SUMMARY	199
6	SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS, GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AND CONCLUSIONS	200
6.1	INTRODUCTION	200
6.1.1	Overview of the investigation	201
6.1.2	Organisation of material	201
6.2	SYNTHESIS OF SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS	203
6.2.1	Identity formation and the agents of socialisation	203
6.2.2	Education as a means of upward mobility	205
6.2.3	Influence of parental values	206
6.2.4	Influence of cultural values	207
6.2.5	Desire for independence	208
6.2.6	The importance of marriage	208
6.2.7	The ethics of care	209
6.2.8	Overlapping spheres: the interpenetration of work and family	210
6.2.9	Motherhood	211
6.3	GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL PROVISION	211
6.3.1	Research	212
6.3.2	Legislation	213
6.3.3	Career guidance	213
6.3.3.1	Training of career guidance teachers	213

6.3.3.2	Career guidance in the school	214
6.3.3.3	Parental involvement	215
6.4	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	215
6.5	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	216
6.6	IN CONCLUSION	218
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	219

APPENDIX

Information form
Consent form
Interview guide

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE NUMBER	TITLE	PAGE
Figure 2.1	Aspects of the self-concept	14
Figure 2.2	A composite picture of the self-concept, identity and roles within the context of the individual's world	23
Figure 2.3	The developmental sequence and interrelationship of sex, gender, sex-role, sex-role identity and roles	27

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NUMBER	TITLE	PAGE
Table 2.1	Kohlberg's versus Gilligan's understanding of moral development	61
Table 3.1	Pupils at primary schools by sex, 1970-1990 (Sub A to Std 4 inc.)	101
Table 3.2	Pupils at secondary schools by sex, 1970-1990 (Std 5 to Std 10 inc.)	101
Table 3.3	Technikon Witwatersrand: male and female students by school 1990.	105
Table 3.4	Average percentage composition of staff	110
Table 3.5	Wits 1997 results	119
Table 3.6	Wits 1998 results	120
Table 5.1	Age and family background of participants at the time of interviews	143
Table 5.2	Educational background of participants at time of interviews	144
Table 5.3	Future career plans and goals	144
Table 5.4	Degree of acculturation	145

CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIM AND METHOD

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1.1 Historical perspective

The South African Hellenic community is a cultural minority group which, although well-established and to a large extent acculturised within the broader South African context, still maintains narrow bonds with Greece and has preserved, very strongly, its characteristic Greek identity. The profile of the community is changing rapidly, especially in the socio-economic domain, when compared to the socio-economic status of the early immigrants who arrived in this country, some as early as in the pre-World War I years.

“South Africa is still in a primitive state, and there is much scope for development here – in fact, life is much easier than in any other part of the world, in my opinion” (Scoufes 1985:3). The earliest immigrants were searching for better opportunities than their own country could afford to offer in a place where they could work hard and prosper. After the War of Independence, in 1821, the Greeks were liberated after 400 years of Turkish domination. Although politically liberated, they were economically very deprived. Their adventurous spirits, so long denied, infused many with the desire to emigrate to lands of economic prosperity. By the end of the nineteenth century, a total of 400 000 Greeks had emigrated to the United States alone. Canada, Australia, Brazil and Africa were other favoured destinations. In South Africa, by 1904, there were 931 Greeks in Cape Town; 378 in the Transvaal; 140 in Natal and 50 in the area of today’s Free State (Archives 1996:3). Many were educationally deprived, with a minimal knowledge of English and no knowledge of Afrikaans. Opportunities existed, many saw gaps in the market and their entrepreneurial spirit led them to establish their own businesses, many of which flourished.

“My father walked in the streets of Cape Town for a few days, and one fine morningnoticed the evident shortage of transport and hit on the idea of establishing a small transport enterprise. This idea proved very successful, and prospered into a thriving business” (Scoufes: 1985:5). Similar success stories are recorded, and the immigrant community soon began to take firm root in its adopted country. “I arrived in Cape Town in May 1921. After eighteen months, with just a

rudimentary knowledge of English, I went to Kroonstad in the Orange Free State, where I started my own business. In the middle of 1925, I returned to Johannesburg, where I have been ever since” (Scoufes 1985:9).

Before 1900, many Greeks had settled in Cape Town, and the first Orthodox Church was built in Cape Town between 1890 and 1900. After 1902, many Greeks left Cape Town for Johannesburg. Many more Greeks arrived from Egypt, Cyprus and Greece itself. Not only was Greece experiencing the ravages of war, but the Civil War years (ending in 1949/50) and the German occupation of Greece during World War II had severely hampered progress and education. South Africa presented an appealing alternative, offering job opportunities, with the establishment of many new cities. “During the years 1915 – 1930, new cities were erected and developed. To the East of Johannesburg, such as Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan, Springs and Nigel; to the West Maraisburg, Florida, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp and Randfontein. In these cities, quite a large number of Greeks established themselves in different commercial enterprises. The church of St Constantine and Helen, in central Johannesburg, became the devoted mother of the Greek population” (Scoufes 1985:17).

In addition to the massive development occurring in South Africa, an “open door” immigration policy prevailed in the 1960’s, encouraging immigrants from Europe to settle permanently in South Africa. As a result, many new Greek immigrants arrived in South Africa. Most were skilled artisans and technicians. Many were seeking new opportunities in a country which promised development and prosperity. “After this, as a consequence, the population grew considerably, and the new generation from the small original one increased in proportion” (Scoufes: 1985:17).

The pioneers of the thirties and forties, mostly from rural backgrounds, took the same route as their predecessors, working long hours in the shops of relatives, until they accumulated funds to start out on their own. Most opened up small businesses in the food industry, a pattern not only distinctive to South Africa, but also to other host countries, such as the United States and Australia. They founded a South African Greek community with emerging structures which had been instituted by the pioneers in the earlier part of the twentieth century. These had set up “KOINOTITES”, or COMMUNITY CENTRES, which imitated the “KOINOTIS” or smallest unit of local government in Greece (Archives 1996:8). One of the greatest ideals of the Greek community, was the establishment of a truly representative Greek School, which would symbolise the aspirations of every parent (Scoufes: 1985:33).

Many Greek parents wished to preserve their Hellenic identity, and to ensure the continuity of the Greek language, customs and traditions in the future. Hence, after the establishment of the Church of St Constantine and Helen, the next priority was the establishment of a school, to give Greek education to the future generations of the community. It was the only way to preserve the traditions and ties with the mother country, and to inculcate a pride in one's identity. Education was seen as the best way to foster these ideals and to encourage the teaching of Greek culture, language and history, while not detracting from the process of acculturation, which was occurring simultaneously (Scoufes 1985:16).

1.1.2 The Greek community today

Very strong educational and cultural bonds shared with Greece are evident in Greek communities in South Africa, according to Mrs E Georgiou, acting educational attaché of the Hellenic Consulate in Johannesburg (1998: personal interview). The modern day Hellenic community is a very well established and prosperous "KOINOTITA", which still maintains close cultural, religious and linguistic bonds with Greece. Family values and traditional upbringing are still very relevant within the community, and are fostered by the Greek school, SAHETI, situated in Johannesburg, as well as by the three Hellenic Community High Schools in Houghton, Linden and Robertsham, operating under the auspices of the Hellenic community of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand. Besides employing South African educated Greek teachers to teach in these schools, the Greek government also second teachers from Greece, for a period of five years, to work abroad and to teach Greek at schools abroad. To entice teachers from Greece, the Greek government offers attractive employment conditions and remuneration (an allowance of \$300) in order to give children abroad the opportunity to be taught by Greek-educated teachers and to foster stronger bonds with Greece. (Georgiou 1998: personal interview). The Greek community also observes the national holidays annually, under the auspices of the Federation of Hellenic Communities in South Africa, whose aim is to promote Hellenism. The National Day of 25 March is celebrated at the grounds of the Greek Sporting Club in Senderwood, where representatives from Gauteng and further afield, gather to honour Greece's independence from the Turks in 1821. This is a significant day, marking Greece's struggle for liberation, the victory of survival after so many years of Turkish occupation and ultimately, the victory of language, religion and culture. Greek children from all the community schools participate in the March, honouring the war-heroes. Further manifestations of national importance, are the celebration of 28 October, marking Greece's resistance to the fascist forces during World War II (Georgiou

1998: personal interview). As the majority of the Greek population observes the Greek Orthodox Faith, a further cultural tie is the Greek Orthodox Church, where services are conducted in Greek and the observation of the Holy Days and in particular, the Easter celebrations, enhance the cultural ties which bind the community together (The Star March 25:19).

In addition to the federal umbrella body, the Federation of Hellenic Communities of South Africa, other institutions also exist, which enrich the patterns of existing community structures. Such associations include SAHETI (1949); the Greek Sporting Club (1958); the first Hellenic Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (1952); The Students' Hellenic Association (SHA 1958); the Greek Ladies' Benevolent Society (1913); The Hellenic Orthodox Ladies' Association (HOLA, 1969). These were formed as the need arose. The Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Johannesburg Branch (1987), broke new ground in that it was not an indigenous creation, but received its mandate from abroad, to become part of an international chain of clubs. The Greek Lyceum was founded in Athens, in 1911. The various Greek institutions not only formalised community-based links, but also created a network of relationships based on shared values, providing immigrants with self-definition and prestige. In so doing, they helped counter the anonymity and loneliness which engulfs immigrants, particularly those moving out of a homogeneous society into multi-cultural one (Archives 1996:8).

1.1.3 The goals of education

As the early immigrants to South Africa were people of limited education, their prime goal was to encourage their children to acquire an education, and improve their socio-economic status. Many of the early immigrants became proprietors of a café, as a first step in owning their own businesses. The corner café provided them with a livelihood and a means for educating their children. Café proprietors suffered a great deal, often working up to 17 or 18 hours a day. Often, wives and children would also be seen, assisting in the shop (Archives 1996:7).

In the Greek café society, many Greek women had been brought up in a traditional and paternalistic environment and were never able to pursue a career of their own. They devoted all their time to their family (Papadakis and Fundudis 1991:26). The "Café generation", children raised in the Café society, stress however, the inordinate amount of attention their parents placed on education, as it was education that was regarded as a vehicle for social mobility (Papadakis and Fundudis 1991:32). Café owners take great pride in discussing the heights of their children's

educational levels. They have great aspirations for their children, often placing an enormous amount of pressure on them to pursue university careers. They will sacrifice as much as possible for the benefit of education. The Café parents gave their children all the opportunities they never had. Café owners expressed their wish to provide their children with a sound education, and in doing so, maintain the Greek identity simultaneously (Papadakis and Fundudis 1991:34). Besides the formal education acquired in schools, girls were trained in life-skills by their mothers, and were encouraged to emulate their mothers' traditional roles in the spheres of family-life, work and religion. Despite attending school and university, girls were never actively encouraged to enter the job-market, as it was assumed that they would marry, and their position in society would be to raise their families and be submissive to their husbands in the traditional patriarchal family with boys being the focus of attention in the vocational sphere (Papadakis and Fundudis 1991:34).

However there has been, in the present day, a very dynamic development in women's educational participation, both in Greece, and internationally. With the absence of discrimination in the classroom, girls have been competing on an equal footing with boys, despite the disadvantages they may encounter through the effects of the hidden curriculum. An analysis of statistics reflects an increase in the numbers of young Greek professionals in Greece. Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1989:100) notes that in Greece, this is due both to social factors, as well as to changes in educational policies, aimed at greater equality between the sexes. Inevitably, with the close cultural ties that exist between Greece and the South African Greek community, fostered through family, society and formal educational institutions, these changes have affected the South African educational context as well. In keeping with international trends, education is a very strong incentive in the Greek community in South Africa.

Notwithstanding these advancements in education, and despite well-entrenched laws providing for gender equality, in education and in the workplace, the typical upbringing of a Greek girl includes an emphasis on her role as homemaker, wife and mother (Georgiou 1998: personal interview). Girls are still raised in a strongly male-dominated cultural society, within a patriarchal family unit, where the man is viewed as the provider and head of the family. On account of their success in the entrepreneurial field, many Greek men are successful businessmen who encourage their wives to be home-makers and discourage an independent separate career for their wives and daughters (Georgiou 1998: personal interview). In the changing society of today, with schools promoting independence and gender equality, there may arise a conflict between traditional

subservient “feminine” upbringing on the one hand, and the demands of a modern education system on the other. Similar observations were made by Bottomley (1979:141) who conducted a study of Greek Australians. Bottomley observed the conflicts and difficulties which arose as a result of a clash between the traditional upbringing of adolescent Greek girls and the modern ideas perpetrated by the education system, particularly with regard to their gender identity formation and the definition of their sex roles. Many girls, who have furthered their education, may find their aspirations hampered by the demands of culture and tradition. This study will investigate the perceptions of adult role among Greek secondary school girls in Johannesburg, and will investigate the extent to which their role in society is influenced by family and culture.

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

Against this background, a need clearly exists to investigate the role of culture in the formulation of girls’ perceptions of their role as adults, and to determine how this ultimately affects their career choice.

A need also exists to investigate how inherent gender inequalities within the education system may affect girls’ perceptions of their adult role and may thus also affect their career choice.

This investigation will be conducted with a view to developing guidelines for career counselling, which will promote girls’ career progression, and will help to resolve the conflict between the demands of a modern education system, and the constraints of culture. The research problem is thus subdivided into several contingent problems, enumerated below:

- a) Contemporary Greek secondary schoolgirls are displaying a need to distinguish themselves in a career, which may deviate from the traditional feminine “service industry” career choices of the past. They are also expressing a desire to become independent career women, with their own identity, their own career goals and aspirations, while continuing to fulfil their traditional roles as home-makers. This is largely coupled with the phenomenon of the re-entry of women into the work force, as well as with the assertion of gender-equality and the promotion of equal opportunity for all.

- b) A need exists to investigate the factors which may detract Greek adolescent schoolgirls from entering the work force, despite having attained the necessary qualifications and despite their expressed desire to do so. These factors may also detract adolescent schoolgirls from making a long-term commitment to a career of their own choice.
- c) Guidelines for career counselling should be derived from a detailed study of the lives of the individuals who are to be served by any such recommendation. Therefore, a specifically phenomenological, qualitative investigation into the life-world of adolescent Greek schoolgirls, is called for.

1.3 AIM OF INVESTIGATION

The objectives of this investigation are formulated as follows:

- a) The investigation aims to determine the manner in which adolescent girls form sex role identity and view their adult role with specific reference to determine how this affects their ultimate career choice.
- b) The investigation aims at providing a background to the history of the Greek community in Johannesburg, by investigating its presence and its socio-economic role, in a historical perspective, in order to determine the specific reference and value which the adult role holds for secondary school Greek girls, with a view to their Greek upbringing, way of life and cultural values.
- c) Furthermore, the investigation will aim to ascertain whether any changes in perceptions have occurred, within the historical framework, and to determine whether gender is, in fact, a factor which has influenced or inhibited change. It is also the aim of this investigation to ascertain the effects of the possible conflict which may exist between a modern education system and the constraints of culture and to assess the effects which cultural constraints may have on change.
- d) It is intended to investigate the life-world of a small sample of Greek secondary school girls in Johannesburg, by means of qualitative, idiographic study, in order to gather data which can be used to extend the body of knowledge, concerning female career choices

which may enter into conflict with a very conservative, traditional upbringing for girls. Hence, it will be possible to formulate grounded theory, and to determine the implications of such findings for the educational system, with a view to suggested educational innovations.

- e) Finally, the investigation aims at translating the findings of the intended empirical study, into guidelines for the improvement of educational practice, where the special needs created through the conflict of culture and modern educational practice are involved. An outline for recommendations for career counselling will be presented, thus facilitating career choices, while permitting the girls from this specific cultural group to enter into the work force and enhance their career development unhampered.

1.4 METHOD OF STUDY

The principal method of investigation used in this study, is a qualitative analysis of a small sample of Greek secondary school girls in Johannesburg selected by judgment sampling.

The empirical investigation is preceded by a thorough study of the relevant literature concerning the formation of gender identity in adolescent girls. The literature study investigates the various psychological theories development, and an overview of the issues of gender both on an international basis, as well as in a South African context. Here, attention must be drawn to the particular function of a literature study as a preliminary step in a qualitative investigation. In this type of inquiry, the literature study is not only an exploration of the present state of research, but it also fulfils the function of identifying crucial issues in past research, of identifying different perspectives upon the subject of study, as well as discovering areas which have hitherto been neglected in the literature (Bogdan and Biklen 1982:153). In this way, the literature study allows new and speculative questions to emerge which can be further explored during empirical inquiry. Such questions are explicated in Chapters 2 and 3, and form a useful framework of the in-depth interviews with the adolescent schoolgirls, discussed in Chapter 5.

The study thus entails a qualitative research approach, using in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted amongst the small sample of girls selected for the purposes of this study.

According to Borg and Gall (1989), qualitative research involves a holistic inquiry, carried out in a natural setting, in which the researcher studies the whole setting, with the aim of understanding the reality fully. The primary data-collecting instruments are humans, and the method relies on human powers of observation, rather than on pen and pencil tests. Borg and Gall (1989) state furthermore, that supplemental data can be attained by using more objective instruments, such as questionnaires and pen and pencil tests, but this is only done to supplement the primary data.

The sample to be studied, is a purposefully-selected sample, rather than a sample compiled through random-sampling. Thus, the researcher is more likely to uncover the full array of "multiple realities" relevant to an inquiry (Borg and Gall 1989:386). In this investigation, the sample selected has been made up of Grade 11 – Grade 12 schoolgirls, at Greek secondary school in Johannesburg. All participants have Greek parents and Greek is spoken in the home.

Borg and Gall (1989) state also that instead of deductive analysis, focusing on testing a preconceived hypothesis, the qualitative researcher studies the data inductively, in order to reveal unanticipated outcomes. The researcher, thus, first gathers the data, and only then tries to develop an understanding, and only then tries to draw generalisations.

A major characteristic of qualitative research is its emphasis on "grounded theory". Thus, theory that is "grounded in the data", i.e. developed from the data, is viewed as superior to "a priori" theory, as it reflects the data much more accurately (Borg and Gall 1989:386).

The design of a qualitative study emerges as the research progresses. The researcher will begin with a tentative design, and will develop the design as the inquiry progresses. This permits adapting the design to include variables that were not anticipated prior to the start of observation. The rationale for emergent design is that it is impossible for enough to be known ahead of time, to develop an adequate research design (Borg and Gall 1989:386).

The design, however, can be described as follows. Semi-structured interviews were utilised to elicit data from a small, selected sample of Greek secondary school girls (Grade 11 – Grade 12). An interview guide was drawn up and the semi-structured interview led to discussions which were similar in nature to unstructured interviews, with almost complete latitude in asking the questions. The interviews were recorded on audiotape, and the tapes were later transcribed, for closer examination. Transcripts are the main data of many interview studies (Bogdan and Biklen

1982:128). Hence analysis and interpretation of the data take place simultaneously.

The semi-structured interview can be broadly defined as a guided conversation in which the interviewee, rather than the interviewer imposes the structure of the interview (Lemmer 1989:256). Questionnaires are not used and most often the researcher himself is the research instrument responsible for data-collection (Bogdan and Biklen 1982:2). The aim of the semi-structured interview is to elicit from the participant rich, detailed material filled with words, that reveal the participant's perspective (Bogdan and Biklen 1982:136). In the semi-structured interview, the interviewee is regarded as a participant, rather than a subject or respondent (Lemmer 1989:139). The term "participant", used in qualitative research, suggests one who discloses personal information to the interviewer, within the framework of an impersonal relationship marked by trust and rapport (Lemmer 1989:140/141).

This research is designed to be exploratory and descriptive, not to predict behaviour, not to establish cause and effect relationships under experimental conditions. Furthermore, no attempt is made to reject or confirm specific hypotheses, as in the case of quantitative research (Lemmer 1989:14). The primary aim of the investigation, is, thus, to understand and describe how Greek adolescent girls view their adult role, from their own frame of reference.

1.5 CHAPTER DIVISIONS

The second Chapter examines the formation of gender-identity among adolescent girls. This chapter focuses on the various psychological theories of development, with specific reference to the development of adolescent girls. An overview of the theories of adolescent development is presented. The life-world of the adolescent girl is also examined.

The third chapter examines the role of gender in education. The role of the hidden curriculum is analysed and the disadvantages which this poses for girls within the education system, is highlighted. This is followed by an overview of women's education in an international perspective which establishes the issue of gender on an international basis. An analysis of the part played by gender in the education of girls in South Africa is also discussed, emphasising the gains made by women, especially in the last decades. Finally, the position of Greek girls in South Africa, who experience the constraints of the South African education system, and who are raised within the Greek cultural framework, concludes the analysis.

In the fourth chapter, an exposition of the qualitative methodology, chosen for the empirical investigation is provided. Chapter 4 presents a detailed description of the design employed to study the life-world of the adolescent girls selected for the study. It focuses on a detailed description of the design of the study, including a description of the procedures used in locating the participants and of the methods used to analyse, order and understand the data.

In the fifth chapter, the data obtained by means of the interviews is presented and discussed, according to certain key themes, so as to formulate grounded theory.

In the sixth chapter, a synthesis of research findings is given. Guidelines are presented, for educational provision which will support the career development and career management of adolescent Greek girls. Suggestions for future research are made and the limitations of the study are outlined. Recommendations are also made for career counselling made on the basis of findings of the empirical investigation.

1.6 SUMMARY

The study is undertaken to explore the perceptions of the adult role among adolescent Greek girls, in South Africa. It has been noted that although Greek girls are encouraged to study and to attend university, very few ultimately follow their chosen career paths. The question arises as to whether this is due to traditional, patriarchal values that inhibit girls from utilizing their talents, or whether appealing career opportunities do not exist, once the girls are qualified. Remuneration may be unsatisfactory, leading to the phenomenon that many successful businessmen prefer their wives to attend to the family, or be absorbed in the family business.

The strong influence of Hellenic culture is very much in evidence in South Africa. Although the first pioneers arrived in South Africa over a century ago, the cultural bonds with Greece remain very strong. However, in view of global changes occurring in education and the emphasis on gender-equality internationally, it is inevitable that these modern trends will also affect South African Greek girls.

An interesting phenomenon is the notion that any immigrant community, or cultural minority, adheres a lot more strongly to its cultural heritage, in order to preserve its identity. Thus, despite international trends towards gender-equality, the traditional notions of a patriarchal family and

society are still firmly rooted in the Greek psyche.

Thus, work, family and educational strategies must be developed, to ensure that the important resources represented by the Greek adolescent girls are not lost. This study is designed to serve as a means of increasing our knowledge of the needs of this sector of the population, and of integrating these findings into grounded theory, with a view to indicating the implications for educational provision and career counselling.

CHAPTER 2

THE FORMATION OF GENDER IDENTITY AMONG ADOLESCENT GIRLS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a very close interconnection between the psychological development of adolescent girls, the formation of their self-identity and the perception of their adult role in society. This chapter will focus on the various psychological theories of development, with specific reference to the development of adolescent girls. An overview of the theories of adolescent development will be presented, in order to explain the formation of girls' self-identity, which in turn, influences the perception of their adult role and their career choices in later life.

Throughout life, one is confronted by the questions, "What am I?" "Who am I?" and "What is my place in society?" These three questions relate to the concepts which will be analysed in depth in this chapter. They refer to the individual's self-concept, identity and roles. Although these concepts are closely interrelated, each refers to a different aspect of self-perception, and what the individual believes himself to be (Gerdes et al 1988:77).

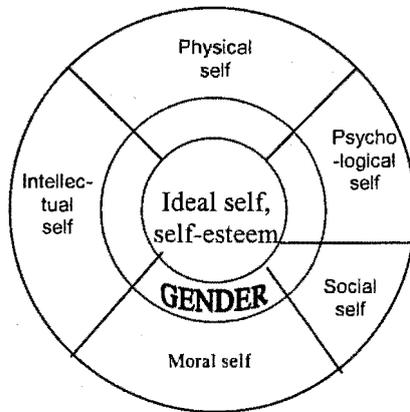
Sharpes (1992:52) stated that until the modern era, the concept of the I or Self, was a metaphysical consideration, a problem of defining the subject, as opposed to objects or objective reality. However, we have come a long way from the "I think" of Descartes, to an understanding, even in a philosophical tradition, of what that "I" is. Furthermore, Sharpes (1992:53) believes that any analysis and understanding of the self-concept must incorporate the notions of conscious perceptions partly rooted in the inherited unconscious of the self, or personal identity. Thus the "self" in this investigation into adolescent self-concept, means this phenomenological unity of both the conscious and the unconscious in an individual.

2.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

2.2.1 Self-concept

Gross (1992:607) states that the self-concept can be thought of as the individual's beliefs about his/her personality. It is how the individual perceives his/her personality. Furthermore, Gross

(1992:607) states that the self-concept traditionally refers to three major components (i) self-image; (ii) self-esteem; and (iii) ideal self. Burns (1979:3) says that “the self-concept is a composite image of what we think we are, what we think we can achieve, and what we would like to be”. Gerdes et al (1988:77) state that the self-concept may be defined as a person’s view of his own attributes, which may be categorised in terms of certain aspects. This is illustrated clearly in the accompanying figure.



Source: Gerdes et al 1988:77

Figure 2.1

Aspects of the self-concept.

This figure shows clearly that there are several major aspects of the self-concept, but each person will attach a different degree of importance to each of the components. Gerdes et al (1988:77) state that one person’s definition of self may relate, first and foremost to his appearance, physical strength and athletic performance, while another person may place the emphasis on his professional role and academic achievements. The whole is, however, always affected by the evaluation of the specific parts. Each of the individual components will now be examined in greater depth.

2.2.1.1 The physical self-concept

Gerdes et al (1988:78) believe that the physical self-concept is also known as “body image”. This refers to an individual’s psychological awareness of his body, including internal organs and processes, as well as external appearance, and the associated attitudes and feelings. The individual’s body image reflects the value and meaning which he attaches to various aspects of his physical self. Gross (1992:621) reports that the bodily self is the first aspect of the self-concept that emerges in the baby and, during the onset of puberty, which marks the beginning of

adolescence, the bodily self undergoes a dramatic change. The adolescent has a much stronger and more clearly-defined body image than a young child, as there are dramatic changes in the shape and appearance of an adolescent's body, as well as new sexual feelings and other sensations which accompany these changes (Gross 1992:621). A positive evaluation of one's physical self-concept, enhances one's self-esteem.

2.2.1.2 The intellectual self-concept

This embraces a person's perception of his intellectual abilities, as well as of all his talents. Intellectual abilities means a person's level of intellectual functioning, while talents refer to a more specific ability which one has, such as a talent for music or art. Gerdes et al (1988:78) comment that it is important to note that thinking relates not only to a person's level of intellectual functioning, but also to the thought he brings to bear on all aspects of himself, and his life. Hence, as thinker, he learns to evolve a way of coping as a result of insights gained by the use of his intellectual abilities, and it is as thinker that he formulates his self-image.

2.2.1.3 The psychological self-concept

The psychological self-concept relates to several psychological attributes. These include the relatively enduring personality dispositions, such as introversion and extroversion; the characteristic emotional states such as anxiety, cheerfulness, aggressiveness and timidity; temperamental qualities, such as emotional arousal levels, calmness and excitability (Gerdes et al 1988:78).

2.2.1.4 The social self-concept

The individual is a unified personality, who must always be seen in a social context. He is embedded in his family, and in his community, and as a result, he is constantly involved in reciprocal social relations. Thus, a person's social self relates to the strength and to the nature of his social interest in, and involvement with others, and their reactions to him (Gerdes et al 1988:79).

Social factors exert an important influence on the self-concept throughout life. One's self-concept may be positively affected by praise, either from parents, friends, or an employer, while criticism

may lead to negativity and a sense of disappointment (Gerdes et al 1988:79).

2.2.1.5 The moral self-concept

The moral self-concept relates to a person's perception of the extent to which he satisfies the prescribed rules of conduct, in a given society or community. Morals are rules regarding interpersonal behaviour which, as they become internalised, give rise to the moral self (Gerdes et al 1988:79).

The foundation of the moral self, lies in the desire for approval, and the avoidance of disapproval, first from parents, then from other significant persons. Kohlberg (1966) studied moral development, by presenting subjects with moral dilemmas, each involving a conflict between 2 or more moral principles. From this study, he suggested six different stages of moral development. Gilligan (1982:105), however, suggests that there is a difference in the moral development of men and women. Gilligan believes that the essence of morality for women is not the same as for men, and that Kohlberg's stages are fundamentally flawed, because they are based on the male concept of morality.

2.2.1.6 The gender self-concept

No one sees himself or herself without gender. *He* thinks of himself as a strong *man*. *She* thinks of herself as an intellectual *woman*. Males and females are endowed with biological predispositions towards maleness and femaleness. However, the socio-cultural environment and significant other persons play an important part in shaping a masculine or a feminine self-concept, by means of prescriptions and norms about what is desirable or undesirable in boys and girls, as well as in men and women (Gerdes et al 1988:79/80).

2.2.1.7 The ideal self (ego-ideal or idealised self-image)

Our self-image is the kind of person we think we are. The ideal self is the kind of person we would like to be. We might be very dissatisfied with what we are like, and want to be different for this reason, or we may basically like ourselves, and want to develop and extend ourselves along essentially the same lines (Gross 1992:609). One's self-evaluation is closely related to one's ideal self, that is, to the characteristics one would like to possess, and the kind of person one would like

to be. It serves as an ideal, to which the individual aspires, and if realistic in terms of his actual abilities and limitations, provides valuable guidelines for development. The extent to which the individual attains his ideal self, will largely determine his self-esteem, or lack of it (Gerdes et al 1988:80).

2.2.1.8 Self-esteem

Self-esteem refers to the evaluative aspect of the self-concept. Hamacheck (1978:3) says: "Our self-esteem, then, refers quite literally to the extent to which we admire or value the self?" This, in turn, is related to our sense of worth.

Gross (1992:609) states that self-esteem is "a personal judgement of worthiness, that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself".

High self-esteem is associated with feeling of competence, satisfaction with oneself, and a feeling of worth, while low self-esteem is associated with feelings of incompetence, dissatisfaction with oneself and self-depreciation (Gerdes et al 1988:80).

2.2.1.9 Different perspectives of the self-concept

The self-concept may be viewed from different perspectives. It can be seen as an organised structure, or "Gestalt", in terms of which a person's self-perception may be described and classified (Figure 2.1).

It can also be viewed as a process, whereby an individual tries to achieve consistency between his behaviour and his concept of self. Gerdes et al (1988:81) also state that it can be viewed as an organised and dynamic entity, consisting of several major and numerous sub-systems.

2.2.1.10 The self-concept and change

Gerdes et al (1988:81) state that changing life circumstances and reactions from others affect the maintenance and change of one's self-concept. Minor sub-systems may be changed more readily than major systems. The individual's self-concept emerges gradually. An infant learns to distinguish between himself and the world, through discovering that his body is a part of himself,

and distinct from other objects. The awareness of self begins with physical sensation and the separation of self from others (Gerdes et al 1988:82).

Gradually, a child gets to know himself. A young child discovers and evaluates his body, and also explores and assesses other aspects of himself, in relation to his world. Positive reinforcement and approval by adults, helps a child develop positive habits (Papalia and Olds 1975:374).

As the child progresses through school, he increasingly measures himself against the norms and values of society: during adolescence, the standards of friends and the peer-group become a particularly important yardstick of self-evaluation. In trying to become more independent of his parents, the adolescent may, for a time, depend heavily on his peers for support and self-definition (Gerdes et al 1988:82).

In adulthood, the self-concept is a relatively stable entity, which directs behaviour, but can be modified according to certain changing circumstances.

2.2.2 Identity

Self-identity begins when the child is able to dissociate the I from the non-I, the mine from the non-mine. This initial consciousness of the self as unique is accompanied by self-evaluation. From an initial, vague and diffuse image of himself, a new image emerges, involving new concepts (masculine/feminine) and attributive values (positive/negative). The child formulates a series of self-concepts, some complimentary, others uncomplimentary. The integrated whole of the self-concept gives rise to an identity, which should be stable, yet continuous, so that the individual comes to know himself and understand himself, and that others may know him and what to expect of him. Identity formation is preceded by identifying with others, experimenting with actions and behaviours which are tested and selected, until a meaningful role is selected and incorporated into the self. Once self-identity has been formed, the child is accepted as a unique individual, with qualities that are peculiarly his (Vrey 1979:45).

Even though identity development may be a lifelong process, the search for a sense of identity is especially relevant during adolescence. During adolescence, the young person is confronted with a host of psychological, physiological, sexual and cognitive changes, as well as by new and varied intellectual, social and cognitive demands. Thus, adolescents need time to integrate the rapid changes occurring in their bodies and minds, into a unified sense of identity (Mussen et al

1990:619).

Erikson (1964:42) discusses the dilemma which faces the adolescent, and which contributes to the identity-crisis:

The identity the adolescent seeks to clarify, is who he is, what his role in society is to be. Is he a child or is he an adult? Does he have it in him to be someday a husband and father? Can he feel self-confident in spite of the fact that his race or religious background makes him a person some people look down upon? Overall, will he be a success or a failure?

2.2.2.1 Aspects of identity

There are three aspects of identity, which are actually, interdependent. These have been defined as PUBLIC IDENTITY (social identity) which refers to one's position in society or to social roles; PERSONAL IDENTITY, which refers to a person's sense of continuity – being one and the same person throughout life, and in different situations and thirdly, INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY, which refers to a person's sense of individuality and uniqueness (Gerdes et al 1988:84).

2.2.2.2 Public identity

Gerdes et al (1988:84) state that one's public identity is a label, according to which one is known in public. These labels, allocated to people, define their public identity by indicating their place in society. From the moment of one's birth, one has some public identity, in that one is given a name and one's position is defined in relation to others. Children are given names and acquire surnames, and are known as someone's first, second, or subsequent child. Later, one is also known by one's position, such as scholar, worker, parent, or member of the community.

In adulthood, one's public identity develops as one's position, role or title may change, as may one's marital status and, in the case of girls, one's surname may also alter. These changes affect the way in which others view a specific individual, but also affect one's self-perception.

2.2.2.3 Personal identity

The second component of a person's identity refers to the sense of being continuous over time and various situations. This aspect of identity is reflected in the word "identical" where it implies "one and the same", rather than "similar". Although the individual changes in various respects during his life, and although he plays different roles, and acts differently in various situations, he has his identity. He remains the same individual, despite having changed in many ways (Gerdes et al 1988:85).

2.2.2.4 Individual identity

Individual identity, the third aspect of identity, refers to a person's subjective awareness of his uniqueness and individuality. It comprises the individual's view of himself, in relation to other individuals, and to the social system (Gerdes et al 1988:86).

Throughout life, a person tends to affiliate with those individuals or groups whom he wishes to resemble and believes or imagines to have something in common with himself. He tends to emulate such individuals or groups, and to adopt some of their attitudes. A person is then said to be identifying with someone. The individual identity is formed not only through selective identification with others, but especially through the developing ability to define oneself as a separate, unique individual, with certain attributes, affiliations, interest, values and beliefs (Gerdes et al 1988:86).

Mussen et al (1990:614) state that adolescents and adults with a strong sense of their own identity, see themselves as separate, distinctive individuals. The very word *individual*, when used as a synonym for *person*, implies a universal need to perceive oneself as somehow separate from other people, no matter how much one may share with them. Closely related to this, is the need for self-consistency, a feeling of wholeness. When one speaks of the *integrity* of the self, one implies both separateness from others as well as unity of the self. This suggests a workable integration of the person's needs, motives and patterns of responding.

Gerdes et al (1988:86) state that the first signs of the development of individual identity are seen at the age of about a year, when the infant recognises himself in the mirror. A year later, the child begins to use pronouns such as "I", "me" and "mine". He can distinguish between himself and

others. The pre-school child is aware of being male or female, and that he will retain that gender for the rest of his life. The child also tends to emulate people of the same sex. During childhood, the individual identity develops continually, incorporating beliefs, attitudes, values and characteristics of those who play a significant role in his life.

It is during adolescence, though, that the search for identity comes to a climax.

2.2.2.5 Identity formation in adolescence

The main developmental task during adolescence, according to Erikson (1968:89) is the formation of a coherent self-identity. The search for identity usually comes to a climax in adolescence, for the young person is then for the first time, able to think abstractly, and to consider not only what he observes in concrete reality, but also other possibilities. He now becomes increasingly introspective, as he is able to ponder about his own thought processes, and wonders how he thinks and why he thinks certain thoughts, his body is rapidly taking on the adult form, and sexual feelings are beginning to emerge, with the result that he needs to redefine his gender identity, and recognise himself as a sexual being. He is also expected to accept more responsibility, as he is regarded as being almost adult, therefore ready to assume a more adult role (Gerdes et al 1988:87).

The well-known author, W. H. Hudson, who had spent an idyllic childhood in Argentina, came to the realisation one day, that such idyllic times come to an end. Fifteen years old: This was indeed the most memorable day of my life, for on that evening, I began to think about myself, and my thoughts were strange and unhappy thoughts to me – what I was, what I was in the world for, what I wanted, what destiny was going to make of me! ... it was the first time such questions had come to me, and I was startled at them. It was as though I had only just become conscious; I doubt that I had ever fully been conscious before (W. H. Hudson, 1918, cited in Conger 1979:9).

As Hudson's experience illustrates, a central task of adolescence is finding a workable answer to the question, who am I? Implicit in the adolescent voyage of self-discovery, is the young person's seesawing between childhood and maturity. Most teenagers object when older people think of them as children or even use the term "adolescents", even though they themselves are likely to concede, "in some ways, I still think and act somewhat like a child" (Sorensen 1973:38).

Erikson (1956:91) emphasises the importance of having a sense of continuity of the self, over

time in order for the adolescent to have a clear sense of ego identity. He states, "The younger person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future" (Erikson 1956:91).

Erikson (1964:80) also explained how this search for identity affects the adolescent's behaviour:

In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness adolescents have to re-fight many of the battles of earlier years, even though to do so they must artificially appoint perfectly well-meaning people to play the roles of adversaries; and they are ever ready to install lasting idols and ideals as guardians of a final identity. The integration now taking place in the form of ego identity is more than the ... of childhood identifications.

One of the ways adolescents try to establish themselves as individuals, is by the use of status symbols, in the form of cards, clothes and other readily observable material possessions. They thus hope to attract attention to themselves and to be recognised as individuals, while at the same time, maintaining their identity with the peer group (Hurlock 1990:224).

2.2.3 Roles

The term *role* refers to a position occupied in society, coupled with a set of behaviours and attitudes which are regarded as appropriate to someone playing that role. A person's role is thus associated with both the social position he fills, as well as the functions of that position. The "mother role" is determined by a woman's position in relation to children, and involves the functions of child-rearing, whereas the "supervisor role" indicates a person's standing in relation to subordinates and also involves the functions of supervision (Gerdes et al 1988:88).

2.2.3.1 Role prescriptions

Role prescriptions refer to the behaviour and attitudes which society expects of a person playing a particular role. Each role has certain obligations and allows a person certain privileges. Role prescriptions are culture bound, as every society and culture has its own norms (Gerdes et al 1988:89)

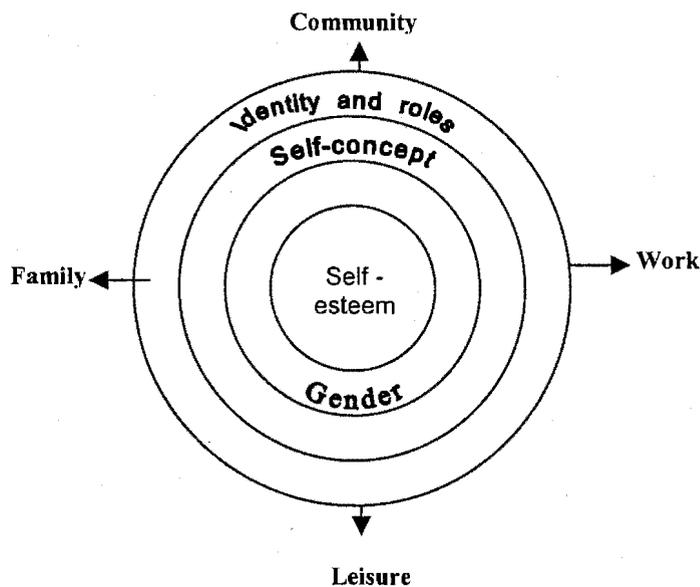
2.2.3.2 Role expectations

Role expectations refer to the individual's assumptions regarding what each role entails. Everyone has certain expectations about the way he will play his role, and how others will play theirs. These expectations are based on a person's hopes, fears, beliefs and imaginings. Expectations are also culture-bound (Gerdes et al 1988:89).

2.2.3.3 Role fulfilment

Role fulfilment refers to the way an individual actually fulfils his role, and how he feels about his performance. Each culture, too, has its own expectations regarding the manner in which roles ought to be fulfilled (Gerdes et al 1988:89).

The following diagram reflects the composite picture of the self-concept, identity and roles within the context of the individual's world.



Source: Gerdes et al 1988:90

Figure 2.2

A composite picture of the self-concept, identity and roles within the context of the individual's world

2.2.4 Gender identity

Of all the terms used, *sex* is the only one that refers to some biological fact about a person. *Sex* is one's actual physical status. *Sexual identity* is an alternative way of referring to one's biological status as male or female (Gross 1992:674). According to Rice (1992:351), the term gender is often used to refer to one's sex. Spence and Helmreich (1978:11) that "with rare exceptions, human organisms are readily and unambiguously classified as female or male at birth or before, and retain this biological status throughout their life span".

Gender identity, however, is defined by Rice (1992:351) as "the individual's internal sense or perception of being male or female." Gross (1992:674) says that "corresponding to our sex (or sexual identity) is our gender or gender identity, which refers to our classification of ourselves (and others) as male or female, boy or girl". Furthermore, Gross states that "a continuous and persistent sense of ourselves as male or female, gender is something which develops gradually, through a number of distinct stages" (1992:674).

Current psychological views of development hold that the establishment of a gender identity derives from many sources. Notman (1991:120) believes that the emergence of gender identity is observable by the time a child can speak, at about 18 months. By that stage, it is already considered to be irreversible, and certainly is so by three years. Notman also discusses the stage of primary femininity, that is believed to precede the Oedipal period. This stage represents the little girl's conviction that she is rightfully female, and feminine. A later stage of development of femininity derives from the resolution of the Oedipal period (Notman 1991:120).

In the toddler stage, gender identity is related to a number of experiences. For a girl, her identification with her mother is critical. She evolves a cognitive understanding of what goes with being a woman, or a girl. The little girl recognises that girls and women are grouped together, because they go together on the basis of repeated communications and experience. A girl's concept about being a little girl, is also greatly influenced by what her father conveys to her about how he views her, and about his feelings and attitudes about women (Notman 1991:120/121).

Traditionally, female stereotypes have been depicted as being passive, dependent, meek, gentle, warm, affectionate and sentimental. They have also been supposed to be more emotional and excitable, fickle and frivolous than males (Rice 1992:358). Contrary to this, the traditional

masculine stereotype has been depicted as being aggressive, dominant, strong, courageous, independent, confident and rational (Rice 1992:356). Gerdes et al (1988:124) report that femininity is often defined in terms of the motherhood role, and by the number of children a woman has. Hence, a woman is seen as feminine, because she is a mother. Men, on the other hand, have their gender-identity defined through the work they do, away from home, and through the status they achieve by doing this work.

2.2.4.1 Gender role

Gross (1992:675) believes that gender role (also known as sex role) refers to the behaviours, attitudes, values and beliefs which a particular society expects from or considers appropriate to, males and females, on the basis of their biological sex. In order to be masculine, a male must conform to the male gender role. Similarly, for a female to be feminine, she must conform to the female gender role.

Weitz (1977:67) states that most theories of sex role development, save a central place for the concept of identification. Identification, in turn, is defined as an acquired, cognitive response within a person. The content of this response is that some of the attributes, motives, characteristics and affective status of a model, are part of the person's psychological organisation. This definition could be extended to include emotional and motivational responses as well, all acting to structure the individual's social psychological world. For a child in a nuclear family, the chief models are the parents, but these models are reinforced by the existence of cultural models for sex role behaviour made accessible through the media, the schools and other sources.

The Freudian view of sex role development is basically a biological approach. Freud sought to ground his concepts in the powerful instinctive life of the individual. The id is seen as the basic personality system, the repository for instinctual energies, and ultimately, the source of all psychic energy. Out of the necessity of dealing with the world, the ego and superego systems are created. Sex role development grows out of this shadowy interplay between personality systems, but it is ultimately seen as a biological process. Freud (1905) in his *Trois essais sur la théorie de la sexualité* (*Three essays on the theory of sexuality*), deals with early psycho-sexual development. Freud contrasted femininity and masculinity on the basis of certain characteristics. He identified masculinity with activity, and femininity with a preference for passive aims, in the sense of being receptive. Freud, furthermore, held the view that women were preordained to be

inferior, as they were biologically cast in the role of mothers and as they were anatomically deficient, they developed an inferior personality.

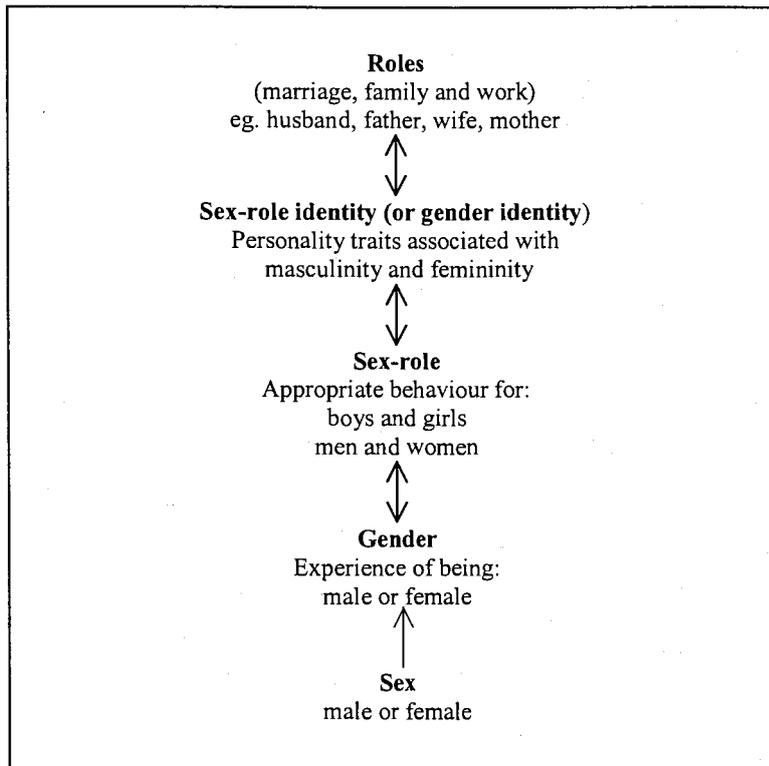
Freud (1931:169) states that “after a woman has become aware of the wound to her narcissism, she develops, like a scar, a sense of inferiority. When she has passed beyond her first attempt at explaining her lack of a penis as being a punishment personal to herself and has realised that her sexual character is a universal one, she begins to share the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser in so important a respect, and, at least in holding that opinion, insists on being like a man”. From this, we can conclude that Freud saw femininity and feminine roles, purely in terms of compensation for perceived inferiority.

A different view of sex roles is presented by Karen Horney. She describes in a very positive manner, the role of women, especially with regard to motherhood. She sees the positive affirmation of womanhood in the roles of wife and mother, and even draws attention to the fact that feminine roles may be envied by men. Thus, while there may be envy by the female of the masculine, the reverse may also be true, in that men may envy woman’s child-bearing capacity. Horney (1931:115) states: “For it is contrary to human nature to sustain appreciation without resentment toward the capabilities one does not possess”.

Kohlberg links the emergence of the child’s gender identity, that is its recognition of being male or female, to its cognitive development. By the age of approximately three years, the child is aware of some distinctions between male and female, and can label a person’s gender with a fair measure of accuracy. By the age of four, a child has gained some understanding of the permanence of gender, and that it cannot change. By about six, a sense of gender identity is established and from then on, a child strives to behave in a way that is consistent with it (Kohlberg 1966:35/36). Kohlberg states: “because gender is the only fixed general category into which the child can sort itself and others, it takes on tremendous importance in organising the child’s social perceptions and actions (1966:35). Thus, according to this theory, the child’s understanding of sex roles is limited by his or her cognitive ability to understand the world.

Thus, Freud stresses identification as an emotional process in sex-role development theory, while Kohlberg focuses on cognitive aspects, such as the recognition of one’s own, and others’ gender identity.

It is evident that sex-role identity emerges as a result of a process, which is outlined in Figure 2.3: (underneath).



Source: Gerdes et al 1988:123

Figure 2.3

The developmental sequence and interrelationship of sex, gender, sex-role, sex-role identity and roles.

2.2.4.2 Core gender identity

Notman (1991:120) states that core gender identity, which is a newer concept than gender identity, implies the perceptions one has of oneself as a girl or a boy. Core gender identity begins to form with the initial parental recognition and labelling of the child a male, or female. From the very beginning, parents and others relate differently to their infant sons and daughters. They speak to them differently, have different expectations and present them with different communications and sets of signals and directions, which infants and children absorb and use as they build up mental representation of themselves. Children's anatomical and physical differences are important and interact with environmental experience to build a male or female self-concept (Notman 1991:120).

2.2.4.3 Body image

As the end of the primary education approaches, physical differences, as well as differences of character and outlook become more obvious. Girls begin to develop physically and this transition from child to adolescent marks the end of carefree childhood and the onset of puberty. Girls at this stage are generally very vulnerable and aware of their emerging sexuality (French 1990:54).

Notman (1991:123) states that as development proceeds toward adolescence, children experience both interest and discomfort about the changes that take place in their bodies, accentuated by the unevenness of adolescent development. The degree of concern about the "rightness" of one's body can be intense, and fluctuations in self-esteem occur in response. Because girls and women have been seen as more oriented toward interpersonal relationships, they may be more sensitive to evaluations by peers and others.

The issue of body-image is a concern aided and abetted by the teen magazine industry. At this stage in their development, girls can become entirely absorbed in the business of being female. Scores of girls' magazines concentrate on appearance, boyfriends, entertainment, and hints on how to look attractive to the opposite sex (French 1990:55).

Menstruation is an important experience in girls' adolescent development. Internal physical sensations and bodily changes are anxiety provoking. Their feelings are unlocalized, and inner sensations are undefined. Concern about one's normality can also result (Notman 1991:123).

Furthermore, Notman notes, that menstruation provides an organiser and corner stone of feminine identification (1991:124). The relationship with the mother is also of great importance at the time of menarche. Menarche normally stimulates the girl's diminished dependency on her mother, identification with her as a reproductive prototype and renewed interest in father and boys. Menarche also provides the girl with fixed points of reference, on which she can organise her experience. Girls look upon the menses as a valued sign of maturity, and it confirms the sense that they are functioning appropriately and becoming adults (Notman 1991:124).

"Menarche is the most dramatic and most widely accepted criterion of puberty..." (Papalia and Olds 1975:550). The adolescent girl, who is increasingly aware of her body-image, will also notice marked breast development, that accompanies the onset of menarche. She resembles

outwardly, a young woman, although in certain respects, she is still a child. "Implicit in this voyage of self-discovery is the young person's seesawing between childhood and maturity" (Papalia and Olds 1975:573).

Anne Frank (1952:115-116) has recorded in her diary the sentiments typical of adolescent girls, as she experiences the physical changes that are happening to her body: "I think what is happening to me is so wonderful, and not only what can be seen on my body, but all that is taking place inside".

Notman (1991:124) states that breast development, which occurs in adolescence, is unique to girls, who grow an entirely different organ: the breast. The breasts are highly charged; symbolic of nurturance, fertility, adulthood and sexuality; and important in body-image and self-esteem.

Body-image can affect the way girls will view themselves in later years. Adolescent self-concepts depend largely on how attractive young people consider themselves. Girls who considered themselves attractive in their teenage years, have higher self-esteem and are happier well into their forties than those who are less confident about their appearance in adolescence (Papalia and Olds 1975:554).

An adolescent's rapid body changes affect self-concept and personality. Adolescent girls pay an excessive amount of attention to their femininity and make every effort to fit into the prescribed gender roles that society has allocated to them, to the extent of even losing their assertiveness and dynamism, for fear of being seen as unattractive to the opposite sex.

2.2.5 Adolescence

Adolescence cannot be studied in a vacuum. A child progresses through various stages of development, before reaching adolescence and the adolescent stage, in turn, will influence her later life. Reference will, thus, be made to the stages that precede adolescence, in order to understand and explain the adolescent stage. Papalia and Olds (1975:1) present an arbitrary division of the girl's developmental stages: the prenatal stage, and the relative contributions of heredity and environment; the development in infancy, from one week to three years of age, during which time she is learning about people and events, and applies her knowledge; early childhood, which spans the ages for three to six, when she wants everyone else to confirm her

sense of femaleness, and her conception of herself grows stronger; their middle-years – from six to twelve – when she learns to think logically and to solidify many aspects of her personality; and her adolescent stage, which can be roughly divided into early adolescence (12 to 18 years) and late adolescence (22 to 24 years). Papalia and Olds (1975:5) acknowledge that this developmental division is, in fact, an arbitrary one: “we have made an arbitrary division... her development from birth till adulthood, is a gradual, continuous process. No sharp demarcations set her infancy off from her early childhood, nor her childhood from adolescence. Very often, she is in one stage of her development and in another stage in another part”.

2.2.5.1 What is adolescence?

According to Gross (1992:636) the word ‘adolescence’ comes from the Latin *adolescere* meaning ‘to grow into maturity’. Traditionally, this stage has been regarded as a prelude to, and a preparation for, adulthood, a transitional period of life between immaturity and maturity.

Van de Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1988:10) state that “adolescence is the period of life between childhood and adulthood. It is a time of life that has to be lived through. Essentially, it is a time of personal discovery and identity formation... a time of transition when the youth moves from ... a dependent life ... to an independent life, full of choices and decisions and the consequences thereof”. Papalia and Olds (1975:538) describe adolescence as “the span of years between childhood and adulthood...it covers in Western society the time from the age of 12 or 13, till the early twenties”. Rice, too, (1992:69) states that the word *adolescence* come from the Latin verb, *adolescere*, which means “to grow”, or “to grow to maturity”.

Hurlock (1990:222) emphasises that adolescence “includes mental, emotional and social maturity, as well as physical maturity”. Hurlock echoes Piaget’s views, as he, too believes that “psychologically, adolescence is the age when the individual becomes integrated into the society of adults, the age when the child no longer feels below the level of elders, but equal, at least in rights. It also includes very profound intellectual changes ... enabling integration into the social relationship of adults, which is the most general characteristic of this period” (Piaget 1969:24).

To Sigmund Freud (1905) the keynote to adolescence is the attainment “of mature adult sexuality... Because of the physiological changes of sexual maturation, an adolescent cannot repress sexuality”.

Anna Freud (1946:176) considers adolescence to be a period of internal conflict, psychic disequilibrium, and erratic behaviour. She also states that it is an important period for the development of character, and for the individual to develop abstract thoughts, as she strives to attain self-identity.

Anna Freud (1946:177-178) states: "The abstract intellectual discussions and speculations in which young people delight, are not genuine attempts at solving the tasks set by reality. Their mental activity is rather an indication of a tense alertness for the instinctual processes and the translation into abstract thought of that which they perceive. The philosophy of life which they construct – it may be their demand for revolution in the outside world – is really their response to the perception of the new instinctual demands of their own id, which threaten to revolutionise their whole lives".

Margaret Mead was an anthropologist who discovered that behaviour on which the psychoanalysts, like Freud, based their assumptions, did not exist in other cultures. She believed that adolescent behaviour as we know it, is not a universal phenomenon. Margaret Mead discovered, through her studies of adolescent girls in Samoa, that when a culture decrees a serene and gradual transition from childhood to adulthood, as does Samoa, there is an easy acceptance of the adult role.

Mead (1961:196) says: "The adolescent girl in Samoa differed from her sister who had not reached puberty, in one chief respect, that in the older girl, certain bodily changes were present, which were absent in the younger girl. There were no great differences to set off the group passing through adolescence from the group which would become adolescent in two years, or the group which had become adolescent two years before".

Albert Bandura (1964) has concerned himself with the relationship between social and environmental factors and their influence on behaviour. Thus, he claims that because adolescents learn behaviour by observing others and modelling their behaviour on what they observe, the adolescent does not necessarily experience storm and stress, nor turbulence and aggressive anti-authoritarianism, but rather sees parents in a supportive capacity, ready to offer advice and support. Bandura (1964:230) states: "If society labels its adolescents 'teenagers', and expects them to be rebellious, unpredictable, sloppy, and wild in their behaviour, and if this picture is repeatedly reinforced by the mass media, such cultural expectations may very well force

adolescents into the role of rebel. In this way, a false expectation may serve to instigate and maintain certain role behaviours, which in turn, then reinforce the originally false belief”.

Adolescence, for Erikson, means the acquisition of a sense of identity, that carries with it a sense of mastery of childhood issues. It also implies a genuine readiness to face the challenges of the adult community as a potential equal. “A sense of identity means a sense of being at one with oneself as one grows and develops; and it means a sense of affinity with a community’s sense of being at one with its future as well as its history – or mythology”(Erikson 1974a:21-22).

Sorensen (1973:37) states that “The adolescent searches for his or her self-identity in many mirrors”, while Jones (1969:332) believes that: “The adolescent enters the threshold of personhood, seeking an image he does not know in a world he rarely understands, with a body that he is just discovering. He has a mixed desire to be an individual who wants to assert himself while at the same time fearing to lose the little security and reassurance that only family can offer”.

2.2.5.2 Key developmental tasks of adolescence

Vrey (1979:165) states that a scholar enters secondary school as a child, and leaves it as a youth on the threshold of maturity. Physical growth has been phenomenal. The matriculants, on leaving school, is sexually mature, but psychological development is the real key to the level of adulthood achieved. Vrey (1979:166) lists the developmental aims of the adolescent as a desire to acquire meaningfulness, or the will to understand; the adequate self, or the will to be somebody; belonging, or the will to belong to the people he esteems.

The most comprehensive developmental task of adolescence, is self-actualisation. The adolescent’s full potential can only be realised if he understands and orients himself; if he experiences personal adequacy (a positive self-concept) and if he belongs to and is accepted by the people he values (Vrey 1979:166).

The key to the realisation of these developmental aims, is essentially linked to the adolescent’s relations primarily with himself; to the people he esteems, and to words, objects and ideas, including values and attitudes. In this way, his search for a personal identity crystallises.

In approaching the study of identity as a broad construct, it is possible to relate identity to other components of the self-system. The self-system includes dimensions of self-development and self-perception, such as self-recognition, self-awareness, self-esteem and locus of control (Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1990:291). It is important to define the role of the ego in identity-formation, in order to understand the relationship between ego identity and the other constructs of self-perception.

Ego identity is characterised by the attainment of an ever-revised sense of psychological reality, which is supported by social reality. The ego and its functions, although operating primarily unconsciously, have the capacity for synthesis and resynthesis, differentiation and integration, and the psychological sequences of interjection and identification that undergrid identity formation (Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1990:291).

Mussen et al (1990:614) explain that a central task of adolescence, is finding a workable answer to the question "Who am I"? In recent decades, it has become a focus of systematic psychological concern, initially through the writings of psychoanalyst and psychologist, Erik Erikson. In Erikson's view, before adolescents can successfully abandon the security provided by their childhood dependence on others, they must have some idea of who they are, where they are going, and what the possibilities are of getting there (Erikson 1968:220).

The development of a sense of identity is the key developmental task of adolescence, and this is in itself a complex issue (Erikson 1968:221). According to Moore and Rosenthal (1994:8)

By identity is meant a coherent, integrated sense of self, based on a commitment to present and future roles, ideology, and values regarding future relationships. Adolescent who develop a firm sense of their own identity have an inner confidence about who they are and where they are going. The opposite state is identity diffusion, the inability to co-ordinate past identifications with new roles, the inability to find a niche in life, and the confusion and alienation that accompanies this state. Erikson argued that an important aspect of identity formation for both sexes is dealing with sexuality: coping with the bodily changes of puberty and coming to terms with one's new "sexualised" body, developing a sexual ideology, and consolidating ones sex role and sexual orientation.

In the early years of adolescence, Erikson, believed that conformity to the group is still important. Gradually, adolescents begin to crave identity and no longer wish to be like their peers. The adolescent seeks to clarify who she is, and what role she will play in society (Hurlock 1990:224). In her relations with herself, Vrey (1979:185) states that by the time a girl reaches adolescence, she has crystallised her personal identity and a consistent, more realistic self-concept has taken shape. She is aware of her own identity in relations involving a conscious knowledge of her own capacity and the ability to act more or less intelligently, more maturely than she used to. Her female sexual role has been consolidated and she has learned to control her emotions and to avoid many of the situations that used to cause tension.

2.3 BIOLOGICAL VIEWS OF ADOLESCENCE

2.3.1 Introduction

The adolescent developmental stage has been explained and approached from a variety of angles. Psychological theorists have presented us with multidisciplinary views of adolescence. Amongst the earliest views of adolescence, were the biological views, stating that development occurs in an almost invariable, universal pattern, regardless of the socio-cultural environment (Rice 1992:70)

A strictly biological view of adolescence would emphasise this period as one of physical and sexual maturation during which important growth changes take place in the body. A biological definition would, thus, outline the physical, sexual and physiological changes; their reasons and their consequences (Rice 1992:71). This biological view would emphasise biogenetic factors as the primary cause of behavioural and physiological change in the adolescent (Rice 1992:71). The two main exponents of the biological view of adolescence, were G. Stanley Hall and Gesell.

2.3.2 The biological theories of adolescence

2.3.2.1 The recapitulation theory

According to Gross (1992:636) probably the earliest theory of adolescence was that of G. Stanley Hall in his book *Adolescence* (1904) and he is generally regarded as the father of adolescent psychology; he was also one of the pioneers of developmental psychology as a whole. Heavily influenced by Darwin's evolutionary theory, Hall believed that each individual's psychological

development recapitulates the evolution of the human species, both biological and cultural. In the case of adolescence (12 to 25 years), he saw it as a time of *storm and stress* (or *Sturm und Drang*) which mirrors the volatile history of the human race during the past 2000 years.

Four developmental stages are suggested, namely infancy, childhood, youth and adolescence, to correspond with Hall's belief in the evolution of the human namely, animal, anthropoid, half-barbarian and civilised. To Hall, development took the form of an unchangeable, universal pattern, minimally affected by environmental factors (Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1988:10).

Because of his views that development was controlled from within, parents were encouraged to be permissive and tolerant. He over-emphasised storm and stress in adolescence, and the belief in genetic transmission of acquired characteristics, neglecting the influence of environment on the adolescent's life-world.

Gross (1992:636) comments that, although the "Recapitulation Theory" is only of historical interest, parts of it are consistent with modern theories, in particular, the notion of 'storm and stress', important ingredients of which are the violent swings of mood and other 'contradictory tendencies', such as: (i) energy and enthusiasm versus indifference and boredom; (ii) gaiety and laughter versus gloom and melancholy; and (iii) idealistic altruism versus selfishness.

2.3.2.2 Spiral growth pattern theory

Arnold Gesell's theory is essentially a biologically oriented theory, suggesting that maturation is mediated by genes and biology that determine the order of appearance of behavioural traits and developmental trends. Hence, abilities and skills appear, without special training or practice (Rice 1992:72). Gesell believed that educators can do nothing to influence development, and that difficulties would be outgrown. He stated that development was both upward and downward, thus spiral, and adolescents would revert to earlier behavioural forms (Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg 1988:11).

Gesell's book on adolescence, *Youth: The years from Ten to Sixteen* (1956), details his beliefs in a type of biological determination. Maturation is regarded as a natural ripening process, and time alone will solve any problems. Gesell did, however, try to allow for individual differences,

accepting that each child is born unique, with his or her own “genetic factors or individual constitution and innate maturation sequences (Gesell and Ames 1956:22). He did emphasise that “acculturation can never transcend maturation” because maturation is of primary importance. In spite of accepting individual differences and the influence of the environment on individual development, he nevertheless considered many of the principles, trends and sequences to be universal among humans (Gesell and Ames 1956:41). This concept partly contradicts the findings of cultural anthropology and educational psychology, which emphasise significant, culturally determined individual differences.

2.3.2.3 Criticism of the biological views of adolescence

Neither Hall’s Recapitulation Theory, nor Gesell’s Spiral Growth Pattern Theory explain the complexity of adolescence very satisfactorily. Because Hall emphasised storm and stress so much, certain serious and abnormal disturbances at adolescence were accepted as normal. Furthermore, Papalia and Olds (1975:541) offer this comment: “Anthropologists who have studied adolescence in cultures other than the Western, have found that adolescence as we know it, is not a universal phenomenon, and it is often remarkably free from storm and stress, that have impressed Hall and most other observers of adolescents”. Gesell, on the other hand, used as his sample children from favourable socio-economic backgrounds only. Furthermore, when only physical factors are taken into account, children differ so greatly in the level and timing of their growth, that it is difficult to establish norms (Rice 1992:72). Although these biological views of adolescence cannot be disregarded, they fail to explain successfully the psychological development of the adolescent girl and the formation of her self-identity. They are confined to a biological and physiological view of adolescence, disregarding far more complex issues. Besides the physical, biological differences between the development of adolescent boys and girls, very little attention is paid to the difference in the development of their distinctive gender identities.

2.4 THE CREATION OF GENDER IDENTITY: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE THEORIES RELATING TO THE FORMATION OF FEMININITY

2.4.1 Introduction

The study of psychology has always taken as a point of departure, the difference between boys and girls. The different psychological theories relating to their sexual, cognitive and affective

development, have been based almost exclusively on a study of boys, and it is boys who have been the subjects of these studies. "Early work on the process of identity development like much other early work in psychology, tended to focus exclusively or primarily on males, with female experience added – if at all – as an afterthought" (Goodenaw and Espin 1993:176). The investigation into the personality, identity and development of girls, has been confined predominantly to their reproduction function and girls have thus been viewed as being "different" (Iglesse 1991:19). This, in turn, according to Iglese (1991:19) has given rise to a belief in stereotyped gender roles, equating the male sex with civilisation and the female sex with nature. Gilligan (1982:6) states that "at a time when efforts are being made to eradicate discrimination between the sexes in the search for social equality and justice, the differences between the sexes are being rediscovered in the social sciences. This discovery occurs when theories formerly considered to be sexually neutral in their scientific objectivity, are found to reflect an observational and evaluative bias". Many of the theories which will be examined, will be viewed in this light, as they display a very definite bias towards the male.

2.4.2 The psychoanalytical approach

2.4.2.1 Sigmund Freud: Anatomy is destiny

In his work, entitled "Female sexuality"(1931), Freud deals with the psychosexual identity of the female sex. Gilligan (1982:6) states that Freud built his theory of psychosexual development around the experiences of the male child, that culminate in the Oedipus complex. Freud believed that femininity, just like masculinity, was determined by the anatomical differences between the sexes. According to Rice (1992:73), Freud considered the early years of a child's life to be the formative ones in the creation of gender identity. At around the ages of three - four years, the differences between the sexes would become evident. Freud called this the phallic stage of a child's development, and Freud believed that preschoolers are fascinated by the anatomical differences between the sexes. Freud (1905:71) was quite specific about penis envy in little girls. "The first step in the phallic phase is a momentous discovery which little girls are destined to make. They notice the penis of a brother or playmate... and at once recognise it as the superior of their own small and inconspicuous organ, and from that time, fall a victim to penis envy". Freud (1905) also states that during the phallic stage, the Oedipus complex develops in boys, and the corresponding Electra complex in girls. Oedipus, according to the ancient Greek tragedy by Sophocles, was the son of the king of Thebes, who had been raised by a foster family. In early

childhood, he killed a man, not realising it was his father and married the widowed queen, unaware that she was his mother. On learning the truth, he put out his own eyes and went into exile.

Freud believed that like Oedipus, every little boy falls in love with his mother and has murderous thoughts against his father. Freud (1905:86) also states that the little boy wants to take his father's place, but recognizes his father's power, and is caught up with conflicting feeling: affection for his father, tempered by hostility and fear. Noticing the anatomical differences between himself and little girls of the same age, and realising that little girls do not have penises, he begins to worry that his father may castrate him, hence he develops a castration complex. Fearful, he represses his sexual strivings towards his mother, stops trying to rival his father, and begins to identify with him.

The Electra complex is similar to the Oedipus. A little girl desires her father, fears her mother, represses these feelings and eventually identifies with her. Freud stated that during the phallic stage, the little girl who notices the difference in her anatomy, when comparing herself to little boys, feels that she is anatomically inferior to males and this difference causes her to feel hurt and insulted. She believes that she suffers from an anatomical deficiency. The little girl, who in the very early stages of her life, and experienced development in exactly the same way as a little boy, suddenly realises that she is different and becomes acutely aware of gender distinctions. Now, she suffers from a very strong feeling of castration, develops a castration complex, and fall victim to penis envy Freud (1931:169) puts it as follows: After a woman has become aware of the wound to her narcissism, she develops, like a scar, a sense of inferiority. When she has passed beyond her first attempt at explaining her lack of a penis as being a punishment personal to herself and has realized that her sexual character is a universal one, she begins to feel the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser in so important a respect, and, at least in holding that opinion, insists in being like a man. Thus, Freud tried to fit women into his masculine conception, seeing them as envying what they had missed. In the strength of women's pre-Oedipal attachments to their mothers, he came to acknowledge a developmental difference, which he considered to be responsible for what he saw as women's developmental failure (Gilligan 1982:7).

Freud ties the formation of the superego (conscience) to castration anxiety. On the one hand, the boy, who is anxious to avoid castration, identifies with his father, and develops a very strong superego. The girl, who experiences a sense of castration and denial, has her superego

compromised (Freud 1931:169). Freud thus concluded that women show less sense of justice than men, and are less ready to submit to the great exigencies of life. They are more often influenced in their judgements by feelings of affection or hostility. Freud attributes this to women being deprived by nature of the impetus for a clear-cut Oedipal resolution (Gilligan 1982:7).

Papalia and Olds (1975:344) state that in Freudian terms, the superego is comparable to the conscience. Freud explains, furthermore, that the preschooler's superego is an upshot of the Oedipus situation. By identifying with the parent of the same sex, children take on the parent's personality as their own. In psychoanalytic terms, this is called introjections. According to Freud, the girl's superego is thus far weaker than that of the boy's and the gender identity of girls is formed from the moment she identifies with her mother. Consequently, the girl plays with dolls; she represents the mother-figure, while the doll represent the child. Furthermore, the girl's dependence on her father is a result of her equally significant attachment of her mother. Freud demonstrates that the pre-oedipal stage determines all her subsequent relationships and defines her subsequent behaviour (Freud 1931:175).

Freud presents a negative view of femininity, and states that girls define themselves in terms of the denial of pre-oedipal relational modes. He claims that a woman's desire to be involved in an intellectual occupation, is merely a transubstantiation of a suppressed desire and she is succumbing to penis envy. If she denies her envy, it could become the cause of adult neurosis. Either way, she develops a sense of her own inferiority (Papalia and Olds 1975:343). Iglessi comments (1991:23) that Freud equates the normal female personality and that of a pathetic and narcissistic person. To Freud, puberty, which brings about so great an accession of libido in boys, is marked in girls by a fresh wave of repression, which is necessary for the transformation of the young girl's sexuality into the specific sexuality of her adulthood. Freud attributes this to the girl's acknowledgement and acceptance of her castration. Hence, to Freud, puberty brings to the girl a new awareness of the wound to her narcissism and will lead her to develop a sense of inferiority (Gilligan 1982:11). In psychoanalytical terms, girls are seen as inferior to boys, and their development is a direct result of their anatomical inferiority.

2.4.2.2 Erik Erikson: A sociopsychanalytical approach

Erik Erikson is a psychoanalyst who extended the Freudian concept of ego, and who is interested in society's influence on the developing personality. Erikson terms Freud's work as the "rock",

upon which all advancement of personality theory is based (Maier 1978:75). In many ways, Erikson's work is an expansion of Freud's psychoanalytic account and he views adolescence as the time when development hinges on identity. Erikson believes that the girl arrives at this point in her development either psychologically at risk, or with a different agenda to boys (Gilligan 1982:11).

Adolescence is the fifth in Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development. The crisis of adolescence involves identity versus role confusion. The most important task of adolescence, is to discover, "Who am I?" A sense of identity assures individuals a definite place within their own corner of society. Erikson finds "progressive continuity between that which the child has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future; between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and expect of him (Erikson 1954:165). The prime danger of this stage, is identity confusion (Erikson 1966:160). A struggle over one's identity, or an identity crisis is neither a fatal event, not a pathological condition. It is rather an inescapable turning point for better or for worse. "Better" means a confluence of energies of the individual and his particular society; "Worse" means a prolonged period of identity confusion for the young individual (Erikson 1966:160). When an adolescent reaches the fifth of Erikson's developmental stages, the main task is to forge a coherent sense of self, to verify an identity that can span the discontinuity of puberty and enhance the adult capacity to love and work. "Identity formation is a continuous process with a special crisis in youth"(Erikson 1973:200). The previous four stages have been marked by other developmental crises. The initial crisis in infancy, was that of "trust versus mistrust." This crisis is resolved by anchoring development in the experience of relationship, thus the task becomes one of individuation. Erikson's second stage, that centres on the crisis of "autonomy versus shame and doubt", marks the walking child's emerging sense of separateness and agency. This is followed by the crisis of "initiative versus guilt". Its successful resolution represents yet another move towards autonomy. Soon hereafter, following the disappointment of the realisation of wishes of the Oedipal period, children become aware that to compete with their parents, they must join them, identify with them and learn to do what their parents do so well.

In the middle childhood years, development is based on the crisis of "industry versus inferiority", as the demonstration of competence is crucial to the child's developing self-esteem. The fifth stage, adolescence, is the celebration of the autonomous, initiating, industrious self, through the forging of an identity based on an ideology, that can support adult commitments (Gilligan

1982:11, Maier 1978:89).

Maier (1978:127) remarks that Erikson, like most analysts and psychologists of his time and before him, studied humankind primarily as male kind. His perspective is all male, and so are his clinical and historical subjects. His writings reflect the male bias and the dominance of his era. Gilligan (1982:12) makes the same observation. "But about whom is Erikson talking? Once again, it turns out to be the male child". Erikson tried to underscore as equal, but different, the life experiences of males and females.

However, life was not equal. It was strictly orientated towards the male. Erikson accepted Freud's dictum that anatomy is destiny, but also perceived that culture's evaluations of the anatomy defined this destiny to a greater extent than the anatomy's designation of its own destiny. Erikson postulates that "personality is destiny", since "we live in a somatic, social and personal order" (1970:87).

Erikson went on to say that anatomical and physiological differences have an impact on lifestyle, and on perspective female and male relate themselves differently to the tasks of life. However, each tries to imitate and compensate for the mode of the other. "Each sex overdeveloped what was given... Each sex compensates for what it had to deny...; thus each managed to get special approbation for a divided self-image – and to what the oppressor and oppressed...colluded with each other in enslaving each other and themselves – these are the deals which men and women have to learn to study and to discuss" (Erikson 1974c:135).

Gilligan (1982:12) states that the eight developmental stages, outlined by Erikson, describe the male child, and that for the female, the sequence is a bit different. A girl will hold her identity in abeyance, as she wishes to attract the man whom she will marry, and who will fill her inner space. For men, identity precedes intimacy and generativity in the human life-cycle. For women, these developmental tasks are fused. Intimacy accompanies identity, as the female comes to know herself as she is known, through her relationships with others.

Despite Erikson's observation of sex differences, in his chart that depicts the life-cycle stages, identity continues to precede intimacy, as it is the male experience that has been taken into account, not the female experience. Gilligan (1982:12) observes that in the male life-cycle, there is little preparation for the intimacy of the first adult stage. Only the initial stage of trust versus

mistrust, suggests the type of mutuality that Erikson means by intimacy and generativity. The rest is separateness, with the result that the development comes to be identified with separation, and attachments appear to be developmental obstacles, as is repeatedly the case in the assessment of women.

Erikson also pays a significant amount of attention to the importance of the reproductive function in women, and considers it a significant factor in the development of a woman's personality. Contrary to Freud's view that the male anatomy is superior to that of a female, Erikson respects the fact that a woman's reproductive organs are situated internally, and this inner space which they occupy, bears witness to the importance that is attached to the function of childbearing. His stance restores the negative and hostile attitude that Freud had attributed to mother-daughter relationships, to a more positive level, and also obliterates the envy at Freud attributed to girls, regarding the male anatomy (Iglesii 1991:29).

Erikson (1968:303) discovered that adolescent boys and girls make different use of space. Girls tend to emphasise inner space, while boys are more interested in what is external. Again, Erikson attributes this to the different physique of boys and girls. Even in their games, adolescents of the two sexes differ. Boys will create structures that are characterised by height, motion and energy, while girls opt for things that are static, tranquil and gentle. Erikson (1968:299) concludes that a girl, and later a woman, will be characterised by a fear of an internal void, or vacuum, and her reproductive organs, which are within her body, may expose her to feelings of loneliness and isolation, as well as of non-fulfilment and denial. Erikson thus implies that a woman's development and the psychosexual dimension of her identity, ultimately lead her to seek fulfilment in her role as wife and mother. Despite being trained to occupy professional and social positions in society, Erikson believes that a woman's inner space will only find complete fulfilment in her capacity as wife and mother (Erikson 1974b:114).

2.4.2.3 The Neo-Freudians

2.4.2.3.1 Clara Thompson

Clara Thompson was greatly influenced by the claims made by Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict, the anthropologists who emphasised the importance of cultural and social effects on human development. Clara Thompson presented a series of articles, stating clearly the effect of

social, cultural and biological factors on women's development. She also categorically denied that the Freudian concept of penis envy was in any way an essential developmental phase in the life of an adolescent girl and she went so far as to say that society and societal norms are responsible for creating in girls and women, a feeling of inferiority. Thompson added that for a girl or woman to succeed in the world, she needs to adopt a masculine form of behaviour. This is a prerequisite for success in male-dominated professional spheres. Thompson believes that, from her earliest years, a girl is moulded by society to occupy an inferior social position. This approach, which is harmful to the girls' psychological development, becomes more acute during adolescence and may lead to anxiety and adult neurosis (Thompson 1941:269).

2.4.2.3.2 Karen Horney

Horney is another Neo-Freudian, who also challenges Freud's view of the female gender-identity. She rejects the view put forward by Freud, that girls suffer from a sense of castration and thus, from inferiority. Horney refuses to believe that a girl's castration complex is compensated through motherhood but rather, views motherhood and the reproductive function of women as a fulfilment of their anatomical structure and as an autonomous, essential and creative function of women. This would elevate girls and women, to occupying the same social role and to enjoying a gender identity which is equally significant (Horney 1939:108).

Horney (1931) thus stated that while she accepted the existence of the masculine complex, (rejection of the feminine self), she questioned Freud's explanation of its origin and significance. She believed a woman repudiated her womanhood only if the Oedipal attachment to her father came to grief. Hence, it is the idea of wounded womanhood which results in the castration complex, and which in turn, injures further feminine development.

Thus, Horney sees a positive affirmation of womanhood in women's roles and functions. She even states that feminine roles may be envied by men. While there may be envy by the female of the masculine, the reverse may also be true, in that men may envy women's child-bearing capacities. "For it is contrary to human nature to sustain appreciation without resentment towards the capabilities one does not possess" (Horney 1931:115).

Horney (1931) also points out that the infant and young child experiences the mother as all-powerful, since she is the person who has control over the satisfaction and frustration of her

child's needs. This power is especially threatening to the development of the male child's sex-role identity, since he should not identify with his main socialiser, his mother. A man's hostility towards women and his fear of being controlled by Mom may be a residue of his childhood feelings of powerlessness towards his mother.

2.4.3 Carl Gustav Jung

Jung was originally a close colleague of Freud, but later broke away completely and developed his own school of thought which became known as analytical psychology (Gerdes et al 1988:119). For Jung, the personality as a whole is the psyche, the totality of all psychic processes, conscious and unconscious; it embraces all thought, feeling and behaviour and helps the individual adapt to the social and physical environment. The psyche comprises three major interacting levels, namely consciousness, the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious (Gross 1992:421). A basic tenet of Jung's theory is that the human is characterised by polarity, and all psychic life is governed by opposition. There can be no balance without polarity, because opposing tendencies have a regulative function. Opposite elements can be found in many areas of the psyche: the conscious versus the unconscious; the masculine versus the feminine, the child versus the adult (Jung 1957:1-2).

According to Jung (1957) the masculine and the feminine are complementary within one individual, and between individuals. Neither the masculine nor the feminine is complete in itself, but each needs to be complemented by the other. "The anima and the animus are two archetypal figures of especially great importance. They belong on the one hand to the individual consciousness and on the other hand, are rooted in the collective unconsciousness, thus forming a connecting link or bridge between the personal and the impersonal, the conscious and the unconscious. It is because one is feminine and the other masculine that C. G. Jung has called them anima and animus respectively (Jung 1957:1).

Emma Jung continues to explain that these figures are function complexes, behaving in ways compensatory to outer personality, that is, behaving as if they were inner personalities and exhibiting the characteristics lacking in the outer, and manifest, inner personality. In a man, these are feminine characteristics. In a woman, they are masculine. Both are normally always present, to a certain degree, but find no place in the person's outwardly directed functioning, because they disturb his outer adaptation, his established ideal image of himself (1957:1).

The animus is the masculine principle. In men, logos is the dominant element, which is defined by Jung as “objective interest”. This encompasses the ability to formulate ideas, to think analytically, to create order and to give new meaning to what is observed and experienced, culminating in action. Striving for power and assertiveness are also seen as essentially masculine qualities (Jung 1957:3).

Women, on the other hand, are dominated by *eros*, which Jung defines as “psychic relatedness to other people”. Human relationships are of primary importance to women. To love and to be loved are central to a woman’s life-fulfilment. Women also possess intuition. Women are also seen as passive but Jung points out that it is often their intention to stay in the background, and choose to gain their ends through the man they love (Jung 1957:20-21).

Jung puts the differences between the animus and the anima in the following way: “The most characteristic manifestation of the animus is not in a configured image (Gestalt), but in words (logos). It comes to us as a voice commenting on every situation in which we find ourselves, or imparting generally applicable rules of behaviour... we hear from it a critical, usually negative comment on every movement, an exact examination of all motives and intention, which naturally always causes feelings of inferiority... The animus’ second way of speaking is confined more or less exclusively to issuing commands or prohibitions, and to pronouncing generally accepted viewpoints” (1957:20). Of the anima, Jung (1957:45) says that it is “an elemental being”, and also calls it “the image of feminine nature in general, in other words, the archetype of the feminine” (1957:46).

The animus and anima, therefore, refer to the unconscious mirror-image of our conscious of official gender. If we are male, our anima is our unconscious female side and, if we are female, our animus is our unconscious male side. We have qualities of the opposite sex/gender – both biologically and physiologically – and in a well-adjusted person, both sides must be allowed to express themselves in thought and behaviour. “Life is founded on the harmonious interplay of masculine and feminine forces, within the individual human being as well as without” (Jung 1957:87). Jung warns us that if the contra-sexual principle remains unconscious in an individual, it will be manifested in negative form. In a man who has not accepted his anima, the feminine will be distorted and may seek expression in moodiness, vacillation, dependence, misplaced sentimentality and anxiety. However, a man who has accepted the anima, will, in addition to his masculine qualities, also reveal empathy, patience, understanding of the laws of nature and a

grasp of the subtleties of emotional life (Jung 1957:86).

In women, the unconscious elements of masculinity take a negative form, such as over-activity, obsession with achievement, excessive argumentativeness, intellectual pettiness, and other obsessive forms of behaviour. A consciously integrated animus in a woman may be utilised constructively by developing her intellectual potential and by rationally controlling her feelings (Jung 1957:87).

2.5 THE FEMINIST CRITIQUE

2.5.1 Introduction

The Women's Liberation movement, which advocated equality between the sexes, was a very influential movement in the 1960's. This movement cast serious doubt over the strongly andocentric beliefs of the previous decades, on the notions of male superiority and on the idea that the anatomical differences between males and females are responsible for the developmental differences between the sexes. Feminists in Europe and the United States categorically condemned the patriarchal and hierarchal structures of society with regard to gender and categorically rejected the biological determinism, as represented by Freud, which declared that the social inferiority of women in both natural and normal (Iglessi 1991:31).

2.5.2 Kate Millet

Kate Millet (1969:179) strongly condemns Freud for exerting the most powerful anti-revolutionary influence of the period spanning 1930-1960. She believed that during this period, the women's movement suffered its most serious setbacks. She also criticises Freud and Freudian thought for using a scientific cover-up to excuse women's socially inferior status and their social inferiority. Millet calls Freudian psychology a "tragic irony", a concerted attempt at covering up the true gender-identity and sexuality of women. She does admit, however, that Freud based his studies on female sexuality on clinical studies conducted on women, but they were women who had been highly repressed. As a result, these studies are rejected as being distorted, especially since his subjects were also middle-class middle-aged women of psychologically-repressed backgrounds (Millet 1969:179/180).

2.5.3 Simone de Beauvoir: Women are not born, but made

Iglesii (1991:32) states that a very strong voice for feminism was that of Simone de Beauvoir, who strongly disputed the biological and anatomical basis regarding the differences in gender identity. Simone de Beauvoir claimed that women are not born, but are developed. Beauvoir condemns the social, economic, cultural and psychological factors, which reduced women to the level of a mere object, in a very strongly patriarchal and andocentric society.

Simone de Beauvoir (1954:64) believes that the development of women as independent and autonomous beings, is undermined by the alienating mechanisms of a society in which only the phallus incarnates transcendence. Simone de Beauvoir rejects the psychoanalytical theory, both for its biological determinism as well as for the emphasis it places on subconscious motives and on sexuality, as well as for their influence on the formation of gender identity. Beauvoir (1954:495) says that a woman is not determined by hormones, nor by mysterious instinct, but by the way she perceives, from external stimuli, her body and her relationships with the world. A woman is not merely a biological organism, nor is she exclusively an economic unit, position accorded to girls and women by biological and historical materialist theorists. Beauvoir remarks that girls are raised in society, in the midst of numerous refusals and denials, intended to withhold their rights and privileges and to undermine their subjectivity.

2.5.4 Carol Gilligan

Amongst the strongest critics of Freudian and psychoanalytical thought, is Carol Gilligan. She maintains that all the theories of human development had focused, in fact, on men and were really no more than theories about men (Gilligan 1993:xxiii). She emphasises the differences in the development of men and women. It is incorrect to apply the theories relating to men, to the female sex, as the two differ. "The relational crisis which men typically experience in early childhood, occurs for women in adolescence. This relational crisis in boys and girls involves a disconnection from women which is essential to the perpetration of patriarchal societies... women's psychological development is potentially revolutionary because of women's situation but also because of girls' resistance" (Gilligan 1993:xxiii) – she also states that girls' resistance to culturally mandated separations occurs at a later time in their psychological development than that of boys; girls' resistance is more articulate and robust, more deeply voiced and therefore more resonant. A girls' voice resonates with a desire for relationships, it raises new

possibilities for relationships and searches for new ways of living (Gilligan 1993:xxiii).

Gilligan (1989:9) believes that a girl, and later, a woman, defines herself in terms of affiliation and relationships, rather than through achievement. The problem most girls face in adolescence is how to find a way of making a connection. Gilligan (1989:10) calls adolescence a “watershed in female development”. She finds that during adolescence, girls experience a great deal of stress, and depression tends to increase for girls. Girls appraise themselves in a disparaging manner and reveal more disturbances in their self-image than boys.

Gilligan states (1989:10) that for girls to develop a clear sense of self, they must experience the ability to solve problems of care in relationships, while staying connected both with themselves and others. It is through connections in relationships that adolescent girls finally emerge with a clearer sense of self.

2.6 THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

The Social Learning Theory is an approach to behaviour and personality that attempts to combine the principles of learning, derived from Behaviourism, with the contributions of cognitive psychology. Like Behaviourism, it focuses on observable behaviour rather than inner dynamics and drive not readily amenable to empirical investigation. Bandura explore the ways in which behaviours are learned and expectancies develop. Albert Bandura claims that much of our behaviour is learned by observing other people and modelling our behaviour after theirs (Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg 1988:217). Bandura and Walters (1964:12) explain that the differences between the sexes should not be explained through anatomical differences, but predominantly through differences in upbringing. Different families will raise their children in different ways, will have different ambitions and goals for them, and will raise them in different environments; depending on their gender. Gender differences will thus be determined by the denials, refusals and limitations which a specific society places on its individual members, in accordance with the development of the prescribed gender roles.⁴ Thus the socialisation process and the learning of gender roles, is carried out through imitation. It is not only family members whose behaviour is imitated, but the significance of the mass media is also instrumental in teaching the prescribed gender and social roles.

Iglessi (1991:39) reports that the differences in the way in which parents, teachers and the broader

community respond to adolescents, according to their gender, will thus have a significant effect in determining the way that adolescents view their gender role. Girls imitate their mothers, although Bandura and Walters (1964:99) state that in the formation of gender identity, little girls are attracted to the more powerful behaviour (usually that of the male) while socially, they are obliged to imitate the weaker, more submissive behaviour of their mothers or of other women. In adolescence, this submissive stance and the social pressures to behave in a more feminine fashion, can lead to confusion. Ultimately, adolescent girls imitate the acceptable behavioural patterns and conform to society's norms.

2.6.1 The agents of socialisation

2.6.1.1 Parental influence

Parents are transmitters of societally-based sex roles. Because of their continued presence and their great emotional importance to the child, parents play a pivotal role in the establishment of sex-role identity. Parents, acting as models for their children, reflect the effects of their own sex role socialisation and their continued exposure to a world that makes important social distinctions on the basis of sex (Weitz 1977:83). Children learn appropriate sex-roles through the process of identification. Parental identifications a process whereby children adopt and internalise parental values, attitudes, behavioural traits and personality characteristics, as the social learning theorists believed. Sex-role learning takes place almost unconsciously and indirectly in a close parent-child relationship. Children learn that mothers are soft, warm, gentle, affectionate and nurturing. They learn that fathers are muscular, sometimes loud, and not as involved in the day-to-day care of a child. Children listen, observe, and learn the roles of mother, wife, father, husband, man and woman (Rice 1992:354).

French (1990:21) believes that parents, from an early age, make a clear distinction between "male" and "female" roles, and encourage their children to emulate these. Mothers tend to be over-protective towards their children, and issue them with warnings, such as "don't fall", "hold tight", "be careful", in a nurturing and caring role. Fathers seem to become more involved with playing, often urging their boys to "have a go" on playground apparatus. Fathers are aware that a boy must not be seen as "soft", and thus, try to develop their sons' self-confidence and spirit of adventure (French 1990:21).

French also reports that parents encourage their daughters into a more submissive role, in that, in the playground, fathers are ready to catch their daughters at the bottom of the slide, or may push them on the swings, while boys are left alone (French 1990:22). Consequently, young children traditionally learn to identify the mother with one who is forever busy, tired, who disciplines them daily and puts a limit on their fun, and the father with the one who goes off to work, and when he returns, is ready for fun, for playing games and who serves as a direct contrast to the mother (French 1990:23).

In a climate of changing sex roles, the parental attitude is probably one of compromise between the deeply ingrained patterns of the parents' own childhood and sex role identities and the pressures of the contemporary world. Parents provide a conservative link to the past in that many of their behaviours are shadows of a distant socialisation experience of their own (Weitz 1977:83).

The child learns sex-role identification by observing the same-sex parental model. The child also learns the other sex-role by observation of cross-sex parental behaviours and by participating in cross-sex parent-child relationships. All of us carry in the structure of our personalities and visions of the world, an imprint of our earliest and almost lasting message about our roles as men and women, acquired from imitation and observation of parental role (Weitz 1977:84).

Rice (1992:355) reports that the sex-role concepts the child learns, depends not only on the intensity of parental relationships, but also on the patterns of role models exemplified. Daughters of rural mothers, especially those with large families, learn more traditional feminine roles than daughters from urban families where the mother is likely to spend more time outside the family. Furthermore Rice (1992:355) adds that high-status parents exert more influence than low-status ones, as do parents with a higher level of education. A girl who closely identifies with a masculine mother becomes only weakly identified with a typically feminine personality. One brought up by a mother with non-traditional sex-role attitudes will get a less stereotyped concept of femininity than one whose mother holds conservative values.

2.6.1.2 The role of the school

The influence of the school environment on sex role socialisation can be considerable. The teacher transmits directly sex role expectancies by specifically indicating feelings about

appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. In presenting material on occupations, especially in the context of guidance counselling, very definite sex-typed expectations can be transmitted. The teacher could, for example, discourage girls from seeking professional careers either directly by disapproval, or emphasising marriage and childcare as an alternative, or, indirectly, by encouraging boys in their career choices (Weitz 1977:85).

Schools play an ambivalent role in gender socialisation. On the one hand, schools have the potential to act as agents of change, but they also maintain the gender inequalities that exist, through the role of the hidden curriculum, which is gender differentiated (Lemmer 1993:17). "Until very recently, girls did not do nearly so well out of the education system as boys" (French 1990:12). The hierarchy, the structure within schools, the content of the teaching materials and the hidden curriculum all display a distinct bias towards boys, and reinforce the differences that exist between the sexes (Iglesse 1991:42). When a child enters school, at the age of six years, the child's gender identity has already been established. It is in the adolescent phase of schooling, that gender differentiations become more pronounced.

Feminist scholars challenged the supposed neutrality of schools in the production of gender differences in educational outcomes (Lemmer 1993:9). A major source of learning about gender roles takes place in schools through educational materials and media, in which girls and women are presented in a passive role. In secondary school textbooks, women are associated with stereotyped occupations, illustrations favour males, and books refer to the pupils exclusively as "he" (Lemmer 1993:11). Research conducted in secondary school classrooms has suggested that, as in primary schools, boys tend to have the lion's share of teachers' attention, and to receive rather different forms of attention from girls. Boys have about two thirds of the speaking time, and girls only a third (French 1990:66). After sitting through years and years of lessons that only rarely mention women (or only mention them in stereotyped contexts), it is no wonder that many students take with them from school a sex-stereotyped view of life (Weitz 1977:85). In addition, teachers consider girls to be calm, appreciative, cooperative and sensitive, but less independent, creative and autonomous than boys in the classroom. Teachers expect girls to enter subordinate occupations and have their careers disrupted by marriage. They communicate these expectations to their pupils (Lemmer 1993:12)

From the earliest years at school, tasks in the schoolroom are sex-bound. Moving furniture is considered a male task, done by men teachers and boys, while dusting and tidying is considered a

task for girls, who will follow the female teacher's example. Sewing and handicrafts are for girls, while carpentry and outdoor tasks are for boys (Weitz 1977:86). The schools also encourage submissive behaviour in girls, through gender stereotyping and because there is a shortage of adequate role models for them to follow. During adolescence, girls experience conflicts between achievement and the need to conform to gender role expectations. Mathematics and Science have a traditionally strongly male image. As a result of peer pressure and adult expectations, adolescent girls often perceive success in Mathematics and Science as being contrary to femininity, and they fear that boys will find them less attractive if they excel in Maths (Lemmer 1993:16). This idea of "gender panic" sums up the tendency of adolescent girls to lose assertiveness as a result of a fear of being seen as unattractive to the opposite sex. Hence female achievement is inhibited in schools as result of a number of factors: gendered pedagogy, male bias in books and in extra-curricular activities, male dominance of authority positions, and on account of "gender panic", all of which is clearly the result of girls' exposure to schooling. Consequently, girls are channelled into secretarial and commercial studies, as these are considered to be more feminine (Lemmer 1993:18).

2.6.1.3 The peer group

The peer group within the school also has a significant role to play in the formation of a child's gender identity. A child spends a great deal of time with peers, and is heavily influenced by them. Beginning at early school-age and continuing well into adolescence, the child is usually faced with a same-sex peer group, to which he or she must become attached, if friendship needs are to be met. Cross-sex friendships are uncommon and males, especially, specifically disdain female companionship (Weitz 1977:87).

The impact of the peer culture extends to the toys a child chooses to play with. Girls choose to play with dolls, as a result of peer group pressure to own these toys, and as a result of media advertising. Boys belong to a "male culture", that extends from sex-stereotyped toys and games (trains, motor cars, footballs) to participation and excellence in sports and an interest in watching televised sports. Girls also participate in sports, but their participation is not centrally related to the female peer culture and non-participation is not usually censured (Weitz 1977:88).

In adolescence, though, the hold of the peer group becomes coercive. The adolescents, in their early teens, turn away from their parents as primary role models and instead, base their behaviour

on the ideas of the peer group. Girls value popularity, attractiveness, clothes and dating while scholastic success tends to be devalued. Boys value athletic and sexual success, with scholastic achievement as a secondary goal (Weitz 1977:89).

Weitz (1977:89) also discovered that the female peer group promotes no viable image of identity for women outside of definition through male relationships. Alternative views, promulgating individual assertion and achievement are provided by some sources, such as women's movement reference groups for young women and by certain magazines, but such values touch the lives of relatively few young women compared with the peer culture.

2.6.1.4 Cultural values

From a very early age, the child learns to discriminate between the categories male and female, aided by the culture's considerable concern and investment in this division as transmitted by parents and other socialization agents. Once this discrimination is made, it lays the groundwork for the acquisition of sex-typed responses. The child acquires many sex-typed skills through social learning, but also identifies with the same-sexed parent because of the desire to command the attractive goals possessed by the model. The child thinks that if he or she were to act like the model, then he or she would also acquire the positive qualities of the model (power, positive regard of others). The sex role standard is inculcated by the parents and by the culture and acts as a cognitive-emotional guide to appropriate behaviours. The child acts from a fundamental human motive: the desire to make one's behaviour conform to a previously acquired standard (Weitz 1977:78).

Adolescent gender identity and sex role is influenced by the culture in which the adolescents are raised. Cultures may differ from country to country, and there are even cultural differences within one country. These have differential effects on adolescent and affect their gender identity formation (Rice 1992:81). The social learning theory emphasises that boys develop "maleness" and girls "femaleness", through exposure to scores of influences – media, parents, peers, school – that indoctrinates them in what it is to be a man or a woman in the culture in which they were brought up (Rice 1992:354).

Teenagers from a cultural or racial minority group within a multicultural society, are thrust into a particularly intense identity crisis. These adolescents are faced with the typical adjustments which

need to be made, on approaching adolescence, as demanded by their culture. Not only do these young people have to deal with these life-changes, as do all other teenagers, but they also have a host of other difficulties, attributable to their minority cultural status. Raised by adults who generally do not share the value system of the dominant culture, and who rarely achieve positions of importance within it, minority-group adolescents often have additional trouble finding role modes to identify with. Despite their special problems, however, many minority-group youths do grow up to be competent, effective, contributing members of society (Papalia and Olds 1975:610).

In Western culture, children usually occupy a submissive role and, as they get older, they tend to drop that role and need to adopt a dominant role in adulthood. Furthermore, in Western culture, sex roles of children and adults are dissimilar, and infant sexuality is denied, while adolescent sexuality is repressed; sex is considered evil and dangerous. When adolescents in Western culture mature sexually, they must unlearn their earlier attitudes and taboos, and become sexually responsive adults. Thus, for adolescents from a cultural minority group growing up in a predominantly Western cultural background, the problems can be quite significant (Rice 1992:89).

Different cultures have different expectations of the adult sex-role. In preliterate or in post-industrial society, caring for children and the family dwelling is considered the role of the woman, while the man is primarily responsible for the family's economic well-being. The division of labour is quite distinct; men are charged with being the family's representatives in the outside world, while women are responsible for attending to its emotional needs, and for maintaining harmonious interaction amongst family members (Spence and Helmreich 1978:4).

Anthropological studies reveal the influence on behaviour of different socialisation processes guided by different norms, values and expectations of behaviour. The classic study by Margaret Mead (1935) of three New Guinea tribes entitled "Sex and temperament in three primitive societies", is illuminating in this connection.

One of these tribes, the Arapesh, lived in a mountainous and inaccessible area. Their lives revolved around the cultivation of food. Mead found both sexes to be gentle and 'motherly' in their parental roles. The prevailing social attitude was one of co-operation and responsiveness to one another's needs. Individuals did not seek leadership and power. In sharp contrast to these

were the Mundugumor, who inhabited the fertile plains and were violent, ruthless and sexual in an aggressive way. They showed little nurturance towards their children, and if a newborn child was not of the desired sex it was rejected. There was little differentiation between the personalities of men and of women. The last of the three tribes, the Tchambuli, showed role behaviour which was largely the opposite of what had been accepted in Western culture. The women were largely in control of domestic and business affairs and worked in co-operative units, with little girls being encouraged to take part in these activities. The men devoted much of their time to artistic pursuits such as carving and painting. They enjoyed gossiping and planning rivalries, and were considered sensitive and temperamental.

The diversities among cultural groups are as remarkable as their similarities. While men are usually assigned most physically arduous tasks in some agricultural groups, such as the Bamenda, or the Arapesh, women do all the heavy work. Inversions between what are typically considered "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics have been reported (Spence and Helmreich 1978:4). The masculine and feminine gender roles are, to a great extent determined by the demands of a specific cultural group. On the basis of these findings it is clear that social conditioning could mould male and female into almost any form and that it was *the* major force in shaping personality. Culture 'selected' certain tendencies for particular emphasis and not that it imposed them on an individual entirely from without (Gerdes et al 1988:134).

Gerdes et al (1988:89) state that even within a broad cultural construct (e.g. Western Culture, Eastern Culture, African Culture), there are specific cultural norms regarding how certain roles are to be fulfilled. Role prescriptions, expectations and fulfilments are culture bound, for although the same roles have been played repeatedly throughout history, every society and culture has its own norms regarding their fulfilment, especially with regards to the appropriate gender role for adolescents and later, for men and women.

2.6.1.5 Class differences

Spence and Helmreich (1978:6) comment that according to the idealized vision of the family to which our society has traditionally subscribed, women are not only responsible for the maintenance of the home but are also confined to it. The duty of their husbands is to provide the economic support of the family and the economic means to relieve their wives of arduous domestic chores. The narrow view of women's place arose during the Industrial revolution as an

urban and largely middle-class phenomenon. In agricultural communities, women's labour continued to be required in a broader sphere, while in poor urban families women could not afford the luxury of staying at home, and were forced to seek employment in an outside world, not prepared to offer them any thing but the most menial low paying kinds of work. Hence, social class and socio economic factors played a significant role in determining gender identity and sex role, especially in the case of women.

Adolescents are influenced differently in their sex role socialisation, depending on the social class in which they are raised. Social class influences the gender identity of adolescents, but also the occupational and vocational goals which adolescents may seek (Mussen et al 1990:631).

In general, upper class adolescents are more closely supervised by parents, and show less behavioural autonomy than lower strata adolescents. They are encouraged to achieve. Low socio-economic status adolescents are more likely to drop out of school in order to seek employment. They achieve earlier financial independence and are less subject to parental influence and control than their middle-class counterparts (Rice 1992:408).

Traditionally, the accepted view has been that sex-role differentiation is more pronounced in the lower social classes. Working-class adolescents particularly emphasise that most women would like to have jobs, in addition to a home and children (Rice 1992:355). Generally, the lower the social class, the lower the occupational goal. Children who grow up in working-class neighbourhoods are more likely to know adults in gender-specific traditional adult roles, working as secretaries, plumbers, postal workers, rather than professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, professors and psychologists. Professional occupations are less gender-specific and may be filled by either men or by women (Papalia and Olds 1975:579).

Mussen et al (1990:634) report that socio-economic factors determine considerably the formation of gender identity in adolescent girls. High-achieving women have high-achieving daughters, because they provide appropriate role models for combining achievement and family roles, encourage independence in their daughters and have husbands who also encourage independence and achievement by women. Adolescent daughters of employed mothers admire and want to be like their mothers more often than daughters of non-employed mothers do. Employed mothers appear to be more likely to encourage independence in their children and daughters of employed mothers tend to be more autonomous, active, self-reliant, achievement oriented and less bound by

inflexible gender-specific roles.

2.7 THE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The cognitive development theory suggest that sex-role identity has its beginning in the gender cognitively assigned to the child at birth, and subsequently accepted by him or her, while growing up (Rice 1992:353). The principal exponents of this theory, are Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg.

2.7.1 Jean Piaget

Piaget explains many aspects of children's thought and behaviour, by considering them as going through definite stages. Each stage represents a qualitative change, from one type of thought to another. According to Piaget, at each stage of development, the child's scheme (personal representation of the world) will become more complex, more abstract and more realistic. Piaget taught that cognitive development is the combined result of environmental influences and the maturation of the brain and nervous system. The terms he used to describe the dynamics of development, include a *schema*, that represents the original patterns of thinking, and the mental structures that people use for dealing with what happens in the environment; *adaptation*, which is including and adjusting to new information that increases their understanding; *assimilation* which means acquiring new information by using already existing structures in response to new environmental stimuli; *accommodation*, which involves adjusting to new information, by creating new structures to replace the old; *equilibrium*, which means achieving a balance between schemas and accommodation (Piaget 1971:249). The four major stages of cognitive development are:

Sensorimotor	(birth to two years)
Preoperational	(two to seven years)
Concrete Operations	(seven to eleven years)
Formal Operations	(twelve to fifteen years, through to adulthood)

Piaget stresses that no stage is ever skipped, and that the sequence of stages never varies (Papalia and Olds 1975:27/28).

Piaget, however, tends to equate male development with child development, and this bias colours all his work.

2.7.2 Lawrence Kohlberg

Kohlberg built on Piaget's theory of cognitive development, by stating that moral development is related to cognitive development. He developed a three-stage theory of children's moral development, each level with two types of moral orientation. Children, according to Kohlberg, go from a premoral stage – levels one and two – where they observe standards of others to avoid punishment, through to a conventional stage – levels three and four – where they operate from the standards of others and think about what they can do so someone else will consider them "good". They then go on to the highest level of moral reasoning, the post conventional stage – levels five and six – in which they act according to their own internal standards of right and wrong (Papalia and Olds 1975:29).

Kohlberg also believed that gender identity was a form of cognition, and was not to be taken for granted (Iglessi 1991:45). Kohlberg stated that at the time of birth, gender assignment is made largely on the basis of genital examination. From that point on, a child is considered a boy or a girl. The cognitive assignment of gender influences everything that happens to a child thereafter. Kohlberg also emphasised that the child's self-categorization is the basic organizer of the sex-role attitudes that develop (Rice 1992:353).

Consequently, according to the views put forward by Kohlberg, it would imply that she is a female, would begin to value her femininity, and to act consistently with gender expectations. She would begin to structure her experience according to her accepted gender and to act out appropriate sex roles. She may fantasise herself as a grown-up woman, with a job, and children to look after. Adolescents learn their sex-role according to culturally established sex-role expectations and their interpretations of them. It is very important to emphasize that according to this theory, girls do not become girls because they identify with or model themselves after their mothers; they model themselves after their mothers because they have realised that they are girls. The preferentially value their own sex and are motivate to appropriate sex-role behaviour (Rice 1992:353).

Gilligan (1982:18) has remarked that in Piaget's account of moral judgement of the child, girls are an aside, a curiosity to whom he devotes a mere four entries in an index that omits "boys" altogether, because "the child" in Piaget's study is assumed to be male. Gilligan (1982:18) also states that in the research from which Kohlberg derives his theory females simply do not exist.

All six stages that Kohlberg has used to describe the development of moral judgement from childhood to adulthood, are based empirically on a study of eighty-four boys, who were studied over twenty years.

Gilligan (1982:18) has criticised Kohlberg's study of morality and gender, by saying that "prominent among those who appear to be deficient in moral development when measured by Kohlberg's scale, are women, whose judgements seem to exemplify the third stage of his six-stage sequence. At this stage, morality is conceived in interpersonal terms and goodness is equated with helping and pleasing others". Kohlberg implies that this conception of goodness is functional in the lives of mature women, as long as their lives take place in the home, but if they enter the traditional arena of male activity, they will discover the inadequacy of this moral perspective, and progress like men, towards higher stages where relationships are subordinated to rules (stage four) and rules to universal principles of justice (stages five and six).

Gilligan (1982:18) argues against Kohlberg's outlook on morality by saying that the very qualities of care for and sensitivity to the needs of others, are the actual qualities that mark them as deficient in moral development. She notes that in Kohlberg's version of moral development, the concept of maturity is derived from the study of men's lives and reflects the importance of individuation in their development (Gilligan 1982:18).

Thus, women have a different outlook on and a different construction of morality, to what men have. "This different construction of the moral problem by women may be seen as the critical reason for their failure to develop within the constraints of Kohlberg's system" (Gilligan 1982:19).

To men, a morality of responsibility, as represented by women, appears to be inconclusive and diffuse. Yet, women's moral judgements also provide an alternative conception of maturity to that of men, which had been considered as only mature moral vision by Kohlberg. "The psychology of women that has consistently been described as distinctive in its greater orientation towards relationships and interdependence, implies a more contextual mode of judgement and a different moral understanding. Given the differences in women's conceptions of self and morality, women bring to the life cycle a different point of view and order human experience in terms of different priorities (Gilligan 1982:22).

2.7.3 Kohlberg and Gilligan: Sex differences in moral reasoning

Gilligan pointed out that Kohlberg conducted his research on moral development on male subjects. The scoring method was developed from male responses, with the average adolescent female attaining a rating corresponding to stage three (the good boy- nice girl orientation). The average adolescent male was rated at stage four (the law-and-order orientation). To Gilligan, the female level of moral judgement is not lower than that of a male, but reflects the fact that females approach moral issues from a different angle. Women emphasize care, concern and sensitivity to their feelings and rights. They also emphasize responsibility to human beings, rather than to abstract principles. Thus, men and women speak with two different voices (Rice 1992:472).

As a result of the way that men and women think, Gilligan proposed a female alternative to Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning. The table reflects that Kohlberg's and Gilligan's stages are parallel. Gilligan does not argue that her theory must replace Kohlberg's, but that it is more applicable to the moral reasoning of females and that the highest form of moral reasoning can utilize, combine and interpret both the male emphasis on rights and justice and the female emphasis on responsibility and interpersonal care (Rice 1992:473).

Rice (1992:473) catalogues these differences as follows:

Table 2.1
Kohlberg's versus Gilligan's understanding of moral development

Kohlberg's Levels and Stages	Kohlberg's Definition	Gilligan's Levels
<p><i>Level I: Preconventional morality</i></p> <p>Stage 1: Punishment orientation</p> <p>Stage 2: Nave reward orientation</p>	<p>Obey rules to avoid punishment</p> <p>Obey rules to get rewards, share in order to get returns.</p>	<p><i>Level I: Preconventional morality</i></p> <p>Concern for the self and survival</p>
<p><i>Level II: Conventional morality</i></p> <p>Stage 3: Good-boy/good-girl orientation</p> <p>Stage 4: Authority orientation</p>	<p>Conform to rules that are defined by others' approval/disapproval</p> <p>Rigid conformity to society's rules, law-and-order mentality, avoid censure for rule-breaking</p>	<p><i>Level II: Conventional morality</i></p> <p>Concern for being responsible, caring for others.</p>
<p><i>Level III: Postconventional morality</i></p> <p>Stage 5: Social-contract orientation</p> <p>Stage 6: Morality of individual principles and conscience</p>	<p>More flexible understanding that we obey rules because they are necessary for social order, but the rules could be changed if there were better alternatives</p> <p>Behaviour conforms to internal principles (justice, equality) to avoid self-condemnation, and sometimes may violate society's rules</p>	<p><i>Level III: Post conventional morality</i></p> <p>Concern for self and other as interdependent</p>

2.7.3.1 Carol Gilligan: Listening to the voices of women

Carol Gilligan uses the metaphor of different voices to convey that men and women have different gender identities. Gilligan has taken the female experience as central to her studies and has explored the particular nature of that experience in adolescence and young adulthood. She has allowed us to listen to the different voice – the female voice - in her studies concerning female development and gender identity formation.

Goodenow and Espin (1993:177) state that according to Gilligan, all adolescents must somehow negotiate forms of separateness and individuality in creating an identity of their own, separate from that of their families. Appropriate male development has often been portrayed in terms of the growth of autonomy and separation – “exit” in Gilligan’s terms. In contrast, young women are likely to place more value on maintaining close relationships and ties; in valuing family relationships, they may choose to struggle, not for separation from the family, but for a new and more adult role and voice within it.

Gilligan (1982:156) emphasises this difference in relationship formation which exists between males and females. “For women, the developmental markers of separation and attachment, allocated sequentially to adolescence and adulthood, seem in some sense to be fused”(Gilligan 1982:156). She goes on to explain though, that in a society which rewards separation, this fusion leaves women at risk, and it would make men appear stronger and more powerful. This, argues Gilligan, is not so. They simply speak in different voices, and it would be incorrect to subordinate the female voice to that of the male. “From the different dynamics of separation and attachment in their gender formation through the divergence of identity and intimacy that marks their experience in the adolescent years, male and female voices typically speak of the importance of different truths, the former of the role of separation as it defines and empowers the self, the latter of the ongoing process of attachment that creates and sustains the human community”(Gilligan 1982:156).

Gilligan points out that the female voice has been silent in the narrative of adult development, and this silence of the female voice has created distortions in the understanding of the stages and the sequences of women’s development (Gilligan 1982:156).

Women, according to Gilligan, when requested to describe themselves, describe a relationship.

They depict their identity in the connection of future mother, present wife, adopted child, or in any other relational context. Women measure their strength in the activity of attachment, and tend not to mention their academic and professional distinction in the context of describing themselves. Thus, identity is defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care (Gilligan 1982:160).

Men, on the other hand, adopt a different tone of identity: one which is clearer, more direct, more distinct and sharp-edged. They replace verbs indicating attachment (as used by women), with adjectives of separation (Gilligan 1982:161). "In... men's descriptions of self, involvement with others is tied to a qualification of identity rather than to its realisation. Instead of attachment, individual achievement rivets the male imagination, and great ideas or distinctive activity defines the standard of self-assessment and success"(Gilligan 1982:163). Contrary to this, women define their identity through relationships of intimacy and care. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is approached from different perspectives by the two sexes. These different perspectives are reflected in two different moral ideologies, since separation is justified by an ethic of rights, while attachment is supported by an ethic of care (Gilligan 1982:164).

2.8 CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO THE ISSUE OF FEMALE GENDER IDENTITY FORMATION

The "different voice", the feminine voice, which had been kept silent for so long, made itself heard primarily through the work of Gilligan (1982), but continued to resound in the works of other feminist writers, particularly Nancy Chodorow and Janet Lever.

2.8.1 Nancy Chodorow

Nancy Chodorow believed, like Freud, that gender identity is established in the early years. She believed that personality formation is "with rare exception firmly and irreversibly established for both sexes by the time a child is around three"(Chodorow 1974:47). Nancy Chodorow (1974:43-44) attempting to account for "the reproduction within each generation of certain general and nearly universal differences that characterise masculine and feminine personality and roles", attributed these differences between the sexes, not to differences in anatomy, but rather, to the fact that it is women who concern themselves with early child care. Iglessi (1991:52) states that in Chodorow's view, this primal care of children by women, is responsible to a large extent for

gender formation and sex-role identification, as well as for the socialisation of girls. Because this early social environment differs for and is experienced differently by male and female children, basic sex differences recur in personality development (Gilligan 1982:7). In Chodorow's view (1974:44), it is a result of this early child care by women that "in any given society, feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connection to other people, more than masculine personality does".

Accordingly, given that for both sexes the primary caretaker in the first three years of life is typically female, the intrapersonal dynamics of gender identity formation are different for boys and girls (Gilligan 1982:7). Female identity formation takes place in a context of ongoing relationship, since the mother-daughter bond is close and mothers tend to experience their daughters as more like, and continuous, with themselves. Correspondingly, girls experience themselves as like their mothers, fusing the experience of attachment, with the process of identity formation (Gilligan 1982:8). Chodorow (1974:150) states that, in contrast to the gender-identity formation of girls, with their mothers, sons are seen by their mothers as a male opposite and boys also define themselves as masculine, and separate from their mothers. Boys do not have the same empathic tie with their mothers, as girls do. Consequently, male development entails a "more emphatic individuation and a more defensive firming of experienced ego boundaries"(Chodorow 1974:166). In conclusion, Chodorow insists that for boys, but not girls, the issues of differentiation have become intertwined sexual issues.

Gilligan (1982:28) claims that, according to Chodorow's argument of the existence of sex differences in the early experiences of individuation and relationship, girls and women do not have weaker ego boundaries than men. It does mean, though, that "girls emerge from this period with a basis for 'empathy' built into their primary definition of self, in a way that boys do not" (Chodorow 1974:167).

Chodorow thus replaces Freud's negative and derivative description of female psychology with a positive and direct account of her own: "Girls emerge with a stronger basis for experiencing another's needs or feelings as one's own (or of thinking that one is so experiencing another's needs and feelings). Furthermore, girls do not define themselves in terms of the denial of pre-odipal relational modes to the same extent as do boys. Therefore, regression to these modes tends not to feel as much a basic threat to their ego. From very early, the, because they are parented by a person of the same gender...girls come to experience themselves as less

differentiated than boys, as more continuous with and related to the external object-world, and as differently oriented to their inner object-world as well" (Chodorow 1974:167).

Gilligan (1982:8) discusses the significance of Chodorow's views, and their implication on relationships. She states that relationships, particularly issues of dependency, are experienced differently by men and women. For men and boys, separation and individuation are an essential component of gender identity, as separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. While masculinity is defined through separation, femininity is defined through attachment.

2.8.2 Janet Lever

Janet Lever set out to discover whether there are sex-differences in the games that children play. She studied children aged ten and eleven, and analysed the games which they played during recess and in physical education class (Gilligan 1982:9). She concluded that boys play outdoors more often than girls do. They play in large, and age-heterogeneous groups and enjoy competitive games, which also last longer than girls' games. She also discovered that, in the course of a dispute, boys resolve it a lot more efficiently than girls. Boys also enjoyed debates, to determine who was right and who was wrong. In contrast, if there was any kind of dispute in a girl's game, the eruption of disputes among girls tended to end the game (Gilligan 1982:9). Hence, the legal elaboration of rules and the development of fair procedures for adjudication, is far stronger in boys than in girls. Lever believes that girls are more tolerant in their attitude towards rules, more willing to make exceptions, and more easily reconciled to innovations. Girls develop, through their play, sensitivity and care for the feelings of others, while the games of boys result in a male model, better suited to the requirements for modern corporate success. Lever implies that if a girl does not want to be left dependent on men, she will have to learn to play like a boy (Gilligan 1982:10). The games played by boys and girls reveal a great deal about gender identity formation. Through their games, boys learn independence and the organisational skills necessary for co-ordinating the activities of large and diverse groups of people and they learn to deal with completion forthrightly. Girls tend to play in smaller groups, that are more intimate, and tend to prefer private places as the venue of their games. The games girls play foster the development of the empathy and sensitivity necessary for taking their role in society, as "the particular other" (Gilligan 1982:10-11).

2.9 THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE ADOLESCENT GIRL

It is clear from the discussions and views put forward, that the development of the adolescent girl differs significantly from that of the adolescent boy. Her life-world is constantly expanding, as she comes in contact with new people, new ideas and new experiences.

According to Vrey (1979:184) the adolescent girl has achieved success in learning to think abstractly, and to solve problems involving symbols (linguistic, mathematical or chemical), and ideas. She has achieved a considerable degree of self-reliance, and has taken on responsibility for completing her studies at school. This takes her a long way towards accepting responsibility for her own life.

Vrey (1979:185) states that in her relations with her parents, she is more emancipated and begins to see her parents more realistically. She accepts that they are not as omnipotent as she may have thought at an earlier stage of her development. She is also more self-reliant, and is also in a position to leave her childhood home temporarily or even permanently.

Her relations with herself show distinct signs of maturity. Vrey (1979:185) states that her personal identity has crystallised. A consistent, more realistic self-concept has taken shape. She is aware of her own identity or self, in relations involving a conscious knowledge of her own capacity and the ability to act more maturely than she used to. Her female sexual role has been consolidated and she has learned to control her emotions and to avoid many of the situations that used to cause tension.

She has also established a distinctive relationship with her peers. According to Vrey (1979:185), following the peer group's demand for conformity, self-identity develops in such a way that her uniqueness – her difference from the peer group – accepted. During differentiation from the peer group, closer relationships – more mature because they are less egocentric – are often formed.

Because the adolescent is in the stage of formal operational thought, she is able to form her own ideas about religious and moral issues (Vrey 1979:186).

At the end of her school years, the adolescent will choose a career. She chooses a career as a matter of self-actualisation. The career is the area within which her self-actualisation can take

place (Vrey 1979:186). She has passed the fantasy period and the tentative period in career planning, and is now entering the realistic period, planning her education and aiming towards her prospective career (Papalia and Olds 1975:574).

The adolescent girl's physical development is complete. Her social environment, which includes her schooling and the people she meets, has widened. The opportunities she has for experimentation, have made an impression on her. The interaction of these three factors, brings about the maturation of her cognitive structures at about the age of 16. Her mental structures are well developed to enable her to handle a wide variety of intellectual problems. In Piagetian terms, she is in an advance state of equilibrium (Papalia and Olds 1975:569).

Despite her abilities to conceptualise ideas and to take a scientific approach in looking at phenomena, her thought is not yet completely adult in nature, because of her lingering egocentricism. No longer a child, she recognises that other people have their thoughts, too. Since she is preoccupied with herself, though, she believes these thoughts invariably focus on her. She also feels under constant scrutiny from everyone she knows, and she thinks that everyone is as admiring or as critical of her, as she is of herself (Papalia and Olds 1975:572).

She is very aware of the changes that are happening to her body and she may be experiencing stress and anxiety regarding these changes. Because of the ambivalence of the surrounding culture, regarding the development of breasts and the onset of menstruation, activities such as changing for P.E. or swimming can take on a new significance while coping with periods within the school context can be a nightmare (French 1990:53). She is also very absorbed in the business of being female and concentrates on appearance, on looking and feeling good, and she models her behaviour as well as her outer appearance on role models from the entertainment world or other significant adults (French 1990:55).

The adolescent girl's voice is different to the voice of males, but it is equally significant and equally noteworthy. She defines herself differently to males, She shows a greater orientation towards relationships and interdependence. She has a more contextual mode of judgement, and a different moral understanding to males. Given the differences in her conceptions of self and morality, she brings to the life-cycle a different point of view and she orders human experience in terms of different priorities (Gilligan 1982:23). Her voice, silenced by previous theorists, is now clearly heard, and she craves understanding and recognition of the gender.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER IN EDUCATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The education of girls has had something of a chequered past. Until the nineteenth century, when organised campaigning really began to gain momentum, provision was haphazard (French 1990:2). Without equal access to educational experiences, skills and qualifications, girls and women had been deprived in their personal development, in their choice of work, in their lives as citizens and family members and also in their capacity to influence any of the political decisions affecting their daily lives.

The issues of women's rights re-emerged with renewed vigour in the 1950's and 1960's, expressed in the liberal concept of equality of opportunity (Wilson 1991:1). Hence the twentieth century witnessed dramatic shifts in the status of women throughout the world, and women's new role in both the private and the public sphere has stimulated a vigorous debate about women's rights (Lemmer 1993:5).

Since the 1960's, there has been a general and marked growth in female enrolment at all levels of education, which, together with a substantial increase in women's participation in the labour market, has brought about enormous changes in the social fabric and in the experiences of girls and women. The lifestyles of many young women today would have been scarcely conceivable by their grandmothers. Such changes are perceived as being irreversible, and have led to a full realisation of equal opportunities in terms of qualifications and employment between men and women. Despite the considerable progress made, stubborn, persistent divisions still remain in both education and the labour market.

Throughout the 1970's, attempts were made to create the conditions which would remove formal barriers to sex equality, and would give individuals equal access to education, training and jobs, on the assumption that equal treatment of men and women would result in full social equality (Wilson 1991:1).

As a result of improvements in women's domestic, economic and political position, and further

invigorated by social movements focusing on equality, the education of women, and a study of women's lives has emerged. There has been a paradigm shift from a hitherto andocentric world view to a more androgynous world view (Lemmer 1993:5).

Interest has been aroused in the part played by schooling in the socialisation of young girls and thus in determining their occupational choices and eventual level of achievement (Mahoney 1985:11).

Numerous studies have been conducted in the United States, Western Europe and Australia, to investigate the conditions within education systems that would remove formal barriers to gender equality and give women equal access to education, training and jobs (Lemmer 1993:5).

In this chapter, the role of gender in education will be examined. The factors which have contributed to women's changed role will be analysed. Special attention will be paid to the school's ambivalent role as an agent of socialisation, with special reference to the detrimental effects which the hidden curriculum holds for girls. This will be followed by an overview of women's education in the international perspective, to establish the issues of gender on an international basis. There will follow an analysis of the part played by gender in the education of girls in South Africa, detailing the progress which the South African education system has made towards gender equity, and the extent to which South Africa's education system complies with international trends. Finally, the position of Greek girls in South Africa, who are exposed to the constraints of the South African education system, but who have been influenced by and raised within the Greek cultural tradition, will conclude this analysis.

3.2 WOMEN AND CHANGE: A NEW APPROACH TO WOMEN'S EDUCATION

In the twentieth century, there have been significant changes affecting the lives of women. Kelly (1989:532) states that in the 1950's and 1960's, equal rights legislation had been passed in the United States of America. Until this time, women's education and employment had been characterised by negative trends. These laws paved the way for dramatic changes in the lives of women. The changes were not very dramatic at first, but gradually, gained momentum and altered the lives of women irrevocably. Kelly (1989) conducted an extensive survey on educational access for women and recorded the gains made by women in the education system, especially from the middle of the twentieth century. By the end of the 1980's, the numbers of females in

school were greater than in any other period in history (Kelly 1989:548). The emphasis was on parity between males and females. The ensuing sections will trace these changes and record the gains made by girls and women in recent years.

3.2.1 Factors contributing to the change of attitude towards women

In industrialised countries, women's roles have changed as a result of a number of factors which have contributed towards a new dispensation for women (Lemmer 1993:6).

3.2.1.1 A new domestic role

The introduction of the contraceptive pill allowed women to have control over their own fertility for the first time (Kaplan 1992:13). This had the effect of allowing women to plan their lives and opened up many options of alternative lifestyles to women (Walsh 1980:192). This meant that women could choose to spend time in paid employment, rather than in rearing children, if they so wished. Family size could be controlled and the traditional view that a woman's place is confined exclusively to the home, attending to her domestic chores and to her family, was challenged (Lemmer 1993:7).

3.2.1.2 A new economic role

A very significant change that is readily observable, is the increasing participation of women in paid employment world wide from 1960 to 1980 in particular, married women entered the workforce in ever-increasing numbers (Lemmer 1993:7). This led to new behaviour patterns for women who had, until that stage, been confined to the home and to their domestic role. Kelly (1989:580) reports that by 1980, women constituted 57% of the workforce of Western industrialised countries. When analysed qualitatively, the numbers of women in the workforce are very impressive. However, a closer analysis of women's economic activity reveals, according to Kelly (1989:500) that the majority of women worldwide remain in traditional female occupations, such as nursing, teaching, clerical work and sales. They have lower earning power than men, lower occupational status and prestige and are less likely to be promoted than men (Lemmer 1993:7).

Furthermore, French (1990:6) argues that the economic recession of the early 1980's and the

decline in the traditional manufacturing and heavy industries, created areas of high unemployment and increased levels of poverty. Employers began to demand higher educational qualifications of their employees. Good schooling became more essential than ever and it was felt that girls' particular problems in later life could be cushioned, if not disposed of altogether, by the security of sound, academic, practical or vocational qualifications.

French (1990:7) also states that the divorce rate has soared dramatically from 1960 to the present day. By 1985, in Britain, there had been 160 000 decrees for divorce granted. Women who had relied entirely on their husbands for financial support, could suffer devastating consequences. For a non-earning wife with young children, this could mean the loss of her house, dependence on social security payments and less of status in the community. However, if a woman had the ability to look after herself and earn sufficient money for herself and her children, she could continue to live a balanced and secure life. Hence education became the established and favoured route to long-term security.

3.2.1.3 A new political role

Kaplan (1992:16) states that women's status in industrialised countries has changed as a result of democracy. Modern women's movements have been given the space and the environment in which to develop and lobby for change. The protest by women against legal and political injustices began at the end of the nineteenth century in Western Europe, North America and Australia (Lemmer 1993:7). Kelly (1989:xiii) reports that gender equality has been aligned to human rights and is bolstered by specific legislation. Despite this progress, a gap still exists between formal legal and political equality and daily practice. The rights and principles governing women's lives often remain purely theoretical. Lemmer (1993:8) reports that although women worldwide have not made decisive inroads into the political arena, the political rights which they have been granted by Western democracies, have provided them with a means to organise themselves and place women's issues, including concerns regarding educational equality, on national political agendas.

3.2.1.4 Social movements and social change

Within the democratic framework, social movements which embrace issues of women's rights have played a very significant role in improving the status of women (Lemmer (1993:8).

Women's activities have marked various stages in history. The first wave of an international women's movement began in the late nineteenth century, when issues such as access to education, the working conditions of women and the franchise became priority issues. Kaplan (1992:7) reports that when women achieved the franchise, this wave waned. After World War 11, there was a heightened awareness of human rights. The civil rights movements in the USA culminated in the passing of the Civil Rights Acts in the late 1960's, followed by similar legislation in several Western European countries. This climate gained further momentum with the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, and this second wave still exists today (Lemmer 1993:8). Women's occupational and educational choices broadened, despite discriminatory practices and women became increasingly aware of and impatient with gender inequalities. Legislation was further amended to address these gender issues.

3.2.2 Women in the workforce

Unlike in the past, a significant change has occurred in that women are entering the workforce in increasingly large numbers. Research data appear to indicate that as countries get richer, access to primary education opens up, and only after provision has been made for males, can it then follow for females. Economic development is not, however, an automatic precondition of equality of education at primary level, let alone at secondary and at higher education levels. An expanded educational provision for women has also failed to lead to an improvement of their life chances in the workforce and in the political system (Lemmer 1993:19). It can be argued that although there is considerable variation in the provision of education for women throughout the world, there is less variation in women's workforce patterns, and almost none in women's income relative to men, and their access to political power in society. Increases in the numbers of women educated and the amount of education they receive, have resulted in few changes in their rate of entry to the workforce. Their income relative to men's has remained lower but education does relate to women's income relative to that of other women (cf 3.3.6, 3.3.6.1, 3.4.5.2).

3.2.3 The role of education in a changing world

It is a mistake to believe that education can solve every social and political problem, but it certainly does have a significant role to play towards bringing equity between the sexes. Educational qualifications still provide a passport to the job market. The better qualified a person, the better the working conditions and prospects which emerge (French 1990:12).

However, until very recently, girls did not do nearly so well out of the education system as boys. Shakeshaft (1987:17) states that few schools provide an equitable culture in which all students can grow. Attention is focused on the males, and females have learnt that their concerns, their lives and their cultures are not always taken into consideration. Few schools are actually equitable, offering each student equal access to programmes, while ignoring individual differences (cf 3.2.3.2).

Although many more girls have access to schools today than in the past, the school's role as an agent of socialisation is an ambivalent one. Schools have the potential to act as agents of change but at the same time, through their structure and curriculum, they serve to maintain and reinforce the gender inequalities found in society. Thus, equality of opportunity and outcomes for girls cannot be measured only in terms of access to schooling, but also in terms of the processes of schooling (Lemmer 1993:17).

3.2.3.1 The school as an agent of socialisation

During the last few decades, researchers have begun to study the role played by the school in gender role socialisation. Socialisation is the means whereby culture, including notions of appropriate gender roles is transmitted. Gender role socialisation is the transmission of gender-appropriate characteristics to the child (Lemmer 1993:9). Early educational research investigated how educational practices, ranging from curriculum, teacher behaviour and expectations, career counselling to testing and evaluation, shaped women's educational outcomes.

Thus, gender role socialisation for boys and girls occurs largely through the processes of formal schooling and the effects of these processes are best discerned in unequal educational outcomes such as different patterns of achievement, aspiration and self-evaluation shown by males and females (Lemmer 1993:9).

Shakeshaft (1986:499) states that few schools provide an equitable culture in which all students can grow, with most schools offering white males more options in an environment that is hospitable to their needs. Shakeshaft (1986:500) also comments that in schools, the process by which knowledge is transferred is based primarily on male development. Girls are thus at a disadvantage in such an environment which focuses on male patterns of development and pays greater attention to the outcomes of males rather than females.

3.2.3.2 The culture of schools

A myth exists, according to Shakeshaft (1986:500) that the culture of schools is female and that traditional female behaviour is rewarded while traditional male behaviour is punished. Hence, some educators have concluded that school is a good place for girls, but not good for boys. However, Shakeshaft (1986:500) challenges this notion and believes that schools favour boys.

3.2.3.2.1 Goals of education

Shakeshaft (1986:500) believes that since schools began in response to what males needed to know, in order to become public people, the very nature of schooling is shaped in a male image.

3.2.3.2.2 Structure of schools

Besides the goals of schooling being primarily male and public, the process by which knowledge is transferred in schools is based on male development.

Although females mature earlier, are ready for verbal and maths skills at a younger age and have control of small-motor skills sooner than males, the curriculum has been constructed to mirror the development of males (Shakeshaft 1986:500). Decisions about what is to be studied in each grade is based on the developmental patterns of boys, resulting in girls being ahead in some areas and totally alienated in others. Some grow bored, others give up, but most learn to hold back, be quiet and smile.

3.2.3.2.3 Instructional techniques

Teaching techniques also reflect the pattern of male needs. An examination of the use of competition as a learning style provides an illustration of the ways in which male development guides instructional style. Putting students against each other in a win/lose contest is a common and accepted means of instruction in schools (Shakeshaft 1986:500).

This "I win, you lose" philosophy is seldom questioned but is constantly reinforced in classrooms and on playing fields. Carol Gilligan (1982) believes that this competitive environment is not the best learning environment for girls. Gilligan (1982) found that boys gravitate towards competition, while girls gravitate towards connection. For girls, the philosophy of "I win, you

lose” is a problematic stance, since it is potentially divisive and threatens connections between the group members.

Janet Lever (1976:482), confirming the observations of Jean Piaget (1969), studied how children play and found that in games “boys were seen quarrelling all the time, but not once was a game terminated because of a quarrel”. Girls, on the other hand, tended to end a game when a dispute arose (cf 2.7.1, 2.8.2).

These two approaches reflect two moral ideologies which Gilligan (1982) labels “the ethic of rights” and “the ethic of care”. According to Shakeshaft (1986:501), schools are organized primarily around the ethic of rights, a morality which is more often comfortable for males than for females. The female morality of response and care is not highly valued, nor is it the basis of many teaching and learning strategies used in schools (cf 2.7.3.1).

3.2.3.3 The curriculum

The school curriculum operates on two levels: one intentional and official, the other unintentional or hidden. The hidden curriculum is gender differentiated, thus there is a need for an analysis which goes far beyond the official curriculum, as embodied in syllabi and policy statements. The school curriculum is recognised as a powerful agent in communicating gender-appropriate behaviour to children (Lemmer 1993:9).

Byrne (1978:10) had this to say about the hidden curriculum:

The hidden curriculum transmits to young people a collection of messages about the status and character of individuals and social groups. It works through school organisations, through attitudes, and through omission – what we do not teach, highlight or illuminate, is often more influential as a factor for bias than what we do.

In the 1980’s, there have been a number of attempts to systematically revise curricula and textbooks, with the aim of eliminating gender-biased content. This has not been matched by any systematic attempts to change day-to-day educational practices which would counteract traditional attitudes to gender roles, nor has there been any encouragement to introduce in class

specific discussion topics to question differences that exist between men and women in many aspects of life. Researchers have also pointed to a number of aspects of the hidden curriculum which differentiate between boys and girls, some focusing in the past on the content of textbooks and especially primary readers, others on the interaction between teachers and pupils in the classroom and on the organisational features of schools. In countries where there are no longer uniforms or dress-codes for pupils, trousers are not allowed for girls in most schools and even today, most schools have separate gymnastics classes and sports activities for boys and girls (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides 1991:100).

The aspects which constitute the hidden curriculum comprise learning and resource materials, the role of the teachers, teacher-pupil interaction and career guidance. These aspects will be dealt with individually in the ensuing sections.

3.2.3.4 Learning and resource materials

A major source of unintentional teaching and learning about gender roles takes place through educational materials and media. Textbooks, according to Gilbert and Taylor (1991:28) present limited portrayals of women and girls. Even more recently published textbooks are very narrow in their representation of gender roles.

Shakeshaft (1986:501) states that girls are distanced from school life through the curriculum materials they encounter. Bias in books, in films and in handouts takes many forms, including the invisibility of female characters, blatant or subtle stereotyping, selectivity, unreality, fragmentation and male-exclusive language. Shakeshaft (1986:501) contends that whether it is the portrayal of doctors as males or the assignment of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, female students are told repeatedly that their identities and experiences are not the stuff of literature or history.

3.2.3.4.1 Toys

During the pre-primary schooling phase, toys are an important means of informal learning (Lemmer 1993:10). An analysis of toys conducted in the United States showed that "masculine" toys were far more varied, complex, active and social and encouraged spatial, mathematical and scientific skill. Feminine toys were found to be simpler and focused on passive and solitary

activity. Samuel (1981) found that toys which orientate a child to mathematics and science are marketed virtually exclusively for boys. French (1990:19) comments that boys are encouraged to play on swings, on slides and on the climbing frames in the park, while little girls are dressed in over-fussy garments which restrict their movements and prevent them from participating actively and enjoying the equipment in the same way as the boys.

French (1990:23) also states that while girls play with dressing-up clothes, dolls, tea-sets and prams, boys are given construction games such as Duplo, Lego or Meccano. Boys, through their play, gradually assume a sense of control over their world. By the time they reach the secondary school phase, boys are much more confident about their abilities in subjects such as physics and maths.

3.2.3.4.2 Textbooks

Preschool and primary school textbooks provide children with models against which they measure their own parents and provide them with modes of acceptable behaviour (Lemmer 1993:10). Research has revealed that the roles of men and women, as presented in these textbooks, are one-sided. Males were portrayed in a variety of occupations, while women were presented in a fantasy role, such as a witch or a princess, or in a strictly feminine role, such as housewife, mother and nurse. Gender stereotyping is thus prevalent in such books (Lemmer 1993:11).

French (1990:25) reports that research on school reading schemes showed that girls were presented less often than boys and men and when they were shown, it was within a restricted set of roles. French (1990:25) investigated a set of ladybird readers, which feature two characters, Peter and Jane. Wherever Jane is depicted with Peter, she appears to be in the background watching Peter or asking his permission to play with certain toys. Peter gets on with things, up-front, centre-stage, while Jane watches, waits and follows.

The issue of gender representation of females also applies in relation to pictorial literature which may be read to children or later, by the children themselves. It may also be seen in works of non-fiction, particularly in the natural sciences, where girls are too often depicted in a passive or background role, if at all (French 1990:19).

Shakeshaft (1986:501) states that female students are also ignored in textbooks and instructional materials through the use of male-exclusive language. Studies of language indicate that the generic "he" and other kinds of male-exclusive language are coded by both males and females to mean males only. In one study, when children were asked to draw a caveman, they drew pictures of a man. When asked to draw cave people, they included men and women.

Secondary school textbooks have also been criticised for their unbalanced portrayal of women. In history textbooks, women, their social history and their achievements are all conspicuous by their absence (Lemmer 1993:11). In maths and science textbooks, there is a qualitative and quantitative difference in the portrayal of men and women. Illustrations favour males and the books refer to pupils exclusively as "he". This suggests that maths and science are a male preserve (Kelly 1981)

3.2.3.5 Teachers

Teacher attitudes, teacher expectations and the positions occupied by male and female teachers within the school are important components of the hidden curriculum.

3.2.3.5.1 Teacher expectations

The expectations which teachers have of their pupils can operate as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Unspoken assumptions about gender roles and of teachers' attitudes towards women have had a powerful influence on gender role socialisation of male and female pupils. Despite the egalitarian ideals of some teachers, educators still often act according to subconscious prejudices in the classroom (Lemmer 1993:11).

3.2.3.5.2 Behaviour

Teachers generally consider girls to be appreciative, calm, co-operative, sensitive but less independent. Teachers also expect girls to enter subordinate occupations and to have their careers disrupted by marriage. They tend to convey these expectations to pupils (Stanworth 1983:49).

3.2.3.5.3 Achievement

Teachers hold the belief that boys are better at grasping abstract concepts than girls are. They also consider girls to be neater and more meticulous in their written work. Teachers' expectations of boys have been revealed to be more varied, challenging, prestigious and more rewarding (Lemmer 1993:12).

3.2.3.6 Teacher-pupil interaction

In the classroom, male students receive more attention from teachers than female students do. They are more likely to be praised, but also reprimanded. Teachers instruct male students in performing a task, but they often do the task for female students. Teachers also allow more opportunities for boys to respond. To answer questions, to engage in activities, to help out. The result, in a co-educational class, is a classroom in which males dominate. They talk more, interact more, receive more teacher time, and have more opportunities to learn. Boys also learn to handle criticism because they have opportunities to respond that allow them to grow. Thus, boys speak more, are praised more often and are told that they have ability (Shakeshaft 1986:501).

Female students, on the other hand, are simply ignored. They are neither reprimanded nor praised. Girls learn that their opinions are not valued and that they are not worthy of any attention. Thus, the interaction between students and teachers reinforces the message that females are inferior (Shakeshaft 1986:501). The aspect of pupil-teacher interaction will be discussed in the following categories:

3.2.3.6.1 Talk

It is reported by Lemmer (1993:12) that teachers spend two-thirds more time talking to boys, who are in turn allowed about two-thirds of pupil talk. This enhances the self-esteem of boys, who also receive more assistance from teachers as a result of this increased interaction. Polydorides (1985:239) states that boys tend to evaluate themselves higher than girls, even if they are at the same level of achievement.

3.2.3.6.2 Waiting

Boys elicit the immediate response of their teachers, by making verbal requests. Girls raise their hands, using a more conventional method of seeking attention. This results in boys receiving immediate attention, while girls tend to have to wait (Spender 1982:52).

Teachers ignore girls for longer periods of time. Boys draw attention to themselves through rowdy asocial behaviour. Girls are addressed collectively, while boys by individual names (Lemmer 1993:12).

3.2.3.6.3 Identity

Teachers know more about the personal details of the boys they teach, rather than of the girls. The girls are an anonymous group, a “faceless bunch” (Stanworth in Lemmer 1993:13).

3.2.3.6.4 Reward and punishment

Lemmer (1993:13) states that boys are regarded as unruly but intelligent and they therefore receive more attention than girls, in the form of both reward and punishment. Girls are rewarded for conforming behaviour and are encouraged to be compliant but not autonomous.

French (1990:45) comments on the difference in the structure of reprimands made by teachers, when addressing boys and girls. The teachers tend to be patronising towards girls when correcting their behaviour, using words such as “love” or “dear”, in order to cushion the blow. When reprimanding boys for the same offence they tend to use a far more authoritative tone, and giving a full explanation as to why the boy is being reprimanded.

French (1990:45) reports that to a girl, a teacher may say:

“Sit down Lisa, love” or

“Could you please stop talking now, dear”.

To a boy, the teacher would say:

“Sit down, and then all of us will be able to see” or

“Can you stop talking now, so that I can hear what the other children are saying”.

Boys have an explanation tagged onto their reprimand, while girls tend to have a negative

description of their behaviour added onto the patronising reprimand, such as “you’re being silly”.

3.2.3.7 Effects of biased interaction

The overall effect of biased interaction is that girls experience the inferior status afforded to them within the intimate sphere of the classroom daily. This type of atmosphere does not inspire self-confidence nor a sense of personal worth (Lemmer 1993:13). The atmosphere of the school and the implications of the hidden curriculum reinforce the societal message that females are inferior (Shakeshaft 1986:501).

3.2.3.8 Teachers as models

Teachers serve as important role models to children. As women are under-represented in positions of leadership in the education system, and as male and female teachers are identified with specific age groups or subject areas, gender-stereotyping occurs within the schools (Lemmer 1993:14).

Women teachers are predominantly concentrated in the pre-primary and primary school phase. Women are under represented in leadership positions within schools. This creates the perception that men control the education system, while women teach. Women teachers also experience great discrimination in terms of salary and promotion. There is also an under representation of women in subjects such as maths and science, while women are well-represented in the so-called “girls’ subjects”, like home economics, languages and humanities (Marland 1983:49).

Shakeshaft (1986:502) states that this same environment encourages women to remain as teachers and discourages them from seeking to become administrators. This sex-structuring of the career ladder in education harms women students, women educators and the education system at large. It leads to a system that teaches students that positions of formal leadership belong only to men, and it deprives education of some of its most capable leaders. Shakeshaft (1986:502) argues that the primary reason that women are not hired nor promoted, is that they are female.

3.2.3.9 Career guidance

The school assists its learners either directly or indirectly in making occupational choices. Schools offer career guidance counselling and provide the learners with specific information about occupations and occupational choice. Parents and guidance teachers take a passive role when advising girls about career choices but are more interested in the choices made by boys and become more involved in advising them (Lemmer 1993:14).

3.2.3.9.1 Vocational choice

It has been established through data concerning career attitudes and aspirations that schoolgirls do not engage in realistic career planning. Girls are often left to make their own decisions regarding career choices, while educators make no conscious effort to assist them. Girls also consider certain careers to be closed to them from an early age. By the time they reach the secondary school phase, their expectations and aspirations have become aligned (Lemmer 1993:14).

3.2.3.10 Mathematics

Many girls are discouraged from continuing with maths, as a result of poor performance levels. Numerous very lucrative occupations have a prerequisite of a pass in maths. The underachievement and underrepresentation of girls in maths and science have been common worldwide phenomena although more recent surveys are more encouraging, since they indicate that in many parts of the world, these gender differences in maths performance are decreasing (Lemmer 1993:15).

3.2.3.10.1 Mathematics and the hidden curriculum

There appears to be no real reason for the underachievement of females in mathematics and science. The cause for their underachievement appears to lie within certain emotional, social and attitudinal factors. Maths has traditionally had a strongly masculine image and teacher interaction in maths classes tends to favour boys. Parents, too, regard boys as having a greater aptitude for maths (Lemmer 1993:15).

3.2.3.11 Science

A. Kelly (1981:276) states that conditions within an individual school can exert an influence on the scientific performance and interest of girls in science. Differential and early exposure to certain toys prepare boys and girls for differences in scientific achievements. Teachers expect girls not to be as able at science as boys, and their expectations become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Lemmer 1993:17).

Science and Maths are also subjects which are dominated by male teachers (Samuel 1981:251). Girls thus, need to have appropriate role models to encourage them to take science courses. Kelly (1981: 290) notes that the major achievements of women in science have been largely ignored in the teaching of science.

3.3 WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

3.3.1 Introduction

In all societies and at all times, the education of girls and women has been considered less important and has assumed a different form from the education of boys and men (Gilbert and Taylor 1991:4). As a result, it has been more limited and more narrowly-defined than the education of males. At each stage of formal education provision, education was first made available for boys, and only later was it extended to girls (Kelly 1989:120). Kelly does comment however, that despite these initial dramatic imbalances in education provision access to schooling has improved significantly for girls.

Kelly (1989:548), reports that educational access for women has expanded dramatically since the early 1960's, when women everywhere received less education than men. Fewer girls entered schools and drop-out rates were much higher than those of boys. The 1970's and 1980's however saw dramatic progress in this area for women throughout the world. By the end of the 1980's, the number of females in school were greater than in any other period in history.

Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1991:92) states also that in most European countries, the development of the education system has been characterised by a massive increase in female enrolment in education since the 1970's and a persistent but slowly diminishing inequality in

subject choice at university level and in post-educational careers. This reflects to a large extent, a trend that is evident throughout Europe.

This overview of women's education in an international perspective, will examine global trends relating to women in education, but will focus predominantly on the European situation and more specifically on educational practices in Greece, as this is the country of origin of the participants who were used as a sample of the research conducted in Chapter 5 and the majority of the participants attend a Greek school in Johannesburg. Furthermore, the cultural and educational principles of Greece have a direct influence on the lives of the participants whose education experiences were investigated in Chapter 5.

3.3.2 Enrolment trends

Access to schooling in global perspective can be measured by enrolment trends. Although enrolment has expanded worldwide, enrolment figures show that in most third-world countries, the pattern of gender-based inequality persists, although gaps between male and female enrolments have narrowed (Lemmer 1993:18). In first world countries, however, since the post World War II period, women's access to education has almost equalled that of men at the primary level, and approaches equality at the secondary level. Yet it is only in a small minority of such countries that male and female school enrolments have actually equalised, while in a handful of nations, women do, indeed, form a higher proportion of those attending school than do men (Kelly 1992:268). Women have struggled to widen their access to education, and to shape it to their needs and purposes (Kelly 1989:515).

3.3.3 Primary education

Lemmer (1993:18) reports that in most countries, girls' representation in primary school education has expanded in an unprecedented way since 1960, resulting in female representation in primary school approaching that of boys. However, statistics show great variation in primary school enrolments, ranging from 58% female enrolment in Middle Eastern countries, to 100% in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, North America and Japan. In all countries, however, it is interesting to note that primary education only becomes universal for females after it has been provided for males (Kelly 1989:548).

3.3.4 Secondary education

The gap between male and female enrolment in secondary education has not yet been closed (Lemmer 1993:18). In 1980, 45,2% of girls of secondary school age were in school, as opposed to 54,8% of boys. The greatest gaps are in Africa, where only 30% of girls of secondary school age and in Asia, where only 29,7% of girls of secondary school age were attending school in 1980 (Kelly 1989:553). In Europe (Wilson 1991:206) and North America, secondary school enrolments are slightly higher for girls than for boys (Seller 1989:535). Lemmer (1993:18) states that increasing female access to secondary school is a worldwide trend, with girls obtaining more years of secondary education than they did in 1960, although it is not clear whether girls obtain the same quality and kind of education as boys. Even in countries such as France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Germany, Sweden, the USA and the United Kingdom, where enrolments are equal to or exceed those of boys, girls do not study the same subjects within the academic track (Lemmer 1993:18). Girls dominate in arts and humanities and are poorly represented in science and mathematical programmes. Girls are channelled into secretarial or commercial studies, or enter the nursing and teaching fields (Lemmer 1993:18).

The gradual increase in educational participation, throughout the 1970's, has had important qualitative results for girls. Teachers have become much more aware of the problem of role and gender prejudice in education. Single-sex schools and classes were abolished in the 1970s. The influence of the women's movement has led to an awareness of the need to develop curricula and teaching materials which are less likely to encourage girls to restrict their education choices (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides 1991:96).

3.3.5 Higher education

Kelly and Slaughter (1991:4) report that in most countries, inequality in female access to higher education persists, although higher education has improved worldwide. Furthermore, in third world countries, women's chances of obtaining higher education are slim (Lemmer 1993:19). Only in North America has gender parity in access to higher education more or less been achieved: 49,3% females to 50,7% males (Kelly 1989:555). Inequality of access by gender has deepened in most of Asia and Africa, and narrowed in Latin America, Europe and North America since 1960 (Lemmer 1993:19). Within higher education, sex segregation by field of study is the norm worldwide, regardless of the number of enrolments. Women tend to study in fields where

there are a lot of other women studying. Women are over-enrolled in education, heavily concentrated in the arts and humanities, but only a few are enrolled in mathematics and computer courses and even fewer in engineering (Lemmer 1993:19). These patterns persist, with very little variation between socialist and non-socialist, industrialised rich and industrialised poor countries and even between continents (Kelly 1989:558).

Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1987) conducted a study of women in higher education, with particular emphasis on women in higher education in Greece, which reflected European trends. Traditionally there had been some discrimination against girls in terms of admission to higher education. This has changed considerably in recent years. Higher technical and vocational education has been particularly characterised by a great increase in the participation of girls. In 1970, girls accounted for only seven per cent of total student enrolment (OECD, 1980). Following the structural integration of higher technical and vocational education into tertiary education in the 1970's, combined with the introduction of a uniform admissions policy, girls' participation rose to 27 per cent in 1976-1977 (OECD, 1980). The figure for this sector is now 43,6 per cent. Representation of girls in university education has also risen rapidly in the past 30 years, from 23 per cent of the student body in 1960-1961, to 40 per cent in 1978-1979, to 48 per cent in 1986 (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides 1987:64).

3.3.6 Women in the labour market

The period 1975 to 1985 saw a massive influx of women into the labour force in the European community and Scandinavian countries and an increasing tendency for women to stay longer in employment, taking a shorter break for rearing children. During this period 10.2 million jobs were created in service industries, while in 1981 – 1982 alone 3.6 million jobs were lost in agriculture and 2.2 million jobs were lost in industry. At the same time there was a considerable growth in part-time employment between 1973 and 1981. By 1988, 37,2 per cent of jobs in the countries of the European Community were held by women and in Sweden 46.2 per cent of the labour force was female. In the main, women have entered employment in the service sector, particularly in the public sector. By 1988, 45 per cent of service sector jobs and 70 per cent of part-time jobs in all sectors were held by women in the EC, albeit with fairly wide national variations (Wilson 1991:7).

Despite such advances, there is little parity between men and women in the labour market.

Female wages in most countries are 20 to 40 per cent less than those of males, with variations according to industrial sector, occupation and country (OECD, 1988). In the early 1980s the economic recession, and consequent reduction in public sector expenditure, resulted in accelerated unemployment rates in Europe, albeit with wide regional and national variations. Women, especially those under the age of twenty-five, have been disproportionately affected in several countries. Overall, 13 per cent of economically active women in the EC were unemployed in 1986, as compared with 9,3 per cent of men (Wilson 1991:7).

Women have been particularly affected by the recession because of a reduction in childcare services in some countries, a resurgence of traditional attitudes towards their employment and because of their concentration in precarious and vulnerable jobs (Moss: 1988). Although a new popular image of the modern career woman is often presented in the mass media, women are in reality still concentrated in restricted range of jobs. Occupations where men and women are present in equal numbers are still a rarity, although this may be masked in enterprises and organizations where women occupy different levels of jobs within hierarchies of pay, status, rewards, conditions of work and degrees of autonomy. The finer the level of analysis used to examine the situation of women in the labour market, the more occupational segregation becomes apparent and the slower the rate of change appears to be. Certain jobs, such as administration, have absorbed ever greater numbers of women, as they have entered the labour market. Women have had some success in entering new jobs in employment sectors with a history of female employment, such as teaching (Wilson 1991:7).

Despite improvements in childcare facilities in many countries, facilities have fallen short of demand, particularly for extended day-care during school holidays, the full working day and in times of parental sickness (Moss 1988). While European women still bear the brunt of childcare and domestic responsibilities, reductions in social services in some countries have thrown the problem of elderly parents, and disabled children and spouses on to "careers" in the family, the majority of whom are women (Wilson 1991:7).

The present characteristics of women in the European labour market include a lower level of pay compared with men; slower promotion in the private sector, and mostly "non-activated promotion" in the public sector; vulnerability at times of economic crisis; discriminatory attitudes at the work place, unequal allocation to sectors of economic activity (Eliou 1987:23).

3.3.6.1 Women's professions

Kaser and Shaffer (1995) conducted research into the status of women in the United States. They discovered that women accounted for 46% of the total US labour force in 1995, which is up 24% from 1940. They concluded that although the number of women in the labour force has almost doubled since 1940, nearly six of ten working women remain concentrated in service, sales and clerical jobs, which often pay lower-than-average wages. Women also face significant barriers within the higher-paying jobs, especially in the skilled and construction trades. In education, women make up the majority of the teachers, but are vastly underrepresented in administration. At post-secondary level, women faculty members are still a small minority, and very few institutions have female presidents.

Kaser and Shaffer (1995) present these figures showing the distribution of female workers by job category:

Administration	(25,4%)	Service	(17,7%)
Professional	(16,7%)	Sales	(13,0%)
Managerial	(12,8%)	Operators	(7,6%)
Technicians	(3,5%)	Production	(2,1%)
Farming/Fishing	(1,3%)		

Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1991:107) in her studies of Greek women, states that women in the teaching profession are the largest group in public sector employment. Female teachers dominate the lower levels of the educational system and male teachers the higher, especially in the fields of Mathematics and the Sciences. This is considered to have an impact on the persistence of traditional attitudes towards educational and occupational choices of boys and girls.

According to Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1991:110), the increased economic activity of women has been mainly limited to traditional areas, as indicated by their increasing participation in the public sector and the teaching profession. Although girls do better both in school as well as in such male-dominated fields of university study as Science and Engineering, their achievement patterns do not appear to increase their self-esteem and consequently their participation in these fields. On the contrary, the limited spectrum of female participation in economic life appears to

relate to the decision of large numbers of women to enter teaching, which partly reflects and reinforces the ideas prevalent in society about gender roles. The problems related to inequality in employment by gender are intertwined with the issue of women's unequal access to certain fields of study. The only likelihood of changing further women's perception of the function of education is by fostering an increase and wider dispersion in their participation in employment: for example, in the sectors of Computer Science and Management Studies.

Miliori's (1993) research into women's professional choices in Greece reflected global trends. Miliori (1993:147) discovered that equal opportunities in the workplace have not been achieved, between men and women, not even in the "office staff" category.

In the higher levels of the organizational hierarchy, at managerial and senior executive level, men hold the senior positions. The true extent of women's participation in the category 'office-staff' is about half that indicated if the lower range of employee positions is taken into account - positions in which women dominate.

Typing is a 'woman's profession'. The positions involving predominantly routine work, including those of typist and secretary, are almost exclusively occupied by women (Miliori 1993:147).

On entering a department store, a supermarket or a boutique, a customer receives the impression that the trade is limited solely to women. However, an examination of the statistics presents a different picture: only 32.6% of the merchants and the employees in commercial enterprises are women and therefore the large majority of women serving the consumer suggests that the majority of those making the deals from their offices must be men. In fact, 82% of shop managers, 84% of sales policy department staff and 85% of sales supervisors are men. Women merely stand behind the sale stands - the last link in the chain (Miliori 1993:147).

3.3.6.2 Changing concepts of women's work and professions

Miliori (1993:148) states that the concept of 'women's' and 'men's' professions, deeply rooted in society, is interlinked with the limited extent of women's participation in management. The idea that 'manager' *means* a man is a deeply rooted one although it is expected to weaken in the generation now growing up. Particular attention is paid to the way schoolbooks present professions. The ascent of women to the higher positions in the mass media (press, television and

radio) will also play a major role in changing attitudes.

Research conducted by ERT (Greek national television and radio) found that only 27% of the senior management staff of the company (heads of department included) are women. The president of the company is a man, and none of the five general managers of the company is a woman. Only three of the 28 heads of department are women.

In the area of women's magazine there are many women in managerial positions, in fact more than men. By contrast, in the daily press the number of women managers is very small. Today the mass media have the greatest influencing power they ever had. Therefore, the image of women, which will be promoted through the media, will become the model for the coming generations. However, these images should not be confined to advertisements: they should be a reflection of a positive image of women in the real world (Miliori 1993:149). The entrance of women into management positions in the printing and electronic press will provide not only the impetus for more women to enter top management positions but will also convey positive stereotypes about working women in general.

Wilson (1991:9) reports that some liberalization of attitudes towards women in society is beginning to show. This indicates a gradual, but positive change of attitude towards women at work. Wilson (1991:9) discusses the results of a recent survey conducted in Europe. Attitudes towards the principle of women working in the occupations of bus driver, surgeon, obstetrician, Barrister and Member of Parliament showed fairly strong support for women in these roles, from 62 to 67 per cent, albeit with quite wide variations by country. When men were asked whether they would prefer their wives to work or not, opinion was evenly divided, but the number of those in support of the idea had increased by 15 per cent from 1975 to 48 per cent in 1987. In Germany, Luxembourg and Ireland the majority of men preferred their wives not to work, while participants in Denmark, France and the United Kingdom gave the most positive responses to the principle of women at work. According to Wilson (1991:9), when responses to the two questions on the general principle of women working and personal choice in this area were correlated, only 24 per cent of men were strongly in favour of equality at work in the personal and public spheres. This finding reveals an interesting mismatch between expressed beliefs and actual practice, which is often mirrored in other contexts, for example in teachers' attitudes towards equal opportunities in general and in their own classrooms.

Twenty-five per cent of participants described their ideal family as one where the husband works and the wife runs the home, 29 per cent where the woman works and runs the home, and 41 per cent favoured equal role-sharing. However, only 54 per cent of men and 53 per cent of women in households where the woman worked described their actual family arrangement as egalitarian. Among younger couples, women were less likely to bear the "dual role" of responsibilities at home and at work, but again there were wide variations between countries, with participants in Greece, Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark and the United Kingdom expressing the highest degree of role-sharing and participants in Luxembourg and West Germany the lowest.

3.3.6.3 Positive action for women managers

Aliki Giotopoulou-Maragopoulou, President of the League for Women's Rights in Greece, as well as President of the International Alliance of Women, has repeatedly suggested that women should have their share of senior positions allocated through competitive tests or evaluation criteria. Yet, prejudice against women still exists in positions decided through a selection procedure. Men form the majority of officers responsible for the selection of directors, and display the usual prejudices against the appointment of women (Miliori 1993:151).

In order to enforce the principles of equal opportunity in law, a number of government agencies were established. Together with all other matters concerning equality at work, the state agencies also deal with positive action, in order to achieve equality at the higher levels of government and the private sector (Miliori 1993:152).

There are many women and many women's organizations who believe that the most certain, most effective and quickest way to abolish sexual inequality in the workplace is through the introduction of the quota system. The Co-ordinating Committee for Quotas has been working for three years to establish a quota of 35% obligatory participation of women in the decision-making centres. This committee included 16 non-governmental women's organizations and women's branches of eight political parties (Miliori 1993:152).

Other 'positive action' strategies concentrate on women's education, offer training and the opportunity to acquire qualifications and encourage research about 'women's participation' - a necessary step, since women are often ignorant of the rights they have acquired.

'Positive action' for women managers also includes efforts to provide information to women about jobs available, the representation of both men and women on committees responsible for the selection of personnel, and encouraging women to attend business education programmes aimed at senior management positions (Miliori 1993:152).

3.3.6.3.1 Women managers in the private sector

At present, women occupy about 8% of the top management positions in the 900 biggest companies in Greece (Miliori 1993:153). The National Statistics Service (1981) states that 14% of managers and senior management executives are women. Women, thus, appear to be barred from promotion in the hierarchies of private sector companies, for a number of reasons.

One reason, according to Miliori (1993:153) is the previous lower rate of women's participation in education, although this is rapidly changing. Within 30 years (1951-81), the percentage of women living in large urban areas and taking courses in higher education, has increased by 370%.

Secondly, women have a double role of responsibility for the family, and a demanding professional life. Miliori (1993:153) states that when women managers talk about their work, they always refer to the way they have to deal with household affairs as well. Even the most emancipated mention that in order to have a career, they chose to be deprived of a family - a sacrifice never required of a man.

The third reason is the prejudice shown by the cultural environment. In an article in *Pantheon* magazine (August 1990:27) the author, Bourantas, provided evidence about how women managers are regarded. The research was conducted in 30 organizations in the private sector and 15 in the public sector. The categories of people questioned who gave the most positive answers about women managers included women themselves, younger individuals, executives of multinational enterprises and officers in the public sector. Individuals in industrial enterprises and production departments, who are not yet used to having female colleagues, are more conservative.

Similar findings come from data published in the press, provided by women, who work as production managers in industry or come into contact with male working environments. Women find it easier to execute their management duties in or have contacts with banks and public

services, and more difficult to deal with male shop floor workers or to be present on the factory floor or at ports. Certainly, older Greek men are more prejudiced against women (Miliori 1993:153).

Yet another reason for the failure of women to occupy top managerial positions in the private sector, is the internalised prejudice of women themselves. Iglessi (1991:189) conducted a number of interviews with women, in which the reality of internalised prejudice becomes clear. In fact, she believes that it restrains many women from ever thinking about a career in management, although they may have all the necessary qualifications. Iglessi (1991:185) states: "I think that there is an important reality which, though it seems external, is internal. I believe that women are not trained adequately in order to pursue a career. They are discouraged from childhood on."

Iglessi (1991:220) highlights this problem of internalised prejudice, which is made evident through this excerpt from a personal interview. She believes that:

there are too many internal resistances. And I have the impression - somebody should investigate this in order to arrive at a meaningful answer - that in Greece, women occupying top management positions do so thanks to their husband or father, and being successful in a male-oriented position, they have therefore symbolically occupied the father's position. They have achieved it by surrendering to male role models, values and competition, and they rather dislike women. They are women who have denied their female nature. Their behaviour towards other women rests on some deeper feeling of rejection and they tend to be close to the father, because they fully obey him. They obey his values, his needs and his orders.

(Personal interview).

3.3.6.4 Women entrepreneurs

Turner and Papaioannou (1988:31) state that women have gradually increased their share of business ownership as a whole in Greece. From 4,7% in 1976, they constituted 9,4% of all employers in 1986. Turner and Papaioannou (1988:38) furthermore report that several Chambers of Commerce and Industry around the country estimate that some 10% of the businesses registered with them, are owned by women and these are concentrated in traditional sectors, such

as textiles, clothing, manufacture and retailing. Turner and Papaioannou (1988:24) also report that there are many women who start their careers as employees in large organisations and then later establish their own businesses. When interviewed, these women usually comment that business activity impresses them and makes them feel fulfilled, as well as offering emotions, happy and unhappy moments and continuous action.

Women entrepreneurs are concentrate in the traditional “female” sectors, including the world of fashion, clothing, the shoe industry, jewellery and beauty institutes, and the service sector of hotels, tourism and public relations (Miliori 1993:157). Furthermore, Turner and Papaioannou (1988:20) state that the majority of women's co-operative enterprises today are located in rural areas and islands with a much smaller number in urban centres. Most of these initiatives operate in tourist services and craft production, with some in light manufacturing workshops.

Miliori (1993:158) comments that another services sector favoured by women in business, is that of public relations. In the field of advertising, too, many women organise small and flexible advertising agencies which focus mainly on advertising in women's magazines.

3.3.6.5 International policy and equality of educational opportunity

The right to receive an equal education has been a fundamental part of many human rights documents since the second World War. This right has usually been expressed in terms of access to, rather than the content of, education, underpinned by the principle of non-discrimination (Wilson 1991:2). United Nations resolutions, among them the UN Declaration of Human Rights, in 1948, the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1959) and the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) upheld the principle of equality of opportunity in education. All the European countries were signatories in 1979 to the resolution incorporated into the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, which stated that all appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that girls and women, married or unmarried, were granted equal rights with men in education, at all levels (Wilson 1991:2).

In 1975, fresh impetus was given to the issue of women's rights when the UN International Women's Year heralded the UN Decade for Women, which attempted to define ways in which women could fully participate in the economic, political and social life of their countries. This

raised a general awareness of women's issues, although many of the Decade's goals were not met as a result of a worldwide economic recession, and lack of political will in certain countries (Wilson 1991:2).

In the 1980's international bodies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have paid particular attention to the employment situation of women and this has involved an examination of vocational and other educational measures (Wilson 1991:3).

Furthermore, the establishment of the European Community in 1957 has worked for a united Europe with common economic and social goals. European Community legislation has committed itself to equal opportunities in employment, and to the principle of equal pay for equal work, and equality of opportunity in training (Wilson 1991:3).

The European Parliament has a permanent committee on women's rights, intended to raise awareness of gender equality issues among educational personnel; to encourage girls to take up non-traditional courses of study and careers, especially in information technology; to develop non-sexist teaching materials and to develop training programmes of women of all ages, as well as a range of projects to combat inequality in employment (Wilson 1991:4).

3.4 WOMEN IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF SOUTH AFRICA

It is against this background that the position of women in the South African education system will be examined. The ensuing section thus focuses on the education of women in South Africa, in the light of the global trends discussed.

The education system of South Africa has been marked by a history of enforced racial segregation, which has led to educational provision based on race (Lemmer 1993:20). In the past few years, however, the "new" South Africa has begun to take shape. The country is in a state of transition, and a process is under way to correct the historical inequalities and injustices in an effort to put a fairer, more egalitarian vision of education in place (Morrell 1992:1). Among the reforms which are advocated, gender equity is also on the agenda and equal opportunity legislation is in process (Lemmer 1993:20). Although very little had been done in the past to correct gender bias and to eliminate gender discrimination in the South African education system,

the current transformation of education in this country offers many opportunities to tackle such discrimination and to implement gender-sensitive policies in order to redress the discriminations of the past (Morrell 1992:1).

3.4.1 Introduction

The position of women in the education system of South Africa reflects worldwide trends, with the added dimensions of the constraints imposed by race (Lemmer 1993:20). Women and girls have been treated cursorily (if that) in the South African education debate (Truscott 1994:9). Morrell (1992:2) states that research on the issues of gender is still in its infancy in South Africa. Truscott (1994:8) remarks that the themes which have dominated the education debate have been an analysis of the ideology of apartheid and how this is manifested through education; an analysis of the differences in education between blacks and whites; a documentation and analysis of struggles in education of both students and teachers. Yet, there was no specific reference to any gender issue in education.

Lemmer (1993:20) states that no large-scale systematic or official analysis of the education of girls and women in South Africa has been done and research on gender issues has been sporadic and uncoordinated. Much of Third World research on gender issues was prompted by United Nations initiatives. South Africa's exclusion from the UN indirectly affected gender research within the country. South Africans were not present at UN-hosted conferences on women, from 1975 - 1985. Nor was South Africa included in the research project on Africa, during this period (Morrell 1992:3). Furthermore, racial issues and the struggle for equal opportunities in education, have eclipsed the issues of gender.

The education struggle in South Africa has many dimensions. Most prominent has been the mass struggle of black school students against an inferior, racist and oppressive education system. Another has been the struggle of teachers against low pay and poor conditions. There has also been another, hidden struggle receiving little attention: that of girls and women against a male-dominant, sexist education system (Truscott 1994:4).

There exists, therefore, a growing recognition of the need to tackle issues related to women's issues and to gender oppression. Non-sexism and democracy are of vital importance, together with non-racism, and a unitary education system in redressing the historical imbalances (Truscott

1994:3).

According to the gender policy framework document (2000), gender equality has always been a core value of the struggle for a democratic South Africa. This value was immediately adopted into the country's governance processes with the establishment of the new dispensation in 1994 and has been enshrined in the 1996 constitution of South Africa. It is the strong political commitment to this value that has moved the South African government to craft gender sensitive national priorities. The commitment to achieving gender equality has:

- Motivated South Africa to accede to regional and international instruments promoting gender equality;
- Increased awareness of gender issues in all spheres of life;
- Enhanced the integration of gender considerations into government policies and programmes.

3.4.2 Conceptualising gender in education

Physical differences between males and females are sex differences. Women and men have different sexual and reproductive organs, and other physical characteristics. One sex is not more powerful or more intelligent than the other, but rather, that they are different (Truscott 1994:3).

Gender refers to the way females and males are brought up, or socialised, as women and men. Social, cultural and contextual factors allow patterns of behaviour generally associated with girls or boys, women or men, to emerge (Truscott 1994:4).

The term *gender* rather than *non-sexism* also provides a deeper understanding of how the education system treats females differently from males; how girls and boys, and women and men, experience the education system in different ways; how divisions and inequalities in the education system relate to divisions and inequalities in society as a whole (Truscott 1994:3).

3.4.3 Gender in the education struggle

Education was put decisively on the political agenda by the uprising of school students in Soweto in 1976. The Soweto uprising occurred in the midst of the growth of the new working class movement and the new generation of students were children of new urban workers (Truscott 1994:7). The riots resulted in the virtual breakdown of "Bantu Education", and the state's education policy, the brutality of the apartheid system and its agents, the racism of society, the abysmal conditions in the townships, the lack of political rights, the appallingly low wages, the high rate of unemployment and the increasing organisation and politicisation of the black working class and students were highlighted as a result (Samuel 1990:17).

Truscott (1994:8) remarks that while all of this has general application to women, the education debate has not included a single contribution attempting to integrate a gender analysis with that of race and class. Truscott (1994:8) argues that this is because feminism is relatively new to South Africa and only very recently has it become significant in this country. The inclusion of women's or gender concerns is a very recent phenomenon. Furthermore, in the various proposals made for a new curriculum and a new education system, little attention is paid to the specific problems and needs faced by girls and women in a new education system (Truscott 1994:10).

3.4.4 Education and the position of women

3.4.4.1 Introduction

Morrell (1992:3) states that while the extent of research on gender aspects of South African education is limited, it is possible to sketch a picture of the situation which exists. Tacklyn Cock (1980) provided a feminist analysis of education in her book *Maids and Madams*, in which she looked at education from the point of view of the training it provided to black women for future lives revolving around domestic work. Pam Christie (1985) raised gender issues in *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa*. She studied the differences existing between girls and boys in enrolments in 1976, gender bias in textbook materials and the differences between girls and boys in the ideology of Christian National Education. Linda Chisholm (1984) notes that in the educational debate, there is occasional mention of gender concerns. She remarks on the small number of new technical schools available to girls as compared to boys, as well as the gender-specificity of the vocational training on offer, such as

dressmaking, homemaking and secretarial courses for girls, and electrical work, motor mechanics, welding and metal work, fitting and machining for boys.

3.4.4.2 Pupils

With the exception of a handful of privileged pupils attending elite private schools, South Africa's black school goes attend co-educational institutions. In an important way, this distinguishes black from white pupils. Throughout South Africa, single-sex schools for whites are common, though this is more so for English than for Afrikaans speaking communities. For many white schoolgirls, therefore, the experience of school is devoid of many of the classic gender-driven problems found in education, such as sex-stereotyping, pressure to achieve in gendered ways, pressure to conform to existing social gender models and to deal with sexual advances from and violations by boys (Morrell 1992:4).

Truscott (1994:45) suggests that girls' experience of co-educational schooling is qualitatively different from boys, since girls report bias in classroom interaction, especially in maths and science classes. In the case of black schoolgirls, Morrell (1992:4) reports that in addition to the problems posed by co-educational schooling, there is the added dimension of inadequate facilities, very high pupil-teacher ratios associated with black education, and a battery of sexually discriminatory practices.

Morrell (1992:4) remarks that in black schools, the sexual division of labour is also very strict. Girls are expected to tidy the premises before the school day begins. In class, boys are given the manual tasks, such as moving tables and desks, and are generally encouraged to answer questions. Girls do not exchange words with boys and are expected to be servile, as well as clean and disciplined.

Truscott (1994:46) comments that there are almost no facilities for sports or physical education in most black schools. Soccer is the sport in which most children participate, and there is clearly more emphasis on boys' sports. Girls are expected to support team matches, but boys are not expected to do the same for girls.

There exists also the constant possibility of sexual harassment, rape and unwanted pregnancies, constituting another worrying feature of a girl's school experience. Morrell (1992:5) reports that a

recent study in Kwazulu/Natal found that the high school careers of 2,7% of the students was disrupted by pregnancy. A significant number of schoolgirls are already mothers and their own mothers look after their children, in order to allow them to continue their studies or to go out in search of work.

Rape is also common in the townships, and schoolgirls are major targets. Jackrolling, the abduction and gang rape of women under twenty six, has, after becoming a feature of Soweto life, been exported to other urban centres. Schools are not physically safe places. In Durban secondary schools, there have been incidents in which boys hide in female toilets and then gang rape the unwary users of the facility (Morrell 1992:5).

Truscott (1994:50) also reports on the incidence of the sexual harassment of girls, stating that it was widespread from both male teachers and male students. One victim stated that a teacher had made repeated, unwanted advances when she was only 17. Her persistent refusals had the effect of making the teacher angry towards the whole class, especially the girls. The other girls in her class tried to persuade her to give in to his advances in order to pacify him. As she refused, and the matter could not be resolved, she left school. A similar incident, in which a schoolgirl was persistently harassed by a fellow pupil, resulted in her having to leave school.

3.4.4.2.1 School Attendance

Truscott (1994:13) states that there has been a sharp increase in school attendance over the last 20 years. This is reflected in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below. Table 3.2 also shows that between 1970 and 1990, there has been an increase in attendance of 273%.

Table 3.1

Pupils at Primary Schools by sex, 1970-1990 (Sub A to Std 4 inc.)

Year	Total Pupils	% Increase over 1970	No. of girls	% Girls
1970	3 348 698	-	1 646 525	
1975	4 132 095	23%	2 039 998	49%
1980	3 934 731	18%	1 937 292	49%
1985	5 547 613	66%	2 741 031	49%
1990	6 215 671	86%	3 061 706	49%

Source: Truscott 1994:73

Table 3.2

Pupils at Secondary Schools by sex, 1970-1990 (Std 5 to Std 10 inc.)

Year	Total Pupils	% Increase over 1970	No. of girls	% Girls
1970	922 198	-	468 783	51%
1975	1 289 306	40%	662 344	51%
1980	1 530 732	66%	786 676	51%
1985	2 480 768	169%	1 317 153	53%
1990	3 443 115	273%	1 844 573	54%

Source: Truscott 1994:75

Female students have consistently comprised 49% of primary school students between 1970 and 1990 (Table 3.1). At secondary schools, female students comprised 54% of all students in 1990, compared to 51% in 1970 (Table 3.2). Girls thus form a majority in most secondary schools throughout the country.

The enrolment patterns of girls in primary and secondary schooling in South Africa is

complicated by the problems of race (Lemmer 1993:21). Although school enrolments have expanded, attendance is not spread evenly over all the population groups. Increases have taken place in secondary school enrolments in white, coloured and Indian schools, with girls forming 49 - 52% of total enrolments. In black secondary schools, there has been the greatest increase, with girls comprising a constant 49% of primary school enrolments and 55% of secondary school enrolments. Enrolments must also be seen against the background of disparity in educational provision for different race groups (Truscott 1994:13).

According to Truscott (1994:16) attrition rates for girls have improved during the last 20 years. Attrition is measured by comparing the number of pupils who entered Standard 6 (Grade 8) with those who reached Standard 10 (Grade 12). Attrition rates for white girls are the lowest, while they are the highest in the case of coloured girls. Attrition rates for black girls have declined dramatically during the last 20 years. Truscott (1994:17) offers a number of explanations for this phenomenon. Amongst the reasons cited, she includes the high incidences of teenage pregnancies and the inability of parents to afford keeping girls at school. Girls must stay home and look after younger brothers and sisters, while parents work, or they must go to the rural areas to assist other family members. In the case of coloured girls in particular, Truscott (1994:17) offers as an explanation the fact that coloured girls may see their future careers more in terms of manual and commercial skills (hairdressing, office skills), rather than academic.

3.4.4.2.2 The curriculum

There appears to be no significant difference in the number of boys and girls taking the core compulsory subjects, which include the languages, life and physical sciences, maths and social sciences. There are, however, marked gender biases in the optional subjects of commerce, home economics, industrial arts and the trades (Truscott 1994:44). In general, very little subject choice is permitted by the syllabus. In theory, boys and girls are able to choose between home economics and woodwork or technical drawing, but peer pressure, discouragement by teaching staff or timetabling make this a rather uncommon practise (Morrell 1992:4). It is also noted by Morrell (1992:4) that historically powerful patterns still have influence on choices which are permitted. In the late nineteenth century, for example, all African schoolgirls took sewing and as a result, a similar tendency can still be discerned today. For the most part, girls' subject choices in education and training reflect expectations of a role in society which confirms their place in the home and the family (Chisholm 1994:1). Learning technical skills for boys, however, gives them

an important advantage in entering more lucrative technical careers (Lemmer 1993:21).

Truscott (1994:47) states that in both primary and secondary schools, subjects are taught with a distinctly male bias. This is notoriously true in the teaching of history, which is taught as the history of powerful white men and their deeds. Another example cited by Truscott is that the current matric history syllabus includes World War II, with much emphasis on military strategy, which boys feel very comfortable with, yet girls lack the vocabulary to deal with it. Truscott (1994:47) also points out that literature education is also biased, being mainly based on male poets and novelists.

Bowen and Roberts (1986:82) use men as examples in the problems posed for the study of science. There is only one example using a woman. The typical examples used by Bowen and Roberts (1986:82/83) include "A 100 kg man skating at 10 m.s on frictionless ice hits another 100kg man...."; or "A 100 kg racing swimmer can shove with his feet against the end of the pool..." or "A party of invaders storming a medieval castle attacks the main gate with a battering ram...". Where women feature as examples, it is usually in the stereotypical roles as mothers or housewives (Truscott 1994:47). The hidden curriculum (cf 3.2.3.3, 3.2.3.4.2), is a significant aspect of the education system of South Africa.

In an exploratory qualitative study conducted by Kate Truscott, she reports on the gender discriminations which operate within the hidden curriculum, and the detrimental effects which these differences have on girls. Truscott (1994:47) reports that in the case of maths and science in particular, girls were often actively discouraged by their teachers from doing maths and science at school, while in some all-girls schools, science was not even offered at secondary school level. Truscott (1994:47) also mentions that in a certain senior maths class, where boys were the overwhelming majority, the boys formed themselves into study groups, from which girls were excluded. Another participant of Truscott's stated that she had been told that girls would encounter problems if they took maths and science at matric level. She ended up doing agricultural science, history and biology against her will, and did not achieve a matric exemption (Truscott 1994:47).

3.4.4.2.3 Educational outcomes

Chisholm (1994:1) notes that in South Africa, contrary to other Third World countries, girls' entry into and participation in schooling as well as in education, is in fact comparable with that of advanced industrial countries: Hofmeyer (1996) and Truscott (1994) in their studies, discovered that patterns in gender performance in South African schools are the reverse of those found in the rest of Africa. Everett and Orkin (1993:11) noted however that women's educational attainment surpasses that of men only in the lower educational levels, (primary and junior secondary), while men tend to be more encouraged to study until senior secondary (Std 9-10) or post-secondary level. Chisholm (1994:1) comments that even though girls enter schools in large numbers, their career directions and participation in the labour market are gender-specific, with the majority of black girls opting for careers in teaching and nursing.

From a study of matric passes, Truscott (1994:18) concluded that despite their greater numbers, girls are not doing as well at matric level as boys, but they do slightly better in rural schools than in urban schools. This points to the poorer education, as well as perhaps greater problems for girls in township schools, than for boys.

Shindler (1998:3) in a gender analysis of the 1997 matric results, concluded that the results, revealed that there had been little change compared with previous years, in the sense that the pass rate among males was higher than among females: 51% of males passed, compared with 41% of females. As females outnumber males (56% of the candidates were female and only 44% were male), however, more females pass. Of all the candidates who passed, 52% were female, and of all matriculation exemptions obtained nationally, 51% were obtained by females. In Shindler's analysis (1998:4), she stated that males comprised 48% of all the candidates who took maths, and only 42% female. The discrepancy is much higher in the case of physical science: 30% were male candidates, while only 21% were female (cf 3.2.3.10, 3.2.3.11).

Bot and Shindler (1999:4) note that the trend for the 1998 matric results is very similar to previous years. A gender analysis reveals that the pass rate among males is still higher than among females (54% of males passed, compared with 48% of females). However, as the majority of candidates are female (56%), the majority of passes and matriculation exemptions are achieved by women (53% and 51% respectively). The figures for maths are 54% male candidates and 48%

female, while for physical science 33% of the candidates are male and 24% female. It would appear, therefore, that maths and science, which are traditionally male-dominated subjects, continue to be so, on a national basis (cf 3.2.3.10, 3.2.3.11).

3.4.4.3 Higher education

At present, women are under-represented and still concentrated in gender-specific occupations at tertiary level. Technical colleges have only a small proportion of female students. White female students comprised 38,3% of students at technical schools in 1990 and black females only 11%. There is a distinct gender segregation as regards subject choice, with more than half the girls studying commerce, while boys are concentrated in industrial arts and trades, business and management, science and engineering (Bendeman 1992:6-7). Truscott (1994:87) illustrates the same point, in the table below, reflecting the under-representation of women at technikons.

Table 3.3

Technikon Witwatersrand: Male and female students by school, 1990

School	Total Students	Males	Females	% Females
Applied Sciences	337	232	105	31,2%
Art and Design	689	231	458	66,5%
Business School	1 777	1 204	573	32,2%
Communication Tec	476	28	448	94,1%
Engineering	2 570	2 378	192	7,5%
Biol and Health Tec	714	254	460	64,4%
Hotel School	448	173	275	61,4%
Optometry	95	41	54	56,8%
School of Mines	722	706	16	2,2%
TOTALS	7 828	5 247	2 581	33,0%

Hence, at technikons, women are also under-represented, comprising only 33% of all technikon students. The gender-segregation in enrolments is also clear from the table, with male students concentrated in engineering and business management and women concentrated in office work, catering, personnel management and tourism. Women, thus, are concentrated in the nurturing and servicing occupations. Poor enrolments of girls in technical education can be attributed to the fact that girls fail to take the kind of subjects that will allow them entrance to technikons, such as

maths, science and technical subjects. Truscott (1994:22) remarks that a notable feature of university enrolments is the under-representation of black women at university level.

Statistics for 1988 show that although white women constituted more than half (53,7%) of the total female student body, black women comprised only a third (33%), (Truscott 1994:23). Thus white males were the largest single group, comprising one third (33.1%) of the student body (Truscott 1994:23). Erwee (1992:3) states that women's vocational choices at university are still gender-specific, with 66,5% in education and only 5,6% in engineering.

3.4.4.4 Teachers

The teaching profession in twentieth century South Africa has been dominated, in numerical terms, by women (cf 3.3.6.1), Women teachers are not, however, proportionally represented in position of authority in schools such as principals, senior teachers and inspectors and most work in primary schools (Morrell 1992:8). The groundwork for the sexist and racist structure of the teaching profession, which is still in evidence today, was institutionalised in 1954 by the Bantu Education Act, by H.F. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs (Truscott 1994:22). In the Hansard (1954:2615) he stated:

As a woman is by nature so much better fitted for handling young children, and as the great majority of Bantu children are to be found in lower classes of primary school, it follows that there should be far more female than male teachers. The department will therefore declare the assistant posts in primary schools to be female teachers' posts Quota will be laid down at training schools as regards numbers of male and female candidates respectively which may be allowed to enter for the courses ... This measure will, in the course of time, bring about a considerable saving of funds which can be devoted to more children at school.

Furthermore, in the Hansard (1954:2606) he continued to say:

The Bantu teacher must be utilized as an active factor in this process of development of the Bantu community to serve his (sic) community and build it up and learn not to feel above his community so that he wants to become integrated into the life of the European community and becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does not happen and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected and alien ambitions.

Thus women teachers were made to carry the burden of the so-called Bantu education as well as pay the price for the expansion of black schooling, at the expense of their salaries and working conditions (Truscott 1994:22). Since that time, women have formed the majority of teachers in both white and black schools. White teachers were trained in teacher training colleges or had university qualifications, while black teachers, especially women, were largely untrained. Men, however, are still in the majority in the secondary schools, especially at most black secondary schools (Truscott 1994:23).

Although a job may be a powerful inducement for black women to take up teaching, those in employment are not without grievances. In 1986 a female teacher at level one earned two hundred rand to two hundred and seventy rand less than a male. Ninety one percent of level one posts were held by women. The salaries were also very low. In 1988 unqualified (level 1) teachers had a starting salary of R5 442 per annum. Women teachers express dissatisfaction about a wide range of issues. Temporary jobs, poor promotion possibilities, lower salaries, lack of or unequal access to housing subsidies and pension facilities are all seen as problems. Women teachers find that more is demanded of them - the double load (mother/teacher) is a well-known element, as is, in the overseas context, the fact that they have to work twice as hard to get anywhere because men try to take the credit for their work. School regulations still discriminate against teachers who fall pregnant. Those in temporary employment can lose their jobs and where maternity leave is granted, it is against the loss of accumulated leave (Morrell 1992:8).

It is evident that parity between male and female teachers does not exist. Women have, in the teaching profession, been subjected to a wide range of discriminatory practices. Although several teachers' organisations make specific mention of gender equality in policy statements, these organisations are also dominated by males at executive level (cf 3.2.3.8). Likewise, the educational satellites of political groups are male-dominated and have not placed women's issues on their agendas. Society in South Africa has always lacked a well-organised broadly represented women's organisation and this is reflected in education too (Morrell 1992:9).

3.4.4.5 Education in politics

In recent years, organisations have begun to address gender issues in education. The most prominent initiative has been taken by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), and its women's forum. There have, however, also been other responses, to the question of

gender, that were individualistic and not voiced through the unions (Morrell 1992:9). Because the responses have been individualistic, it is difficult to know exactly how African women teachers have acted in connection with their professional dissatisfaction. Morrell (1992:9) states that within the schools, female teachers tend to stick together, for emotional support and possibly to resist or deal comfortably with the demands made on them by male colleagues. Morrell (1992:10) points out that in the early to mid 1980's, a small group of voluble and aggrieved women teachers joined United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliated bodies, to take up political issues surrounding education, including organised delegations to negotiate with officials at the education department. The proportion of women, however, who responded in a visible and active way against discrimination of race and gender, was small.

3.4.4.6 SADTU

In October 1990 SADTU was launched under the auspices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). About 65% to 70% of the 50 000 members are women, yet only one of the 27 executive members is a woman (Morrell 1992:10). According to Truscott (1994:62), this initiative aims to destroy all forms of apartheid in the current educational system, while providing free and compulsory basic schooling for all children. Furthermore, it intends to put into place a single, non-racial and non-sexist educational system geared to meet the demands and aspirations of society as a whole.

Morrell (1992:10) states that despite the glaring male domination of the Union, SADTU has moved quickly to place the plight of women teachers on the agenda, by encouraging participation of women teachers in the structures of SADTU at all levels; by establishing affirmative action programmes for women and by placing on the programme of action of each region campaigns against all forms of victimisation and harassment of women.

Morrell (1992:11) also states that SADTU is also demanding an immediate end to the discrimination against women teachers; an immediate full parity in salaries between men and women and immediate full maternity benefits for all women teachers.

Despite these initiatives, discrimination still exists in the classroom. Although the 1990's have seen the emergence of gender as a priority issue in education and in the workplace for virtually the first time in South Africa, much work still needs to be done to provide for complete equity

between males and females.

3.4.4.7 Women in the labour market

In *Business Times*, (16 May 1999:1), Celean Jacobson reports that women in South Africa are still on a road to nowhere. Despite new legislation, South African business has done little or nothing to change the poor status of women in their organisations.

Preliminary results of a Commission for Gender Equality study into the private sector, show that less than one in four jobs in the private sector are held by women, against almost two-thirds in the public sector according to the report by Jacobson.

Black empowerment companies have done very little to improve the position of women in the workplace. The study found firmly entrenched racist and cultural stereotypes in place.

Jacobson reports furthermore that of the companies interviewed, 47% did not have a gender policy. 41% did not have a sexual harassment policy. Only 72% complied with the Labour Relations Act in terms of maternity leave. The study follows the introduction last year of legislation which commits the private sector to introducing gender-sensitive practices and policies.

Statistics quoted by Jacobson and provided by the Commission for Gender Equality reveal that of the 300 companies approached, only 103 were prepared to take part in the study. The sample came mainly from JSE-listed companies in the manufacturing, retail and wholesale business and professional sectors, as well as mining and construction. The study covered about 600 000 employees of whom 23% were workers, 29% in the retail and wholesale sector, 27% in manufacturing, 19% in business and 15% in mining (cf 3.3.6, 3.3.6.1).

85% of the non-executive directors were white men, 9% white women, 3% African men and 2% African women. Only 25% of all the women surveyed and 30% of African women were in senior management, compared with 85% of men.

At apprentice and clerical level, the number of women did increase (42%) against 58% of men. At entry levels, 28% of employees were African women, 49% were African men and 2% white

men and women.

Nerishni Shunmugam, of Prodigy Business Services, which conducted the study for the commission, is reported to have stated that the results show a general disregard and disrespect for women. Companies see gender issues as something that costs money, but does not generate income. Even when women are MD's, their women employees do not enjoy a better deal.

Table 3.4
Average percentage composition of staff

	AVERAGE		WHITE		AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Non-executive directors	87	13	85	9	3	2	0.5	0	0.5	0
Executive directors	88	12	74	9	13	3	1	0	1	0
Senior-executive management	83	17	58	10	16	6	4	0.5	5	0.5
Senior management	75	25	71	20	2	3	1	1	1	1
Middle-senior management	76	24	67	17	4	5	2	1	3	1
Junior-middle management	72	28	44	15	17	7	11	3	7	3
Assistant management, senior supervisor and junior professional	68	32	39	19	13	8	9	3	7	2
Supervisory, artisan and technician, senior operative and senior admin/clerical/secretarial and graduate entry level	61	40	30	21	5	4	6	8	18	7
Apprentice and trainee technician, operative, admin/clerical/secretarial	58	42	33	16	11	5	8	12	6	9
Entry level/labourer	66	34	2	2	49	28	8	3	7	1

Source: Commission for Gender Equality

3.4.5 The current position of women in South Africa

The national policy framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality highlighted the plight of women in South Africa. The picture that emerged was far from encouraging. This information was made available through The Office on the Status of Women, and was contained in a document entitled the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, which was adopted by the Cabinet in December, 2000. The adoption of this document signifies a milestone for South Africa, as the country now has a framework policy in place to ensure South Africa's advancement towards gender equality (cf 3.3.6.5). Chapter two of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2000:12-18) concerns itself specifically with a situational analysis of the position of women in South Africa at present, the main findings of which are contained in 3.4.5.1, 3.4.5.2 and 3.4.5.3. The most significant findings, relating to gender in education, are summarised.

3.4.5.1 Women and education

Statistical data on school enrolment in 1999 shows that girls constitute just over half (50.6%) of all learners. It would appear, that girls and boys enjoy equal access to primary and secondary schooling. However, the statistics also indicate that, in 1999, 17% of African women aged 20 years and older had received no formal education, compared to 12% of African men and 0% of white women and men. Of 58% of the illiterate aged 20 years and older are women and 54% are African women.

Despite enormous efforts at transforming the education system, certain factors continue to contribute to high drop-out rates and lower secondary school pass rates for girls. These include:

- a) Unplanned pregnancies affect girls more negatively than unplanned paternity affects boys. 28% of female drop-outs were a result of pregnancy compared to the 3% of male drop-outs.
- b) Domestic responsibilities lead to school absenteeism for girls. Girls, more often than boys, are likely to be the victims of sexual harassment, rape and other forms of violence. The resulting trauma frequently leads to a drop in school attendance.

- c) Despite innovative advances in the South African education, gender stereotypes and women's subordination continue to pose a challenge for curriculum development.
- d) Given high levels of illiteracy among women in rural areas, non-formal education can make a major contribution to women's lives.
- e) At the higher education level, in 1999 women comprised 55% of all university students and 46% of all technikon students. However, the representation of women is greater in subject areas such as health, education and social sciences than in science and engineering subject areas where rewards and career prospects are generally better.
- f) Although women were found to constitute 38% of the academic staff at higher education institutions, in a survey of higher education institutions conducted by the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) of the *National Commission on Higher Education*, the proportion of women declined as the level or rank of staff increased. Fifty one per cent (51%) of lecturers were female, but only 8% are professors.

3.4.5.2 Women and the economy

- a) The statistics on gender in the economy paint a grim and very unequal picture with very large differences between women and men and between black and white women. Compared to men, women, especially black women, have low access to paid employment. When they do find paid work, black women typically have lower incomes and less security than all men. Most black women are found in poorly paid domestic labour and micro-enterprises which do not offer job security and benefits nor much by way of legislative protection. Although gender discrimination has been removed from labour laws, this has not been sufficient to achieve equality in women's participation in the paid labour force.
- b) In October 1999, only one in every four (26%) of African women between the ages of 15 and 65 was employed compared to 41% of all African men. White women are still over represented among employed women. Although comprising 11% of the women in this age group, they constituted 20% of those in formal employment.

African women, who comprised 76% of women in this age group constituted 63% of those women employed and 27% of all employed.

- c) Employed women are concentrated in low-paying occupations. Of the African women employed, one-fifty (21%) have clerical or sales jobs. One in twenty-five (4%) are in the professions while 11% are in the semi-professions. In terms of industry, only 10% of employed African women and 12% of all employed women have jobs in manufacturing compared to 16% of all employed men. Women in general account for only 25% of all managerial positions.
- d) Because of the limited opportunities in the formal employment sector, many women, and especially black women, are forced to work in the poorly paid and largely unregulated informal sector. In October 1999, 763 000 women were working as domestic workers in private households, 87% of whom were African. A large percentage of these are either single breadwinners or the only breadwinner in household. The laws of the country offer little protection to domestic workers as employees.
- e) Macro-economic policy does not seem to deal effectively with issues of women's empowerment and gender equality.
- f) Current thinking sees economic growth as an important component in improving the quality of life for all. But growth in GDP per capita income is usually an unreliable indication of change in the lives of poor people, especially women. For change to be felt by women, there has to be a twin strategy that involves economic growth with effective strategies for meeting the basic needs of the people.

3.4.5.3 Women, power and decision-making

- a) Women's access to political power and decision-making has improved since the 1994 general election. In 2000, women constituted eight of 27 Ministers and eight of 13 Deputy Ministers in the national government, 30% of the Members of Parliament and 24% of Members of Provincial Legislatures. Women are less well represented at local government level, where 19,4% of Councillors and 14.4% of Executive

Committee positions are women.

- b) With respect to the public service, the proportion of women in senior management positions (director and above) has increased significantly since 1994. However, the proportions still fall considerably short of the target of 30% of new recruits to the management echelon by the year 2000 laid down in the *White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service* (1995) and recently reinforced in the *White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service* (1998). Whilst a number of departments and provinces have made considerable progress in gender representivity at the senior management levels, others have made little or no progress.
- c) With respect to the economy, women account for only 25% of all managerial positions. African women account for 23% of these position, coloured women for 9% and Indian women for 5%. White women account for 62% of all women managers. The proportion of women occupying senior positions within the trade unions is also very low (cf 3.3.6.3.1)
- d) The increased presence of women in the legislatures, the executive branches and other structures of government has made it possible for women politicians and civil servants to promote women's interests through new legislation as well as through an increasingly strong lobby to transform male-dominated institutional norms, values and cultures.
- e) Despite such improvements, there is still a long way to go before institutional power is shared equally between women and men in the government and corporate sectors. The persistence of a predominantly male culture in most organisations makes it difficult for those women who have penetrated the "glass ceiling" to ensure that their voices are effectively heard.

3.4.6 Conclusion

Women are finally on the agenda of educational reform, and steps are being taken to ensure that gender issues are being given consideration in South Africa. Although there have been improvements in the education of girls in the last twenty years, women remain under-represented

at all educational levels, compared to men. Fewer enter educational programmes, fewer receive technical or vocational training and women count for a very small proportion of the post-secondary educational contingent (Morrell 1992:21). Women have made worldwide gains in obtaining access to schooling, but this equality does not carry over into life after school. Equality in access to education is only part of the issue, and must be accompanied by equality in the process of schooling as well (Lemmer 1993:24). Education can provide women with knowledge, skills and credentials but only once the structures which keep men subordinate to them change, will there be any real and significant change in the position of women in society (Lemmer 1993:24).

3.5 THE EDUCATION OF THE GREEK GIRL IN JOHANNESBURG

The Greek community in Johannesburg comprises many first, second and third generation Greek families. The majority of these families maintain a clear sense of their Greek cultural identity. Their children attend schools in Johannesburg, where they are exposed to the influences, demands and structures of the South African education system. There are, however, many influences which arise from their Greek upbringing and the Greek ethos, which play a significant role in their schooling as well as on their subject choices and ultimately their career choices. Hence, elements of both the South African education system, as well as certain elements of the Greek education system will exert an influence upon the education of South African Greek girls.

3.5.1 The adolescent Greek school girl in Johannesburg

During the course of an interview (12 May 1999), Mrs A. Krystallidis, Head of SAHETI School, explained that the adolescent schoolgirl is treated no differently to boys in the school. She is exposed to exactly the same teaching, given the same opportunities and encouraged to participate in exactly the same activities as boys, in accordance with the principles of equality of opportunity, which are of paramount importance to the system of education in Greece.

Mrs Krystallidis added that in Grades 8 and 9, boys as well as girls studied Home Economics as a subject, with boys involved doing cooking alongside the girls. There was absolutely no gender-differentiation with regards to subjects studied by the pupils at school. No subjects are regarded as being exclusively "male" or exclusively "female".

When the pupils are required to choose subjects at the end of Grade 9, Mrs Krystallidis explained that this was done purely on the basis of ability, not as a matter of gender. An aptitude test was given to all pupils in Grade 9. This was followed up by an interview, with the pupil, the Head of the School, the Senior School Principal and the school Counsellor. The pupil's results would be examined and advice offered to the pupil, based on the educationists' knowledge of each individual child and the child's results.

Mrs Krystallidis did comment that parental influence played a very significant role in the ultimate choice of subjects. Parents seemed to want to encourage their children to take Mathematics and Physical Science as matric subjects. Mrs Krystallidis added that Greek parents are very vocationally-minded, and urge their children to enter the labour market, in order to pursue a career which will enable them to earn their living in a secure manner.

The school encourages adolescent girls to strive for success, as there are numerous successful female role models for them to emulate. Although the school is co-educational, the Head of the school is a woman and the heads of several significant departments (including Mathematics) are women. Hence, girls are in no way seen as inferior and the notion of equal opportunity is clearly visible in the academic and administrative structures.

In the domain of sports, Mrs Krystallidis stated that there is a newly-established girls' soccer team, which is competing in league matches and besides a very successful boys' basketball team, there is also a girls' basketball team. Furthermore, the girls' volleyball team is noted as one of the most successful in the province.

Pupils occupy positions of authority purely on merit, not on the basis of gender. As the school receives a small annual subsidy from the Greek Ministry of Education, the principles of non-sexist equal opportunity for all principles need to be adhered to. Mrs Krystallidis also commented that the Greek staff, seconded from Greece to teach Greek at the school further inculcated the non-sexist principles of gender equality. She added that Greek staff from abroad were seconded to the school for a period of five years, before returning to Greece and being replaced by new teachers. Thus the presence of the Greek education system's policies were very actively applied to the pupils in Johannesburg.

3.5.2 Greek girls and curricular choices

Mrs Krystallidis made it very clear that curricular choices were clearly made on the basis of ability, and not of gender. Parents, however, were strongly in favour of their children (boys and girls) selecting academic subjects for matric, in order to allow them the opportunity of entering tertiary educational institutions for further study.

According to Papadakis and Fundudis (1991:34), Greek parents, especially those of the café generation, take great pride in discussing the heights of their children's educational levels. They have great aspirations for their children, boys and girls alike, and often place enormous pressures on them to pursue university careers. Parents will often sacrifice as much as possible for the benefit of a good education. Papadakis and Fundudis (1991:34) also comment on the fact that parents often want to give their children the opportunities they never had. Many parents regard a sound education as a means of social mobility, and encourage their children, boys and girls alike, to select subjects at school which will offer them the opportunity of acquiring a university education which, in turn will be followed by a professional career. If one examines the numbers of girls entering tertiary educational institutions today and compares these with the past, it will become very clear that the insistence of parents on academic success at school, and then later at university, has indeed shown results in recent years.

3.5.3 Patterns of attainment

An analysis of the recent matriculation results at SAHETI revealed some very interesting facts. At the end of the 1997 academic year, six of the 45 matric pupils at the school attained 'A' aggregates, of whom five were girls and one was a boy, according to the information supplied by the Head of the school. Furthermore, she added that out of the top five girls, four had achieved distinctions in Mathematics (H.G), three obtained distinctions in Physical Science (H.G.) and two had distinctions in Additional Mathematics (H.G.). Thus, the girls displayed a significantly better set of results to the boys, especially in the traditionally "male" fields of study.

An examination of the 1998 matric results once more revealed that three girls and one boy held the top positions, although the pupil with the greatest number of distinctions was a boy (six distinctions). The top three girls each attained a distinction in Mathematics (H.G.) and the only distinction for Accounting (H.G.) was also attained by one of these girls.

A review of the results attained thus far by this year's matriculation group, revealed that of the top eight students, six are girls. Every single one of these girls takes Mathematics on the Higher Grade, and six of the eight take Physical Science on the Higher Grade. All these girls are, at present, scoring over 80% on Mathematics and Physical Science (H.G.) and are expected to achieve distinctions in the final external examination.

The 1998 *Roll of Merit*, which is issued annually at the SAHETI prize giving to honour the graduates and matriculants of the Greek community, features the names of five girls amongst the top achievers out of a total of 10. The best overall achiever in last year's matric exam, was a girl, with a total of seven distinctions. Her subjects included Mathematics, Biology, Physical Science, Accounting and Additional Mathematics. All the girls who were on the list of top achievers studied Mathematics and Physical Science (H.G.) at matric level and excelled in these subjects.

Thus, it is clear that gender constraints are not of great significance in the overall achievement of girls, as is revealed by the complete list of Greek pupils from the community who are named in the *Roll of Merit*, if one judges by their results.

3.5.4 Higher education

By 1949, there were 50 Greek students at the University of the Witwatersrand, mostly male. That number increased to more than 250 per year in the early seventies. The majority were still men. At present, the number stands at over eight hundred per year, with men and women in equal numbers. Similar patterns can be found at other tertiary education institutions in the country (Archives 1996:9).

In the SAHETI *Roll of Merit* of 1998, the Chairman of the Board of SAHETI stated: "A recent study undertaken by the South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute, found that the number of graduates of tertiary institutions in the greater Johannesburg area had quadrupled from 1971. This report underlines the great strides made by the Hellenic community in South African society over the past three decades."

Furthermore, the Chairman added that "these people symbolise our future, to which we can look forward with pride. Our message to them is to excel always, to cultivate their strengths, rise to challenges and never to fear adversity."

This message extracted from the *Roll of Merit*, is a clear indication of the importance placed on Higher Education by the Greek community in South Africa. An examination of the graduates who were selected by the panel as the most outstanding graduates of 1998 reveals the names of three women graduates and one man. Moreover, two of the women were studying in the scientific field, and all three graduated with distinction.

A similar pattern is revealed in the post-graduate category. Twelve students were selected as the most outstanding post-graduate students of 1998. Eight of these students were women, while four were men.

An examination of the results achieved by ex-SAHETI students at the University of the Witwatersrand, also portrays a very positive picture of women's achievements in recent years in the field of Higher Education.

These results were provided by the Head of SAHETI School, who in turn, received them directly from the University of the Witwatersrand. These statistics display the very significant progress made by women students in tertiary education.

Table 3.5
Wits 1997 results

16 students from SAHETI High School obtained first class passes in 1997

4 - boys

12 - girls

12 prizes and awards were received by ex-pupils of SAHETI High School in 1997

4 - boys

8 - girls

Final examination results of ex-SAHETI High School students for 1997 - 83 students

36 - men

46 - women

Pass/Fail or course topic incomplete

Pass/Fail or course topic incomplete

Pass Fail

Pass Fail

23 - 13

38 - 8

The students were in different years of study.

Table 3.6
Wits 1998 results

24 students from SAHETI High School obtained a first class pass.

12 - boys

12 - girls

26 prizes and awards received by ex-pupils of SAHETI High School in 1998

8 - boys

18 - girls

Final examination results of ex-SAHETI High School students for 1998 - 74 students

31 - men

43 - women

Pass/Fail or course incomplete

Pass/ Fail or course incomplete

Pass Fail

Pass Fail

24 7

39 4

The students were in different years of study.

No records of this nature were available from any of the other universities. It was also difficult to obtain any records of this nature from the Educational Attaché at the Greek Consulate in Johannesburg.

3.5.5 The labour market

It is only in the last 30 years that Greek women are entering the labour market in any significant way. The Archives (1996:9) emphasises the great strides which women have made in recent years.

The previous generation of Greeks were known, according to Papadakis and Fundudis (1991:16) as the "Café society". The early immigrants, in the 1940's and 1950's, arrived in Johannesburg with some agricultural knowledge, little capital, a meagre education and great ambition to succeed. These immigrants were faced with the problem of the limits of occupation availability, due to language barriers, and survived by selling food, which offered them a good return (Papadakis and Fundudis 1991:17).

The café was very much a family business, because the entire family would be involved in it. According to Papadakis and Fundudis (1991:24), the wife was always expected to help out her husband, to relieve him of the long hours of labour, after she had seen to the children and had attended to domestic needs.

The café owners, however, did not want their children to be tied down to this lifestyle. Papadakis and Fundudis (1991:24) conducted a survey amongst café owners and found that 42% of the café owners had children at university and encouraged their children, male and female, to enter the labour market as professional people, with a sound education.

Thus, Greek women have only begun to make an impact on the labour market in recent years, having attained tertiary qualifications which have offered them upward mobility from the café.

The Star (March 25:19) catalogues some of the names and achievements of Greek women in the labour market, indicating the great strides made by women since their early beginnings: Mary Vassiliou, in the field of traditional Greek dancing; musicologist Irene Frangos; actress Irene Stephanou; fashion-designer Rena Botoulas; Nastasia Tsihclas, the managing director and owner of Sundowns football club; international relations researcher Elizabeth Sideropoulos; labour court judge Elena Revelas; radio reporters Katy Katopodis and Nya Makiyianniti Macgregor and historian Luli Callinicos Webster, who is on the ANC's national list for the elections and who received the Order of the Phoenix in 1998 for her services to democracy and for her prodigious research. She is now a consultant to the Department of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology, a national monuments councillor, and a founder of The Workers' Library and Museum, housed in a disused municipal workers' compound preserved in Newtown.

The Archives (1996:9) also provides a list of women who became educationally and commercially mobile, successfully entering diverse and demanding fields:

- Athanasias, I - Gourmet food/journalism
- Antoniades, T - Businesswoman
- Callinicos, D - Education
- Cavaleros, M - Education
- Fasulakis, A - Travel
- Hendrickx, T - Education

- Krystallidis, S - Education
- Katakuzinos, E - Femista products (founder)
- Katrakis, Dr. M - Education
- Lambrakis, M - Businesswoman
- Matzukis, Dr. C - Education
- Siopis, P - Lecturer in Fine Art; international artist
- Zouves, T - International artist

Besides the women already established successfully in the labour market, more women have also recently begun to make their mark in this area. The *Roll of Merit* (1995) mentions certain of these successful women graduates:

Stavroula Titan enrolled for a Baccalaureus Procurationis law degree at the University of Pretoria in 1992. The following year she was awarded an achievement bursary. She obtained her degree cum laude in 1995 and was also awarded honorary academic colours. At present she is a registered candidate attorney at the firm Coetzer and Partners.

In 1995, Irene Anastasiou Aligianis completed her Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery degree at the University of the Witwatersrand with distinction. In 1991 she was awarded the AH Wade Memorial Medal for Anatomy for the most distinguished student in second year medicine in anatomy. In 1992 she received the Upjohn Medical Education Award for the best aggregate in second and third year, the Neville Proctor Medal and Book prize for anatomical pathology, and the Laurie and Flossie Adler Gold Medal for Haematology. In 1993 she received the Johannesburg City Health Department Prize for the best student in Community medicine. She was awarded the University Council Entrance Scholarship in 1990, the University Council Merit Scholarship in 1992 and the Jacob and Pauline Pertz Scholarship in 1993. She is currently doing her internship at Baragwanath Hospital.

Irene Papadopoulos graduated from the University of Pretoria, with a Bachelor of Commerce in Communication Management in 1995 with distinction. She received the Old Mutual Achievement Prize for the Best Achievement in Communication Management 310 and the Old Mutual Prize for the Best Achievement in Communication Management 320.

In 1992, Nicolette Maria Cavaleros completed her Bachelor of Arts at Wits and in 1995 a

postgraduate diploma in Management (Business Administration), which she received with distinction. She was on the Dean's list both in March and December of 1995 for being in the top 10% in her class. Nicolette is at present a junior consultant for MONITOR.

Women who have made a presence in the labour market and who were mentioned on the 1998 *Roll of Merit*, include the following:

Helen Mitakides completed her MBChB degree in 1992 at the University of Witwatersrand. Thereafter she completed a Diploma in Child Health at the College of Medicine 1996, Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Health at the University of Pretoria (Cum Laude) 1997, Aviation Health Providers course 1998 and an Aviation Medical Examiner course 1998. She is presently Head of Olivedale Trauma and Emergency Unit, Aviation Medical Examiner for S.A. Airways, instructor and sessional doctor for Gauteng emergency services, ATLS instructor, CPR instructor and flight doctor.

Christina Maria Angelos studied Bachelor of Pharmacy at Wits. She was awarded the Aaron Kramer award for academic excellence, involvement and commitment to Pharmacy. She also qualified as a Drug Counsellor. In 1998, she completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Business Management at the Wits Business School Cum Laude. Christina was chosen to work for Anderson Consulting where she now holds a permanent position as a Business Analyst in the Financial Services Industry and the Pharmaceutical industry.

In 1997, Marialena Kalyvas completed her Bachelor of Arts Degree at Unisa with Cum Laude. Thereafter, she completed her Bachelor of Arts Honours in 1998 with Cum Laude. She is presently assisting pre-school children with creative learning therapy.

In 1995, Maria Christacopoulos completed her Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1997, she obtained her LLB degree and then went to complete a Post-Graduate Diploma in Management. Being the top student on the Dean's list, she graduated with distinction. During her study years, she held office in numerous Greek committees. She also represented S.A. for the Model United Nations Organization of S.A. She is currently working for Sun International on the development of their new entertainment arenas.

Dina Belluigi studied her Bachelor of Fine Arts at Rhodes University and passed with distinction.

As the top Humanities Honours Graduate for 1998, she was awarded the David Adolf Bradlow Scholarship for her to register for her Masters Degree in 1999. She is currently studying her Masters Degree in Fine Arts at Rhodes University.

Although no statistics exist on the actual numbers of women from the Greek community entering the labour market, it is very clear that the Greek women are making a significant contribution to South African society and the South African economy has benefited from their endeavours. It is evident that the Greek schoolgirl in Johannesburg has been influenced by factors deriving from both the South African educational system, as well as from the Greek. She is also influenced by factors which are contextual in nature. The early Greek immigrants were people who faced immense language problems and their success depended on long hours of labour. This gave rise to a generation that looked upon education as a means of breaking free from the restrictions faced by the very first immigrants. Girls were encouraged to study further and enter the labour market as professionals. The new generation of Greek girls is very far removed from the generation of their grandmothers, and they appear to be making a very significant contribution to the economy and society in general of South Africa.

3.5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given a broad overview of gender issues in education. Specific focus has been placed on the position of women in the South African education system. Finally, the position and education as well as the outstanding achievements of girls in the Greek community in Johannesburg has been presented. Thus, this chapter provided a useful background to the empirical investigation discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature study, which was carried out in Chapters 2 and 3, provided a comprehensive overview of the existing research, as a preliminary step in the researcher's preparation for the investigation into the life-world of adolescent Greek girls in Johannesburg, as described in Chapter 5 of this study. This literature study served to identify some of the crucial issues pertaining to the topic, as well as gaps in the body of knowledge surrounding the adolescent Greek girls, with regard to the perception of their adult role.

Following the literature study, (Chapters 2 and 3), Chapter 4 now presents a detailed description of the design employed to study the life-world of the adolescent girls selected for the study. Chapter 4 thus focuses on a detailed description of the design of the study, including a description of the procedures used in locating and interviewing the participants. An account of the methods used to analyse, order and understand the data is also given.

Qualitative research has been selected to conduct this study, as qualitative research is naturalistic inquiry, using non-interfering data-collection strategies to discover the natural flow of events and processes and how participants interpret them. This type of research describes and analyses people's individual and collective social actions, beliefs, thoughts and perceptions (McMillan and Schumacher 1993:372). According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992:29/30), qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument. It is descriptive research, where the researcher is concerned with process, rather than simply with outcomes or products. Qualitative researchers tend to analyse their data inductively and "meaning" is of essential concern in this approach.

Qualitative methodology is thus suited to a field which is hitherto unexplored. This type of research is considered especially valuable in exploring new areas of investigation where gaps in knowledge exist as an initial step prior to testing hypotheses (Lemmer 1989:131).

4.2 PURPOSEFUL SAMPLING

A sample is a subset of a larger population. Le Compte and Preissle (1993:60) state that sampling denotes extracting systematically from a larger group some smaller portion of that group so as to represent adequately the larger group. Sampling is undertaken when studying an entire population is impractical, too expensive and too time consuming, or otherwise, if it is simply unnecessary to do so. Bogdan and Biklen (1992:2) also state that while qualitative research does not exclude the use of large samples, most qualitative studies use small samples. Patton (1990:169) distinguishes between probabilistic sampling and purposeful sampling as “selecting information – rich cases for study in depth”, when one wants to understand something about these cases without needing or desiring to generalise to all such cases.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993:378) state that purposeful sampling is done to increase the utility of information obtained from small samples. It is a process which requires that information be obtained about variations among the sub-units, before the sample is chosen. Then, the researcher looks for information – rich key participants to study. Hence samples are chosen because they are likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon which is being investigated.

4.2.1 Site selection

4.2.1.1 Place

The site which has been selected for this study incorporates a network and interviews with school girls, who are of Greek origin, and who attend a secondary school in Johannesburg. The girls were not interviewed at their schools, nor within their classrooms, but in their homes, within their natural social settings. The participants are all Greek girls of 14 to 17 year old age group. Both parents are Greek, either born in South Africa, or from Greece. They are girls who have been exposed to the Greek language, culture, ethos, religion and ideas. They all attend schools in Johannesburg and all study Greek as a language, either at school or through private tuition. It was decided to interview a sample population of eight girls in total, from a variety of different Greek backgrounds (South African Greek, Cypriot Greek, first generation Greek), in order to allow a breadth and variety in the range of their responses, and to allow possible recurrent themes and responses to emerge from divergent angles.

The setting selected for conducting the interviews, was the natural setting, the homes of the participants, where behaviour occurs naturally. Le Compte and Preissle (1993:95) state that the researchers must go to their participants and interview them in their natural settings. The overall goal was to collect the richest possible data, with a wide and diverse range of information. After the specific sample had been selected for study, then the specific setting (site selection) was decided upon, to yield the richest information in the most natural setting for the participants: their home environment.

4.2.1.2 Group of people: participant selection

The group of people selected for the purposes of this study, had to comply with the following criteria.

The girls were selected on the basis of their age-group: between 14 to 17 years of age.

The girls are all children of Greek parents. Both their parents are Greek by birth, born either in Greece (or Cyprus) or in South Africa. Greek must be a language which is either spoken at home, or to which the participants are exposed in the home.

All participants study Greek (language, culture, history) at school or through private tuition.

All participants are Greek Orthodox in religion, and are raised within the traditions pertaining to the Greek Orthodox Church.

They form a fairly homogeneous ethnic group, which would assist with the identification of recurrent themes and ideas, although it was decided to study girls from slightly different backgrounds, in order to ascertain whether there would be any significant differences resulting from the study of girls raised within a slightly different cultural background to the traditional Greek one.

4.2.1.3 Activity involved

The primary activity involved in this study, was the collection of data, through the use of semi-structured interviews. While the interviews were being conducted, the researcher was also able to

apply interactive observation techniques, in order to gain more information regarding the social setting in which the interview was conducted.

Bogdan and Biklen (1992:2) believe that the best-known representatives of qualitative research are participant-observation and in-depth interviewing of the participants. The researcher enters the world of the people who are being studied, gets to know, be known, and trusted by them, and systematically keeps a detailed written record of what is heard and observed. The open-ended nature of the approach allows the subjects to answer from their own frame of reference, rather than from one structured by prearranged question. In this type of interviewing, fixed questionnaires are not used, but loosely-structured interview guides are employed. Most often, the researcher is the only instrument and gets the subjects to freely express their thoughts around particular topics (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:3). The semi-structured interview and participant-observation method were applied as the main activity.

4.2.1.4 Sample size

It was decided to interview a sample population of eight adolescent Greek girls who are currently at school in Johannesburg, in this investigation.

While qualitative research does not exclude the use of large samples, most qualitative studies use small samples in investigating the phenomenon under consideration (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:2).

According to McMillan and Schumacher (1993:382), qualitative researchers view sampling processes as dynamic, ad hoc, and phasic, rather than static or a priori parameters of populations. Sample sizes can range from an $n = 1$ to $n = 40$ or more. Furthermore, a qualitative sample size only seems small compared to the sample size needed for representativeness to generalise to a larger population.

The logic of the sample size is related to the purpose of the study, the research problem, the major data collection technique, and the availability of information-rich cases. The insights generated from qualitative enquiry depend more on the information-richness of the cases, and the analytical capabilities of the researcher, rather than on the actual sample size (McMillan and Schumacher 1993:382).

Lemmer (1989:150) states that qualitative research seeks not to merely identify behaviour, but to understand the meaning behind it in a far more complex way, and thus lends itself to the use of a small sample approach. Such research focuses upon the detail and quality of an individual or small group's experience rather than the way the behavioural traits or individuals with specific characteristics are distributed in a known population (Powney and Watts 1987:22). In the words of Lofland and Lofland (1984:62), "the researcher legitimately sacrifices breadth for depth".

Experienced researchers have found that after the intensive interviewing of eight individuals, a saturation point in the data is reached (Carey in Lemmer 1989:150). By this point, key themes have generally been identified and sufficient data generated to substantiate them. Thus, in the light of the above, the sample size for this inquiry was decided upon.

4.3 STATEMENT OF SUBJECTIVITY

Taking the common practice for a qualitative inquiry to include a statement of the researcher's background and values, a simple and explicit acknowledgement of the researcher's own background where relevant to this investigation is deemed necessary in an attempt to minimise possible distortion of and bias in research findings. It is equally recognised that in the case of this study concerning the perception of adult role amongst adolescent Greek girls, the researcher had, at an earlier age, shared many of the experiences of the participants. This was regarded as a definite advantage in the establishment of a sympathetic relationship with participants and could have increased the possibility of eliciting valid responses from the participants.

The researcher is a currently married woman in the age group 35 years and over, with one dependant child (a daughter). She is the daughter of first-generation Greek parents, and was raised and educated in Johannesburg. She experienced many of the problems and restrictions governing gender roles and stereotypes, when she had to make educational and career choices and in this way, could identify very closely with the problems and difficulties faced by the participants.

Initial interest in this research project arose from the researcher's own interest in the restrictions imposed by gender, on girls whose experiences resembled many of her own. This personal statement of subjectivity exemplifies the obvious role played by the present investigator's current situation and past involvement in arousing her initial interest in the investigation. Lofland and

Lofland (1984:2) state that this personal interest in a field of inquiry chosen for research is typical of the qualitative tradition. In qualitative research, the researcher is consciously encouraged to start research from an area which is problematic in his own remote or current situation. Lofland and Lofland (1984:8) state that as researchers, we “make problematic” in our research matters issues that are problematic in our own lives. They continue by stating that much of the best research work has been grounded in the remote and/or current biographies of its creators.

This close connection between the researcher’s self and his field of study, is frequently true and much research qualitative or quantitative. However, this sophisticated and subtle link between self and study is rarely publicly acknowledged in quantitative research. Conversely, in qualitative research projects such linkages are often made apparent “researchers bear their souls” (Lofland and Lofland 1984:8).

4.4 PHASES OF DATA COLLECTION

Qualitative phases of data collection and analysis are interactive research processes that occur in overlapping cycles. These data collection and analysis strategies are flexible and dependent on each prior strategy and the data obtained from that strategy. There are, all in all, five different but interactive research phases (McMillan and Schumacher 1993:83).

The five phases of data collection, as identified by McMillan and Schumacher (1993:383), comprise the following: Phase 1 is Planning; Phases 2, 3 and 4, are Beginning, Basic, and Closing Data Collection, and Phase 5 is Completion. Each of these phases will be discussed briefly, as identified by McMillan and Schumacher (1993:383-385).

Phase 1: *Planning*. In order to plan a qualitative study, a researcher analyses the problem statement and the anticipated research questions. Then, the researcher describes the kind of setting, or the site, the type of participants or the documents that would yield appropriate information. This description then will become a guideline for purposeful sampling and selection. The researcher locates and gains permission to use a site, a network of persons or an archive of documents.

Phase 2: *Beginning Data Collection*. This includes the first days in the field. The researcher must establish a relationship of trust with the individuals to be observed. The researcher obtains

data to become oriented to the field and to gain a sense of totality of the setting for purposeful sampling. The first few persons in a network are interviewed. Interviewing and recording procedures are polished and any necessary adjustments in the interviewer's techniques are made. Even at this stage, a method is formulated to organise, code and retrieve collected data for formal data analysis (Phase 5).

Phase 4: *Closing Data Collection*. The data collection process may be considered complete, after the researcher leaves the field or has conducted the very last interview. In the qualitative research approach, there is not a priority date for the end of the data collection process. The end is related to the research problem and the depth and richness of the data collected. The researcher, at this stage, gives attention to possible interpretations and verification of emergent findings.

Phase 5: *Completion*. Once the data has been collected, it must be blended into a meaningful unit, for presentation. Data analysis begins with the construction of the facts, as found in the researcher-recorded data. The researcher reconstructs initial diagrams, time-charts, network diagrams, frequency lists, process figures and others, to synthesize a holistic sense of the totality, the relationship of the parts to the whole. As the researcher asks a range of questions of the recorded data, conceptual themes and possible interpretations emerge.

4.4.1 Locating participants

Qualitative researchers have relied on both formal and informal access routes in the process of finding suitable participants. The formal route depends on contacting and building relationships with individuals called gatekeepers (Lofland and Lofland 1984:25) who are in important organisational or socially defined roles as regards the selection of prospective participants. The more informal access route (Bogdan and Taylor 1975:49) depends on locating individuals, sometimes called key persons or sponsors, who make known prospective participants to the researcher.

In the case of this project, five of the participants were located by a gatekeeper, who was notified of the research project. The gatekeeper was a contact who felt a particular interest in the research project and actually located suitable participants within the school, where she works as principal. The remaining three participants were located by means of sponsors. The researcher discussed this project with acquaintances and colleagues and received several offers of possible contacts

with participants. In general, the gatekeeper and the sponsors displayed a spontaneous sympathy and personal interest in the project. This facilitated a great deal the locating of participants, but also led to the selection of participants who were willing and motivated to participate in the project. All the participants expressed a high degree of interest in and enthusiasm for the project.

After several offers of contacts with participants, a master list of potential participants was drawn up. The researcher then made telephone calls to prospective participants, during which an overview of the project was given and the kind of participation envisaged from each participant was discussed. It was also clearly explained that the interview were to be treated in the strictest confidence: they were to be recorded and that, in order to ensure the anonymity of the participants, a pseudonym would be used. The interviews were arranged at a time and a place convenient to the participant.

4.4.2 Data collection

The primary method of data collection, was the use of interviews. The interviews were conducted from November 1999 to February 2000. Interviews were conducted at the home of the participant, or at a venue suitable to the participant. Each interview was tape recorded throughout. Brief notes were made during the interview. Before the interview was conducted, the participant filled in a brief questionnaire, on which basic biographical information was recorded and a declaration of consent (see Appendix). Most interviews began with some brief social contact, and were then followed by the researcher's short re-explanation of the purpose of the project, and some general guidelines for the interview process.

The researcher then conducted a semi-structured interview, and the responses of the participants led to open discussions, similar to unstructured interviews, focusing on, among others: family history, educational history, subject choice, achievement at school, parental influences on education and career choices, gender constraints in education, gender stereotyping within the family, gender roles within the family and in society in general. The researcher used a flexible interview schedule to ensure that all major topics were covered (see Appendix). The interview was conducted as an ordinary conversation during which the researcher listened carefully and occasionally asked for further information.

Recordings of interviews were carefully listened to the day after the respective interview. As key

themes or hypotheses (Glaser and Strauss 1967:422) began to emerge from the data generated by an interview, the researcher modify subsequent interviews in an effort to include new and emerging themes.

4.4.3 Closing Data Collection

Once the interviews had been conducted and the last interview had been completed, the data collection had drawn to a close. Glaser and Strauss (1967:224/225) note the following: The contextual intermeshing of data collection and analysis has direct bearing on how the research is brought to a close... he believes in his own knowledgeability... not because of an arbitrary judgement but because he has taken very special pains to discover what he thinks he may know, every step of the way from the beginning of his investigation until its publishable conclusions... he has been living with partial analysis for many months, testing them each step of the way, until he has built his own theory (interpretation). What is more, if he has participated (or empathised) in the social life of his subject, then he has been living by his analysis, testing them not only by observation and interview, but also by daily living.

Once the researcher felt that any further data collection did not yield any more data relevant to the research problem, the data collection phase was considered closed and saturation point had been reached. The data revealed a richness which was sufficient for interpreting and verifying the research problem.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES

Bogdan and Biklen (1992:96) define an interview as a purposeful conversation, usually between two people, but sometimes involving more, and it is directed by one in order to get information from the other. In the hands of the qualitative researcher, the interview takes on a shape of its own.

The primary instruments of data collection used in this study, were semi-structured interviews together with participant observation. The interview was used to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words, so that the researcher could develop insights on how subjects interpreted some piece of their own life-world.

4.5.1 Interviewing techniques

Interviewing techniques used by the researcher must be aimed at making the participant feel as much at ease as possible. The interviewer must be open and honest with the participant and ensure that the participant understands clearly what is required (Lofland and Lofland 1984:58).

The interviewing techniques which were used in the course of this research study, were intended to promote a feeling of trust between the researcher and the participant. The researcher explained the nature of the study to the participant, and explained how and why she had come to be selected as a participant. The participant was also given the assurance that her responses would be treated in the strictest confidence and her identity would remain totally anonymous. The researcher also told the participant that she may find some of the questions silly, farfetched or difficult to answer, as questions that seem reasonable to one person may seem silly to another. She was reassured that she did not need to worry, as there were no right nor wrong answers. Only her opinions and her personal experiences mattered to the researcher. She was also told that she should feel free to interrupt, ask for clarification or criticise a line of questioning which may seem inappropriate or unclear. The researcher put the participant at ease by telling her a little about herself, her training, her background and her interest in this area of inquiry, and then proceeded to ask for permission to tape record the interview, explaining her reasons for wishing to do this (Lofland and Lofland 1984:58).

Bogdan and Biklen (1975:179) state that most qualitative researchers prefer to conduct interviews in the conversational style of everyday interaction. This mode of communication promotes a feeling of empathy, encouragement and understanding and allows the participant to feel that what they are saying is acceptable and significant. Furthermore, this conversational mode, familiar and comfortable to most of the participants, elicits trust, confidence and ease and this is essential for yielding elaborate, subtle and valid data. Hence, this mode was adapted during the interviews.

The approach was to be that of a semi-structured interview, together with unstructured questions. An interview schedule was drawn up, with all the questions that were to be asked. McMillan and Schumacher (1993:251) define semi-structured questions as questions that do not offer the participant an answer from which to choose his response. Rather, the questions are phrased to allow for individual responses. They are open-ended questions, which are, nevertheless fairly specific in intent. The interviews made use of semi-structured questions, combined with

rather, a list of things to be sure to ask when talking to the person being interviewed. The questions were worded in such a way as to avoid conveying to the participant what a preferable answer may be. Lofland and Lofland (1984:59) caution against using questions such as, "Don't you think that...?" but rather, "what do you think about...?". A further example would be to avoid, "Is it not likely that ...?" and phrase the question as, "How likely would you say that...?" By avoiding leading questions, the interviewer's own value system does not encroach on the participants responses. Furthermore, by means of sensitive questioning (probing), a comment or even a smile or not, the interviewer must encourage talk so that sufficient detail is solicited to create a clear picture of the participants experiences (Lemmer 1989:140).

The interview wording and layout of the interview guide is only a guide, and not a tightly structured set of questions, to be asked verbatim, as written, accompanied by an associated range or preworded likely answers. Rather, it is a list of things to be sure to ask about when talking to the person who is being interviewed. The primary object is for the participant to speak freely, in her own terms, about a set of concerns that have been raised by the interviewer, and the interview guide acts as a checklist of sorts, of all the things that are to be talked about during the interview (Lofland and Lofland 1984:59).

4.5.1.2 Recording of interviews

It is stated by McMillan and Schumacher (1993:432) that the primary data of qualitative interviews are verbatim accounts of what transpires in the interview session. Tape recording the interview ensures completeness of the verbal interaction and provides material for reliability checks. The use of the tape recorder does not, however, eliminate the need for taking notes to help reformulate questions and probes and to record nonverbal communication, which facilitates data analysis. Bogdan and Biklen (1992:129) believe that in any study requiring extensive interviewing, or when interviewing is the major technique in the study, a tape-recorder is an essential tool. Bogdan and Taylor (1975:110) comment that the recording of interviews is an essential step in the research, as the words that come through in an interview are overwhelming in volume. The interviewer cannot simply sit back and watch, allowing the words to lapse into conversations that the participant observer enjoys. Furthermore, the tape recorder has made possible the beginning of a new kind of literature, of social realism. The tape recorder is of great assistance, as it reminds the interviewer and the participant that they are partners in a project, and it reminds them both constantly of their position as subjects in the research project (Bogdan and

Subjects' way of thinking about people and objects points to the subject's understanding of each other, of outsiders, and of objects that make up their world.

Process codes refers to words and phrases that facilitate categorizing sequences of events, changes over time, or passages from one kind of status to another. Key points in a sequence are also of relevance here.

Activity codes are directed at regularly occurring kinds of behaviour.

Event codes are directed at units of data related to specific activities that occur in the setting or in the lives of the subjects being interviewed.

Strategy codes refers to the tactics, methods, ways, techniques, manoeuvres, plays and other conscious ways people accomplish various things.

Relationships and social structure codes refers to the units of data that direct one to cliques, friendships, romances, coalitions, enemies mentors. It also includes more formally-defined relations.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of the data began during the interview and continued during the conducting of the different interviews.

A continuous examination of thematic data took place, and emerging patterns were noted and integrated into the subsequent interviews. When all interviews were completed, they were transcribed and filed under the pseudonym used, together with the sheet that contained the participant's background information. Thereafter, the transcribed copies were photocopied, so that they could be freely marked. The copies were read, reread and reflected upon. As patterns and themes were seen to emerge, they were marked by means of different highlighters and colour-coded, for easy reference and identification. Files were then opened for each theme. Finally, each participant's response was copied onto cards and filed according to each theme. Using these thematic files allowed the researcher to explore each individual case and every participant's individual response to a particular theme was then compared to that of the other

participants, until the dominant themes were identified (Lemmer 1989:155-156).

4.8 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

McMillan and Schumacher (1993:385) define reliability as the extent to which independent researchers discover the same phenomena and to which there is agreement on the description of the phenomena between the researcher and participants. Qualitative researchers address reliability issues in designing their studies and their data collection strategies.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992:48), reliability in qualitative research is viewed as the fit between what is recorded as data and what has actually occurred in the setting under study, rather than literal consistency in results of observations made by different researchers across different observations. In order to ensure such a fit, all data were collected, analysed and interpreted in a uniform manner during the present investigation and the researcher strove to avoid disturbing the natural flow of information from the participants as little as possible. McMillan and Schumacher (1993:402), believe that qualitative researchers enhance reliability by making explicit all aspects of their design and the use of certain data collection strategies also serve to enhance reliability. These include a combination of verbatim accounts, law-inference descriptors, mechanically recorded data, participant review a negative case reporting, all of which were applied during the course of this study, to enhance reliability.

Furthermore, validity in qualitative research is also largely determined by the extent to which the data represents the actual subjective experience of the participants. The validity of information is primarily determined by the participant's willingness to freely communicate his/her experiences to the researcher in an atmosphere of trust and comprehension (Lemmer 1989:156). It is believed by McMillan and Schumacher (1993:402) that qualitative research typically has high internal validity because of a lengthy data collection period, use of the participant's own language, field research and disciplined subjectivity. Compared to quantitative research, it has fewer threats to internal validity, and different strategies to minimise these threats.

In the case of this investigation, all participants voluntarily shared information and were sincerely motivated to share their experiences in this project. Many of the participants described the project as worthwhile and hoped that it would be of practical help in assisting girls with career choices and in gaining a better understanding of the demands and constraints facing adolescent girls in

this very specific social and educational context.

4.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The researcher made use of a small sample approach for this study. Thus, the data collected is of limited predictive value. However, the aim of the research as to understand the perceptions of adult role among adolescent Greek secondary school girls in Johannesburg in detail and to view it from their perspective, rather than to determine cause and effect.

This study does not claim to identify all possible themes relevant to these girls' lives, nor does it claim to generalise that the themes identified are typical of all Greek secondary schoolgirls. The study has focused primarily on their gender role, their educational aspirations and their future career choices and the understanding obtained must be seen in terms of suggesting guidelines strategies for career counselling and career choices. By gaining some understanding of the opportunities and obstacles encountered by these girls, and how they have coped with them, it is hoped that the gaps in the body of knowledge concerning the position and future adult role of the Greek adolescent schoolgirls in Johannesburg will be filled.

CHAPTER 5

INDIVIDUAL LIFE EXPERIENCES OF ADOLESCENT GREEK SCHOOL GIRLS IN JOHANNESBURG

I learned that you cannot take a life out of history, that life-history and history, psychology and politics, are deeply entwined. Listening to women, I heard a difference and discovered that bringing in women's lives changes both psychology and history (Gilligan 1993:xi).

Voice is natural and also cultural. It is composed of breath and sound, words, rhythm and language. And voice is a powerful psychological instrument and channel, connecting inner and outer worlds. Speaking and listening are a form of psychic breathing. This ongoing relational exchange among people is mediated through language and culture, diversity and plurality. For these reasons, voice is a new key for understanding the psychological social and cultural order (Gilligan 1993:xvi).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, the literature study investigated the notions of adolescence and gender-issues. In Chapter 2 an in-depth analysis of adolescence was presented, paying particular attention to the concept of female adolescence. In Chapter 3, there was an investigation of gender issues and how, in particular, girls and women are affected by such issues. In Chapter 4, which dealt with the research methodology, it was clearly stated that the research would be conducted according to a qualitative, phenomenological approach, and the research design utilised was also described.

This chapter presents and discusses the data generated during in-depth interviews with eight adolescent schoolgirls of Greek origin, who are in the age-group between 16 and 18 years. Firstly, the characteristics and background data obtained during the interviews are tabled and outlined, followed by a summary of the overall interview process with these eight girls (5.2.4) and a brief discussion of possible cohort effects (5.2.5). The subsequent section (5.3) then presents significant themes which emerged from the interviews. Themes are constituted by

identifiable units in the participants' accounts grouped according to larger units or major stages of experiences placed in chronological order and presented and described in detail by means of narrative, descriptive material. Where the words of the participants are quoted, no attempt has been made to correct language usage. Certain words expressed in Greek by the participants have been translated with as little change to idiom as possible. Thereafter, the significance of each theme which emerged from the research data is discussed respectively.

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS AND BACKGROUND DATA

This section presents participants' responses to questions related to demographic and personal characteristics at the time of the interviews, including family background and educational and employment history. Observations made during the interviews are also described, as the interview process itself was regarded as a rich source of data. Many comments which were made by the participants after the tape recorder was switched off, were also recorded by means of field notes. These are a significant source of information, volunteered by the participants themselves when they felt more relaxed, and believed they were not being observed as meticulously as while they were being recorded. Finally, attention is also given to a brief discussion of the characteristics and possible effects of the birth cohort represented by the girls in this study.

5.2.1 Age and family background

Table 5.1 summarises data gathered on the participants' personal backgrounds at the time of interviewing (2000). The eight girls ranged in age from 16 - 18 (some were only 16 at the time, but will turn 17 before the end of 2000), with birth dates ranging from 1981 - 1983. All girls interviewed were Greek, and in every case, both parents were also Greek or Greek Cypriot. Not all the girls attended SAHETI. Six are from SAHETI, but two from other schools in the Johannesburg area. All girls come from homes where the official religion is Greek Orthodox, seven out of the eight girls had a brother or brothers, while one girl had an older sister. None of the girls were only children.

The personal background of the participants bears very many similarities as well. All the participants were born in Johannesburg. All attended English-medium preschools, primary and secondary schools. Despite the fact that six of the eight participants attended SAHETI, which is a Greek school, the medium of instruction is English. Greek is taught only as a subject at the

school. Thus, all the participants are fluent in English, and express themselves best in English.

Table 5.1
Age and family background of participants at the time of interviews

PARTICIPANT	AGE (2000)	YEAR OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	NO. OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY	NO. OF BROTHERS
JOANNE	18	1982	Johannesburg	2	1
MATOUOLA	17	1981	Johannesburg	3	2
NATASHA	18	1982	Springs	4	2
RIA	18	1982	Johannesburg	2	-
MARILYN	18	1982	Johannesburg	2	1
IRENE	17	1983	Johannesburg	2	1
FOTINI	18	1982	Johannesburg	2	1
VICTORIA	17	1983	Johannesburg	2	1

5.2.2 Educational background at the time of the interviews

Table 5.2 presents the educational background at the time when the interviews were conducted. The girls were all in Matric, even though they were from three different schools. All eight girls were studying subjects which would allow them to gain access to university, and were hoping to attain full exemption at the end of their matric year. All eight girls expressed a desire to study further after matriculating, with seven of the eight planning to go on to study at a university, while one girl had plans to study fashion design and make a career out of fashion. All eight girls had done relatively well at school all their lives and had won awards and obtained recognition in some field associated with their scholastic achievement or with extra-curricular scholastic activity. Two of the girls were particularly talented in the arts (drawing, painting) while two others displayed a talent for music and dance, having achieved recognition for these talents within their respective schools.

Table 5.3 summarises the data concerning their future plans, their long-term educational and career aspirations. It gives an indication of their future directions which they wish to embark upon as soon as their secondary school studies have been completed.

Table 5.2
Educational background of participants at time of interviews

PARTICIPANT	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	BEST SUBJECT	AWARDS/ RECOGNITIONS
JOANNE	Matric	English	English/Drama/ Deputy Head-girl
MATOUULA	Matric	Greek	Greek Award Greek Dancing
NATASHA	Matric	Business Economics	Home Economics
RIA	Matric	Art	Art, Greek
MARILYN	Matric	English Mathematics	Science, Mathematics, French
IRENE	Matric	Biology	First Aid
FOTINI	Matric	English	Art
VICTORIA	Matric	Biology	History/Dancing

Table 5.3
Future career plans and goals

PARTICIPANT	GOAL	CAREER PLAN
JOANNE	B A (Hons)	Businesswoman
MATOUULA	B. Comm	Businesswoman
NATASHA	B. Comm or Advertising Diploma	Advertising Executive
RIA	Diploma in Fashion Design	Fashion Designer
MARILYN	B. Sc	Occupational Therapy Microbiology
IRENE	B.A. (Psychology)	Psychologist
FOTINI	B.A. or Graphic Arts Diploma	Graphic Designer
VICTORIA	B.A. (Teaching)	Optometrist or Occupational Therapist

5.2.3 Degree of acculturation of the participants

Table 5.4 summarises the data gathered on the participants' families and the extent to which the different families had become acculturated within the South African context.

All the participants have been born in South Africa, hence none are first-generation Greek girls. Six of the participants are second-generation Greek girls, while one is third generation and another is fourth generation. Of the six second generation Greek girls, only three list Greek as their primary language. One of the participants lists Greek as her only home language. The other two second generation girls list English as their only home language. The girls who are third and fourth generation Greeks speak only English at home and have difficulty expressing themselves adequately in Greek.

The longer a specific family has been in South Africa, the weaker the cultural and linguistic bonds have become with the motherland and the mother tongue.

Table 5.4
Degree of acculturation

PARTICIPANT	HOME LANGUAGE	GENERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	ABILITY TO SPEAK GREEK
JOANNE	English	3 rd	Poor
MATOUULA	Greek (1 st) English (2 nd)	2 nd	Good
NATASHA	English	4 th	Poor
RIA	Greek	2 nd	Excellent
MARILYN	English (1 st) Greek (2 nd)	2 nd	Good
IRENE	English	2 nd	Fair
FOTINI	Greek (1 st) English (2 nd)	2 nd	Good
VICTORIA	English	2 nd	Fair

5.2.4 Observations and discussion of the interview process

Attention is given to observations made during the interview process. Such observations constitute an integral part of qualitative research and provide a rich source of additional data (cf 1.4).

Interviews were experienced as warm and informal, generally resembling a personal conversation. In all cases, the participants showed a high degree of rapport with the researcher, who brought to the interview her own background and career experience as a person having also grown up in Johannesburg and having also attended English-medium schools, although her own personal background is first generation Greek. (cf 4.3). As a result, the interviews were characterized by a high degree of reciprocity, whereby the researcher was sometimes asked by the participants about her own experiences as an adolescent, when she was making career choices and also about how she had perceived her adult role, while she was still an adolescent. Certain of the participants also questioned the researcher about whether she herself had felt that her own personal aspirations had been fulfilled.

The participants were interviewed at a venue of their own choice. It was suggested that the interviews be conducted in their own homes, in an environment where they could feel relaxed and at ease. It was interesting to note that several of the participants were not willing to be interviewed at home, and selected other, more "neutral" venues to conduct their interviews. It was sensed by the interviewer that they wished to maintain a degree of privacy and it was also clear that they resented possible parental interference or parental curiosity. They said they would be more at ease at other venues, which were then arranged for the interview. This applied to three of the eight participants. The other five participants were interviewed in their own homes.

None of the interviews were first-time meetings between the researcher and the participants. The Greek community in Johannesburg is rather small, and people tend to know one another, even if only as acquaintances. The researcher is also in the same age-group as most of the participants' parents, so some contact within the community has been inevitable.

The researcher was warmly welcomed into the homes of the participant. Often, much interest was shown in the research project and the participants were very willing to share their views openly. The researcher was offered refreshments by the parents. The approach was very hospitable and

warm.

The interviews which were conducted in the homes of the participants, afforded the researcher a glimpse into the participant's life. The homes were all decorated with numerous family photographs, which held pride of place in the reception rooms. Numerous souvenirs from holidays in Greece were proudly displayed in all the homes - religious icons and symbols of commitment to the Greek Orthodox Church were also prominent. One could feel, straight away, the narrow cultural bonds between the families and the Greek cultural background.

In some of the homes, Greek music was playing softly in the background, where the rest of the family was sitting together, after the evening meal. In only two homes was the television switched onto the Greek satellite channel, ERT Sat. The level of Greek here is very high and the news is very relevant to Greece. This indicated a very strong cultural link with Greece, and a lack of interest in South African issues. The participants, though both said that they did not watch ERT Sat, finding the news and programme contents irrelevant to their own lives, although it was the only television station their parents watched, they also added that they found the level of the language very difficult to comprehend.

The researcher was offered refreshments. Refreshments were mostly Greek coffee and Greek delicacies, which the mothers proudly announced they had baked themselves. This occurred in four of the five homes. In one home, tea and biscuits were offered. In this same home there was no sound of any Greek radio station, television programme nor of any Greek music. It was clear from the lack of Greek cultural material that this family was far less aware of their Greek identity than the other four. The situation in four of the homes showed a very strong involvement with the Greek culture and a desire on the part of the parents to preserve their Hellenic identity. The same can be said of the very obvious presence of Greek magazines and newspapers present in the living room and study. In two homes, there was a mixture of Greek and English magazines and newspapers.

In two other homes, there was mainly Greek material and in one home, there was hardly a trace of any Greek material at all.

Of the three participants who were interviewed outside their home, one chose to be interviewed at school, one in the home of a mutual friend of the researcher and the participant and the third, in

the researcher's own home.

The researcher was involved in a programme pertaining to pupils at a specific school, which one of the participants attended. The participant requested to have her interview at school, on a day when the researcher happened to be there as well. She explained it would be difficult to arrange an interview in her own home, as transport was a problem and both her parents worked until very late at their family business.

A second participant requested to be interviewed at the researcher's home. She said it would be more convenient for her parents, who would be bringing the participant's brother to the researcher's home to attend an extra lesson. She claimed her parents would prefer this arrangement, as it would obviate any inconvenience on their part. The request was granted, as the participant had been to the researcher's home before and felt at ease in this environment.

The third participant interviewed in a different venue, lives rather far away from school. She preferred to be interviewed at the home of her aunt (her mother's sister), who lives close to the school and who is a friend of the researcher. The participant's aunt fetches her from school every day and she often spends the afternoon there, until her mother can come to fetch her later, since her mother helps her father run the family business, which is situated on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

The interview process occurred in natural settings, selected by the participants themselves. There was no sign of tension nor anxiety and this contributed to the validity of the overall investigations. Disturbances such as background music, the family chatting together or an adult offering refreshments did not impede the interview process at all, but allowed the researcher a degree of insight into the activities, duties, interests and relationships of the participants.

5.2.5 Discussion of birth cohort characteristics

The importance of taking the characteristics of a particular birth cohort into consideration, was referred to earlier. Therefore, some attention is given to the birth cohort of these girls.

All the girls interviewed grew up in Johannesburg. All are of Greek origin, and all eight reached adolescence during the mid 1990's. As they are all second or third generation Greek girls, certain characteristics will apply to them, which are typical of girls growing up in the modern era, but

also children of immigrant Greeks, who came to South Africa in search of a better life and better prospects for their families.

Most of the mothers of the girls interviewed grew up either in Greece or in South Africa in the 50s, reaching adolescence in the 60s. These mothers were thus part of a transitional generation between those women who followed the old norm that working outside the home after family formation was exceptional, and the present day young women who will most likely continue to work, even while starting a family, and who hope to continue working for the majority of their adult lives. Thus few of the participants had the example of a working mother, and perceived their mothers as individuals who had devoted themselves purely to the needs of their husbands and children (2.2.4).

Hence, the participants experienced an unusual situation in the formation of their identity (2.2.2.5) and in an understanding of their roles (2.2.3). Despite role prescriptions being culture-bound (2.2.3.1), these girls have had to make a significant break from the past and their role expectations (2.2.3.2) as well as their role fulfilment (2.2.3.3) differs significantly from that of their parents, especially of their mothers. Hence, the participants also perceive their gender role (2.2.4.1) in a very different way to their mothers. Changing norms, new circumstances and the changes within South African society, especially within the social and educational spheres (3.4.4.2.3, 3.4.4.3) have influenced their views concerning their gender roles and have been instrumental in their identity formation.

By the late 1970s, it had become far more acceptable for women with young children to work, and for women to enter non-traditional fields according to the *Business Times* (16 May 1991:1). South African, women in the labour market (3.4.4.7) still experience great disparity, but are making inroads into previously male-dominated territory. In Greece too, many women are entering fields which were previously exclusively male-dominated and women entrepreneurs (3.3.6.3, 3.3.6.4) are making their mark in society.

Hence, the adolescent Greek girl, growing up in Johannesburg, has been influenced by these changes in society, both in South Africa, where they live, and in Greece, where their cultural roots originate.

In most modern-day families, there is a real need for both husband and wife to earn a salary, as the cost of living has become very steep. Many young families simply cannot cope on a single

salary. These young girls will find themselves in a situation different to the one experienced by most of their mothers. Their mothers were predominantly home-makers, or assisted their husbands in the running of the family business. Their mothers' standard of education would not put them in a strong position to earn a good salary, so they would assist their spouses, while taking care of the home and the family. This is no longer the case with this generation of participants. They have all had the benefit of receiving a sound education. They have all been exposed to vocational guidance and, with the demands of the modern family, coupled with the increased cost of living, they will find themselves in a position where they will need to earn a living, to supplement the family income. They will also need to reconcile their often traditional upbringing with the demands of the modern world.

5.3 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF KEY THEMES

This section discusses in greater depth key thematic areas identified by the eight adolescent school girls, in the course of the semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The material is organised as follows for greater clarity. Three main thematic areas are identified with regards to their perception of their adult role:

Marriage and expectations of marriage; family life; career and work. Within each of these broad areas, various sub-themes emerge, which are firstly presented, and then discussed.

5.3.1 Marriage

A considerable portion of the interviews was devoted to investigating the issues marriage and family life. It was interesting to note that all the participants had a very definite idea concerning their prospective marriages and the type of family they would like to have. Participants' comments on marriage fell into several thematic sub-categories: the concept of marriage itself; the choice of marriage partner; expectations of marriage and spouse support.

5.3.1.1 The concept of marriage

All the participants shared rather traditional views regarding marriage itself. All expressed the desire to be married by their mid-twenties and looked forward to establishing a traditional home, and having children.

They all wanted to have church weddings, to be blessed by a priest, in a Greek Orthodox Church, and to go through all the rites of a typical Greek Orthodox wedding. However, there was some resentment to the oath of "obedience" as is required by the Greek Orthodox Church. None of the girls, however, wanted to be married in a court ceremony. As civil marriages are now recognised fully in Greece and by the Greek Community, this has become a very real option for these young girls. However, they all felt that a real wedding, the only one where they would feel "truly married", is the wedding service within the Greek Orthodox Church.

All eight participants wish to model their future roles as homemakers on the examples set by their mothers. All eight participants also displayed a strong degree of appreciation for the way in which each of their mothers had fulfilled the role of wife and mother. However, although marriage and home life played a significant role in their future aspirations, all eight wished to extend their own role beyond that of their mothers, who, in most cases, were primarily homemakers or who had stopped working, to devote themselves to the needs of their families. Marilyn had this to say regarding marriage:

In my generation, there are some changes, but very gradual ones from past social scenarios. Girls still want to marry, and even to stay home. By the age of 28, I want to have finished studying and to have had my children already. I feel that in my generation, the parents are very young. They were married at 16 or so, and already had their first child. I feel that was far, far too young.

Fontini also expressed a wish to be married, or at least to be progressing towards marriage in her mid to late twenties; saying that she would like to be "hopefully in a very serious relationship ending up in marriage, or that kind of thing" by that stage of her life. Irene echoed similar sentiments by stating: "I'd like very much to be married and to have children. Well, if it doesn't happen, then it's just too bad." She expressed a sense of disappointment should her desire to get married not, in fact, materialise. Victoria said simply that she plans to marry in the future and hopefully her plans would materialise.

Matoula expected to be married at the latest by her mid-twenties, although her family would like to see her married by 21. She found that the family was putting pressure on her to find a husband as soon as possible:

They want me to get married soon. That's what they consider to be the girl's main aim in life. Trust me, you definitely can't change their way of thinking. I must be married soon, at the very latest, before 25. They also want my brother to get married but they want him to marry later, between 26 and 30.

Ria's response was similar to that of the others:

Married? Oh yes, definitely. It is very important in my life to get married. I want to have a husband, a home and a family of my own.

Natasha also spoke about a very definite desire to get married, choosing a good man who is caring and considerate as a spouse.

Joanne, who comes from a less traditional Greek home, also stated:

I'd like to see myself married. I hope that I'd be engaged or married 10 years from now. It's not a necessity and I won't be devastated if I'm not. But, I would like to see myself married.

Marriage features highly on all the girls' agendas with regards to adult life. All eight participants were very excited to talk about the day when they would get married, settle down into their own homes and become independent of their parents.

None of the participants envisage themselves moving out of the family home until the time when they are married. None of the participants even considered the possibility of moving in with a friend or even with a boyfriend. To all the girls, the only time a Greek girl would ever consider leaving home, is to be married.

Leaving home to go and live at a University Residence, also did not appeal to the girls. They believed they were all "too comfortable" at home. They were "homebodies" or they said that they "felt indulged" at home. Many said that at home, they were "spoilt and very comfortable". The only time they would leave the home, is on marriage or if that does not happen, then when they're much older, working and earning their living.

5.3.1.1(a) Discussion of the concept of marriage

The findings suggest or confirm the following major points about marriage:

The girls all emphasised the need to maintain and uphold the traditional views regarding marriage. Despite living in a society which is relatively progressive and modern, all eight girls felt the need to uphold the institution of marriage. Furthermore, certain of the participants expressed the view that they would feel very disappointed, should they fail to find a marriage partner. As suggested by Gerdes et al (1988:89) role expectations and role fulfilment are to a large extent culture-bound and the eight participants expressed a very clear notion of their future expectations regarding the way in which they will play their future roles in society. (cf 2.2.3.2, 2.2.3.3).

The participants all expressed an admiration of their mothers and wished to emulate their mothers in the fulfilment of their own roles as wives in the future. Gerdes et al (1988:86) state that throughout life, a person tends to affiliate with those individuals or groups whom he wants to resemble and believes to have something in common with himself. (cf 2.2.2.4). In this regard, the adolescent girls base the formation of their individual identity on that of their mothers, but as Mussen et al (1990:614) stated, they also have a sense of their own identity and thus, tend to see themselves as separate, individual beings (cf 2.2.2.4). Gerdes et al (1988:86) comment that the child, and later the adolescent, tends to emulate people of the same sex (cf 2.2.2). This emerged very clearly through the interviews, but it was also made abundantly clear that the participants all wished to go beyond the very traditional roles of wives and mothers and to extend their social and gender roles beyond the limited roles played by their own mothers. The majority of the girls had mothers who had a traditional concept of the female role, and thus, the girls generally lacked female role models who could exemplify the successful combination of home and work, a common problem with girls of this birth cohort. For this reason, although girls identified with their mothers in the sense that they wished to marry and to establish traditional homes, they also all expressed the desire to extend their roles beyond the roles fulfilled by their mothers.

5.1.1.2 Expectations of marriage

All the girls interviewed had very clear-cut views regarding their expectations of marriage. They expressed very definitely and eloquently, the way in which they expected their marriage to work

and all of them emphasised the fact that they would like their own marriages to be based on the example set by their mothers, yet extended beyond the traditional confines and restrictions which often characterised their own parents' marriages.

An underlying theme which emerged very strongly was the need for the girls to have their own financial independence. Girls expected to be able to maintain their own identity during marriage, and also expected to be able to continue working on their chosen careers. They also expressed a desire for division of labour within the home, and expected spouse-support. This reflects a very idealistic and romantic view of life and the participants, who are characterised by a sense of youthful optimism and enthusiasm, felt that it would be simple to solve problems and overcome obstacles within the marriage.

Only one of the participants, Matoula, appeared to strive towards a traditional marriage role, more in keeping with her mother's role. She seemed a rather vague and uncertain of the expectations she had of marriage and often seemed to offer contradictory views, thus suggesting that her outlooks had not crystallised fully and she was experiencing a sense of conflict between what her parents expected of her on the one hand, and less conservative expectations and standards on the other. There was a distinct dissonance of views, resulting from a lack of clarity within herself and characteristic of the clash between traditional views and moderns outlooks.

The participants felt that marriage should be a lifelong commitment. They wanted to get married and stay married to the same person, for the rest of their lives. However, the majority of the participants was also very aware of the increasing rate of divorce and the possibility that they may, one day, be single parents, either through divorce or through their spouse's death. They were not naive enough to think that family break-up is inevitable. They also said that they would prefer to abandon an unhappy marriage rather than to prolong a situation which was of no benefit to anyone. In this way, they are different to their mothers and grandmothers, for whom a divorce was often seen as a social embarrassment or brought shame on the family. Consequently, they all felt that it was of vital importance to them to maintain their identity and autonomy within their marriage and never to be subjected to the authority of their husbands. This emerged even more strongly from the two girls whose mothers had separated from their fathers and the reality of a single-parent home was something they had encountered from first-hand experience.

Most of the participants expressed a desire to be free and equal partners within the marriage, with

their husbands respecting this freedom, and never trying to restrict their freedom nor to undermine their equality. Victoria stated:

I'd like to know it's balanced between us. I'd like to have everything divided, and each of us to have the same limitations and expectations.

A very similar sentiment was echoed by Fotini:

I definitely would have a problem if my husband didn't want me to work. I'd say: "Well, look, I want to keep my independence, even if I have children". If anything happens one day, I'm able to walk out and I'm able to depend on myself.

Only one participant, Matoula, expected to be in a relationship where she would not have equal status to her husband. She summed it up by stating:

The men have been brought up like that. They expect their wives to be there for them. They cannot allow their wives to prove themselves to be higher than the men. If women show themselves as being better, bad things are going to come out of this - bad things.

She even went on to explain how she views her own role as woman of the house.

I won't mind doing most of the work in the house, and for the baby. If he offers to help, then he can help. I only hope that he knows how. I honestly believe that I will do most of the work. It's my job to do it. Just looking at my mother and the way I've learnt from my mom, yes, I think it's my job to do the work around the house.

The participants appear to be aware of many of the problems of a modern-day marriage, where both partners are employed outside the home. They realise that the demands of modern-day society are quite different to the demands made by society on their own mothers. Hence, they will need to be very careful in choosing a marriage partner, and will need to choose someone supportive, caring and understanding.

They were also acutely aware of the fact that many Greek males are very indulged, and even today, are raised to believe that they are superior to girls. This could cause friction in a marriage, especially if the girl wishes to be regarded as an equal partner.

The wedding oath in the Greek Orthodox Church states that a woman must obey her husband, while he must love her and cherish her. The majority of the participants, although not wishing to show disrespect to the Church, believe such an oath is totally "outdated". They also felt it was patronising towards women. They believe the Church's teachings and doctrines, which date from the earliest Christian times, need serious revision and adaptation, to make them more relevant to today's world. Marilyn was absolutely adamant that the wedding oath was not only an outdated notion, but a very harmful one as well:

This whole thing about "obedience" - it's not a funny thing. You're encouraging sexism. Our church is sexist. We're encouraging sexism to a very great extent. There's been many complaints from priests who've said to women, "Don't you even dare to wear pants". There are no women amongst the clergy. There are even many places in Greece where only men are allowed to go. There's some monasteries just for men. When you take a newborn child for a blessing 40 days after its birth, the boy is taken right into the holy part of the church, while the girl stays outside. This is a sexist attitude. If, during the wedding ceremony my husband had to stand on my foot when the priest says I must "obey" him, I'd also stand on his foot and tell him to obey me too.

Marilyn is referring to a contentious part of the Greek Orthodox Wedding service. At one point, the liturgy states that the wife must obey the husband (Labadarios 1990:26). It has become a tradition for the husband to stand on his wife's foot, as a gesture that she must pay heed to the priest's words. This is a symbolic way of showing that the wife will be subservient to her husband and will do his bidding. At no point in the service does the priest tell the husband to obey his wife.

Fotini's views echo the ideas which Marilyn also expressed:

A woman can't just obey her husband. Then she gets no respect from him. He has to obey her also. Look, I'm not against religion or anything. She does have

to obey her husband, but up to a certain point. You can't be asking illogical things of her.

In Irene's words:

I think there has to be a mutual understanding by both. If the husband stands on the wife's foot, then just stand back on his foot. If the wife has to obey the husband, then the husband must also promise to obey the woman.

The findings showed that the participants had a problem with the notions of total obedience and complete submissiveness to their husbands. They wish to preserve their cultural traditions, but would also like to see a move towards a less sexist approach, especially since this sexism is endorsed not only by the family, but also by the church.

In previous generations, there was always an issue of "PROIKA" for a girl of marriageable age. This means that a girl would bring a dowry to the marriage, in the form of money, property or some other form of financial security (Georgiou 1998: personal interview). The girls expressed disgust at this view, calling it "outdated". They wanted to marry for love, not because some man saw them as eligible because of their financial standing. There were, in the past, many girls who failed to find a suitable husband, as they didn't have the necessary PROIKA. Those who did, were married off first. It became a type of marriage-market, and quite an acute source of embarrassment to girls without PROIKA, who were viewed as "unmarriageable".

Marilyn has this to say:

Today, people joke about the Proika issue. They pretend it's a thing of the past. But it does still happen, even today. It's not such a big issue, but it's still spoken of, even today. Even in South Africa. At Greek braais and gatherings, they still talk about it. So, even today, it's quite a relevant issue.

The girls were strongly against any such marriages of convenience and all said they wanted to marry "for love" and to find their "soulmate" before entering into marriage. They also reiterated the view that a PROIKA was a consideration in the past, when women stayed at home and did not go out to earn a living. In today's society, a girl goes out to work, earns a salary, and that in itself

is a very solid contribution to the family's financial position.

5.3.1.2 (a) Discussion of expectations of marriage

One theme which emerged very clearly is that the girls all expected marriage to be a very positive and rewarding experience. It was an experience which all of them anticipate for which they feel that they have been groomed all their lives. The participants' descriptions about their personal expectations of marriage confirmed research findings on the importance of the social self-concept of every individual, but also on the significance of maintaining one's independence, (cf 2.2.1.4). Girls viewed marriage as a realisation of a social aspect of their identity.

The participants' views emphasise how significant marriage is with regards to the social self-concept of every individual (cf 2.2.1.4) as Gerdes et al (1988:79) have stated. However, although the participants wished to actualise their social self-concept, they also wished to preserve their individual identity and never lose sight of who they really are (cf 2.2.2.4).

The participants also see marriage as an aspect of role fulfilment, as an aspect of their lives which is in keeping with their gender identity (cf 2.2.4). They have a very strong perception of their femininity and identify themselves fully with feminine tasks. (Rice 1992:351)

Spence and Helmreich (1978:6) comment that in an idealised vision of the family, women are responsible for the maintenance of the home, and also confined to it (cf 2.6.1.5). This is a notion which was emphatically negated by the responses received from the participants. They do not subscribe at all to the notion that the husband is expected to be the provider in the marriage, while the woman is confined to the house.

The views of French (1990:21), that parental influences have, to a very large extent, influenced role-expectation and role-formation and girls have, thus, learnt to see themselves in a nurturing and caring role, were confirmed by the results of this research. Girls have certain role-expectations and specific criteria according to which these roles must be played out. Parental influences (2.6.1.1) have played a very significant part in this aspect of their development.

It emerged strongly, in the research, that a need for independence and for a clear sense of personal identity is of paramount importance. This confirms the findings of Gerdes et al

(1988:86) with regards to individual identity (cf 2.2.2.4). However, Freud's views (1931:169) about women, in which he viewed femininity and feminine roles purely in terms of compensation for perceived inferiority, were very clearly refuted through the responses of the participants.

The data thus showed that the adolescent Greek girl wishes to enter into marriage, and this is seen as a culmination of her social self-concept. It is also a result of role-fulfilment, as girls have always viewed themselves as being groomed for the role of marriage, which they view as pleasurable. However, at no time do they wish to give up their independence, to sacrifice their individual identity and to lose their self-esteem (cf 2.2.1.8).

5.3.1.3 Choice of marriage partner

The participants expressed a very definite and unequivocal desire to find a marriage partner with a similar background to their own. They all showed interest in marrying a man of Greek background, in order to uphold their culture, traditions and heritage. Despite being raised in Johannesburg and despite coming into contact with people from a very broad multicultural spectrum, the participants viewed their future spouse as a person who must be of Greek origin and rated this characteristic relatively strongly on their scale of priorities.

The most acculturised participant, with a very strong South African influence in her upbringing, also expressed a need to preserve her Greek background. Joanne put it as follows:

It is important, very important, to me to be in a very strong Greek feeling. If I were to lose that, I think I'd feel a bit lost.

Ria has very definite requirements of a future husband:

He must be Greek or Cypriot Greek. He must come from a good family. He must know what he wants in his life. That's what every Greek family needs in a future husband for their daughter. If he's a non-Greek boy, my parents would react. They'd tell me "No", because others have different morals, a different upbringing in life. We must preserve our identity.

Ria explains why her family would react negatively if she were to date a non-Greek boy:

If you're with a Greek boy, he'll understand that he has to bring you home by 12, but if you're with a foreign boy, he won't. And the, what are you gonna tell your mom? "Sorry Mama"? A Greek boy will understand a Greek family.

She feels a lot more at ease dating a Greek male, and she would find it extremely difficult to relate to a person who has been raised in a different cultural framework to her own. It is clear that Ria finds it much easier, much more comfortable to form relationships within her own cultural background and this is something she would take into serious consideration when looking for a lifelong marriage partner.

Natasha would like to marry a Greek man, as it is very important to her and to her parents. She wants her children to be able to speak Greek and English and to be part of the South African Greek community, where they can feel a sense of belonging and will have a clear identity.

Matoula did not even consider the option of marrying someone non-Greek, as it is taken for granted in her home, that her husband will be Greek.

Fotini does not exclude the possibility of marrying someone non-Greek, because she feels these things cannot be monitored nor regulated. She does say, though, that the person she marries must come from the same background. "He must be similar in character". He also has to be of the same religion. "It makes it so much easier". Furthermore she does not believe that marrying someone from a different cultural background can actually work. "One in a million such marriages will succeed".

It emerged in the course of the interviews that the average Greek family in Johannesburg has inculcated the idea in their daughters that it is important to preserve tradition and maintain a cultural continuity with the past. Despite many changes having occurred from the traditional Greek family of a few decades ago, the present-day Greek girls still feel a need to marry a man who shares a similar cultural background to their own, and where there will be a sense of understanding concerning religious beliefs, traditions and background.

Amongst the characteristics which the participants cited as important in their descriptions of the type of man they would like to marry, the following arose the most frequently:

“Caring”; “supportive”; “responsible”; “helpful”; “hard-working”; “a good man”; “loving”; “understanding”.

Despite this, the participants did feel that Greek boys are still very indulged and have, on the whole, been raised to have an over-inflated opinion of themselves. This was said to be the result of all the attention they received from women at home. Nevertheless, they would all like to marry Greeks, to keep the language and the traditions alive and to raise their children within a Greek environment. They also said that, once in a serious relationship, they believed these boys would change in attitude.

Fotini summarised the most pertinent views expressed by the participants as follows:

Greek boys have a very big ego. They get this from their parents and friends. They think they're "IT". They expect to sit there and you must serve them. I think they're spoilt, materialistically. They get everything they want. That's what they expect. When they find a girl, they expect her to give them everything they want.

Ria quotes the example of a friend of hers:

Well look. A friend of mine's got a brother. He does nothing - no beds, nothing. Maybe he works with his father. That's usually what happens. The brother goes to work with father. The brother does this, does that, goes out. The daughter watches the mother, the daughter cooks, the daughter cleans...

The participants are very aware that many young Greek males have been raised by mothers and grandmothers to believe that they are superior to females. The example of their fathers has also been instrumental in creating this impression of Greek males as chauvinistic and demanding. Joanne has this to say about spoilt, young, self-centered Greek males:

In certain families, the men sit around after dinner, and the women clean up. The girl has to get involved in that. When the men come over, the daughter has to put the olives and feta on the tray. I've seen it done. It's not for me. I don't think I could ever marry someone like that.

The girls would not like a marriage partner who is self-centered, demanding and treats them as inferiors. They do, however, wish to marry Greeks, even though many of them are very spoiled as children and as adolescents. They believe that, once removed from the source of constant pampering and indulgence, they will change and will become good, caring and loving husbands. The need to preserve tradition is very strong indeed, as is the need for cultural identity and the preservation of language and traditions.

5.3.1.3 (a) Discussion of choice of marriage partner

The research confirmed the views that the participants all wished to marry people who are of similar background, of a similar culture and who share common life-views.

The participants identified very strongly with their specific cultural group and wished to preserve their cultural identity through marriage (cf 2.6.1.4). This notion is also reinforced by Papalia and Olds (1975:6.10), who studied adolescents from a cultural or racial minority group within a multi-cultural society. Such adolescents are thrust into a particularly intense identity crisis. One way of resolving the crisis, is for the members of the minority cultural group to gravitate together and to form bonds and relationships within that specific group.

Each participant expected to marry a man who would allow her the freedom to develop and enhance her intellectual self-concept (cf 2.2.1.2), who would allow her to actualise her social self-concept (cf 2.2.1.4) and to enjoy a feeling of self-esteem (cf 2.2.1.8).

The ideal marriage partner must never suppress the development of her ego identity (Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1991:291), but allow her the freedom to develop her identity and individuality, even after her marriage. The participants all held very romantic and idealistic views of marriage and their notions of marriage as well as their expectations of their marriage partners were often unrealistically idealistic. This can be attributed to the fact that they are in the adolescent developmental phase and this stage is a transitional period of life between immaturity and maturity (cf 2.2.5.1). The adolescent is striving to actualise the concept of the ideal self (cf 2.2.1.7) and is thus deeply influenced by romantic, idealistic ideas. The participants were all greatly influenced by romantic and idealistic views of marriage, which are typical of this age-group, and which are likely to change when they progress to adulthood and are confronted by the

practicalities and realities of life.

The crucial conclusion which emerged from the data is that despite many of the shortcomings which are associated with choosing a marriage partner from the same cultural group as their own, the participants would prefer to marry someone who is also Greek. They are all aware that this option could, at times, be difficult but felt that overall, it would be to their benefit. They cited parental, family and cultural influences as having a role to play in this regard, but also stated that they would strive to maintain their independence and autonomy. They believed that changes are possible and can materialise, even in adulthood (cf 2.2.1.10). This is a further manifestation of a very “romantic” outlook on life, as the participants believed they were capable of changing their husbands even after marriage. The ideas put forward are in keeping with the idealistic and at times immature attitudes displayed by adolescents (cf 2.2.1.7, 2.2.5.1).

5.3.1.4 Spouse support

It became evident, during the course of the interviews, that despite the comments made by certain participants that they would expect their spouses to offer support with regards to domestic duties and chores, they contradicted themselves and they would in fact be maintaining a traditional division of roles, along gender lines, in their own homes. Many participants wished to appear free of gender role bias, but their specific responses actually contradicted their generalised statements. The impression gained is that the participants, with very few exceptions, would perpetrate the same situation in their own homes, as had been done in their parental homes. There still exists, to a large extent, overtly or covertly, the belief that the woman must not expect a great deal of support from her spouse, and if a woman does choose to follow a career of her own, then she must also extend herself sufficiently to look after the children, as well as the home, without relying extensively on spouse support.

Matoula summarised the views of the majority of the participants, by stating that “Greek men expect their wives to be there for them.” She also stated clearly that “A Greek husband expects twenty-four hour a day support, and things done according to what he wants, not according to what we want. He’s usually right.... almost always.” Despite stating that she would go out and work, carving out an independent career for herself, and relying on her husband to support her choices, the previous statement certainly disputes her views of personal independence and self-fulfilment.

Ria, who has ambitions of becoming a successful dress-designer, foresees problems in a marriage situation, should she wish to follow her dream and lead an independent life:

Easy? No, I'm sorry. No, it's not. The woman will have to choose (between career and family), especially if she has a husband who tells her 'You're never home! You're never here!'. She'll have to choose... You can't succeed if your husband's not supportive. Greek men are very sexist... Even my boyfriend, who is only eighteen years old, never wanted his mother to work...never! He wanted to come home, have food ready. He said his mother's place is in the house. Look, I'm not prepared to give up my dream. I'll have to come home, make sure there's food on the table, clean the house. I'll make sure of all of that.

Natasha feels that "if a woman has a baby, she has to stay at home." She goes on to explain that as a woman, she'll need to look after her home and family first and do the typical gender-specific tasks that are associated with women. "I'll work if I need to.... The woman's role is to stay at home, clean the house, cook for her husband. Her husband does everything. He goes out, earns the money, that's it."

Joanne, whose family is less traditional than the others, believes that her independence and autonomy must never be sacrificed and she would expect complete spouse support in her endeavours.

I could never be a typical, traditional old-fashioned Greek wife. I would expect my husband to respect my autonomy and my desire to lead a life of my own. I could never sacrifice my independence and become a shadow of my husband...
NEVER!

Fotini is keen to have a career of her own, an independence, which will also bring her financial security. Yet, she does not expect to have a great deal of spouse support and will endeavour to combine home and family, putting the responsibility on herself:

I'll firstly make time for my family, but I won't put my career to the side. It is very important to me to get married and have a traditional family and home.

After all, a male's a male, and a female's a female. I'll just have to make time for everything. A Greek male expects to sit there and you must serve him. He expects a girl to do everything for him. A girl is raised to think about caring for the home and taking care of the children. She just has to take in that extra responsibility.

Marilyn is encouraged to study and to go to University and obtain a degree. She is a top achiever, capable of excelling after Matric and later, at university. Her father has tried to dissuade her from holding down an independent job.

My father wants me to go to college and to have all the opportunities he never had; to have whatever he missed out on. He wants me to get my degree, get a job, but when the time comes to get married, I must basically let the man go out and work. I must rely on the male as the breadwinner.... My dad doesn't do chores. In our home there are clearly-defined gender-roles. Coffee has to be on the table, and so on. I think I will run my home along the same lines, and I'll raise my children in a very similar way. It's going to take a very long time to change all this.

Victoria who seems to have the least clearly-developed notions of her adult role, and who is in an all-girls' school, displayed a very idealistic and rather unrealistic view. She stated that in all Greek homes which she has been in, no gender-role discrimination existed. She believed that husbands and wives shared duties and performed domestic chores without thinking of them as being specifically "male" or "female". She added that husbands became willingly involved in doing a range of domestic tasks, in order to assist their wives. She tended to generalise that this was the case in the majority of Greek homes. Her views are the result of an extremely sheltered upbringing, a lack of exposure to the wider community and as she attends an all-girls non-Greek school in the Johannesburg area, she has a fairly limited and distorted view of the Greek community.

Irene, whose parents were raised in South Africa, also attends a non-Greek public school in Johannesburg. Both her parents work in the family business so although it is common for the mother to concern herself with daily domestic chores, such as cooking the dinner, the father may help out if the mother is delayed for any reason. Irene would like to emulate this example, and

would expect spouse support, in a similar way to which her father assists her mother. She did say, though, that her family is rather different to the majority of Greek families, and that it appears to be the exception rather than the norm for the father to offer support to his wife with her everyday routine chores:

“A lot of Greek families are very traditional. The lady always makes sure that there’s dinner on the table for the men.” She does accept that even with both parents working, her mother still makes an effort to do the so-called “female” chores and only if her mother cannot manage, will her father step in. Irene would like to live comfortably, with sufficient financial security in the future and if her husband were wealthy enough to support the entire family without her needing to go out to work, she would seriously consider the option. She would then lead a traditional home-based lifestyle, raising her children in a most traditional way, doing the chores at home, and concerning herself predominantly with domestic duties. If, though, she needed to work for financial reasons, she would expect her husband to support her in the same way in which her father assists her mother, if there is a need to do so.

Thus, the majority of the participants stated that, despite their desire to acquire professional or academic qualifications in the future, their primary concern would remain to become good home-makers, taking on the responsibility of doing the daily chores or at least ensuring that these chores would be done, without relying on a great deal of support from their spouses. A professional life of their own would have to fit into this framework and certain participants would even seriously consider sacrificing their own careers for the well-being of their homes and families. Spouse support for working mothers and career women appears to be very insignificant and the majority of the participants neither expected it nor relied on it at all.

The participants were aware that there could be conflict if the woman’s career clashed with her husband’s professional advancements, and there could be further conflict if the woman earned a better salary than the man. They anticipated problems, should such a situation arise, as men have been used to being labelled “breadwinners”. This is particularly pertinent within the Greek community.

Ria’s sister, who is married, used to earn more money than her husband. She says:

My sister used to make more money than her husband. In their family, it wasn’t

a big issue. But I know that in Greek families, it is an issue. I know it could cause conflicts.

Matoula states that there will definitely be problems if the wife does better than the man:

There's only one time that this is going to work. It's if the husband agrees on that. If the wife's doing better than the husband, he will feel inferior. He might take it the wrong way. Men have been brought up like that. They'll get upset... Bad things are going to come of this - bad things.

Irene's attitude to the fact that she may be earning more than her husband is summed up as follows:

I couldn't care less. It doesn't worry me at all. You marry for love, not for money. If it worries him, it's his problem.

It appears that the successful career of a married woman could create tension within her marriage. A traditional Greek husband, raised within a conservative community, appears to resent having a successful wife, who may overshadow his own achievement and weaken his position as head of the family.

5.3.1.4 (a) Discussion of spouse support

The participants were generally quite certain of the fact that there will be difficulties regarding the amount of support they can expect from their spouses. Many were rather cynical, since they believe that Greek males have always been raised to have things done for them (cf 2.2.4).

The participants expressed concern that the males' gender identity (cf 2.2.4) has been very firmly entrenched by society, which, in turn, will prevent the future spouses from spontaneous involvement in the areas of support, child care and even in accepting the notion of a working wife, who will be out of the home all day and who will have a life apart from her husband's. As Notman (1991: 120) believes that gender identity is observable by the time a child can speak, and as the present generation of adolescent Greek males has been raised in a cultural framework where mothers do not work, but mostly care for the home and the family (cf 2.2.3.1), there was

deep concern expressed regarding the amount of support which they expected to receive in their adult lives, from their husbands.

However, they also all appeared to desire a degree of autonomy, and there is a distinct tendency towards a more feminist approach, even if this does mean that there may be some conflict and differences of opinion between husband and wife. Gilligan (1993 : xxiii) states that there is resistance on the part of girls towards culturally mandated notions (cf 2.5.4) and that the female voices of resistance to male autonomy is being heard. This can also apply to the participants, who are voicing their disapproval of strict culturally mandated views. Despite parental influences (cf 2.6.1.1), they are breaking free from the traditional conservative views and are making new demands on society and also within their own relationships.

The school (cf 2.6.1.2) and the peer group (cf 2.6.1.3) are encouraging the formation of new ideas in girls and are supporting them in their quest for equality and self-actualisation. This means that girls are now expecting a greater degree of independence, are demanding equality, expect to be allowed to go out to work and to be able to expect some support from their spouses, although they expect to encounter some problems in realising all their ideals.

It emerged that girls feared that their future husbands would be threatened by the emerging importance of their wives, and would fail to offer them their full support. They may view their wives' roles as going against the prescribed gender roles of their culture and may even pose a threat to the man's gender identity (cf 2.2.4). Despite this, the participants showed great enthusiasm towards achieving self-actualisation through their chosen careers, as well as through their marriages and through family life. The participants displayed an enormous dissonance in their thinking, which indicates a romantic and unrealistic notion of life, typical of adolescents. Despite stating that they feared oppression within marriage and expecting their personal pursuits to be suppressed by their husbands, they believed that it would be within their power to change these outlooks and reform their husbands' views. This romantic and idealistic approach to life has characterised many of their perceptions of their adult roles.

5.3.2 Family life

The participants expressed their views on family life. They discussed their perceptions of family life, their attitudes towards mothering, presented their ideas on coping strategies and child-care.

5.3.2.1 Perception of family life

It emerged strongly that all the participants place a very great emphasis on family life. They all wish to marry and to have families of their own, and to raise their children within the same, traditional background in which they were raised. Family life thus rates very highly on their scale of priorities and even tends to overshadow the notions of career and professional self-actualisation.

All eight participants come from Greek families, with both parents being Greek. In one case only, does the participant come from a divorced set of parents, but she maintains contact and enjoys a close relationship with both her parents. In another case, the parents of one participant are living apart for professional reasons. The participant has contact with both parents, although she lives in South Africa with her father, while her mother resides overseas. They are constantly in contact, and she travels overseas frequently to stay with her mother. Thus, family is an important aspect of the girls' lives and there is a great deal of family involvement in the decision-making process concerning the lives and the future prospects of the participants.

Every single one of the participants expressed the importance of living in a stable family, showed deep appreciation for the values inculcated by the family and would strive to establish a family of her own, similar to the one in which she was raised.

None of the participants expressed any conflict with parents, nor said that their parents failed to understand and support them. Victoria values the advice which her parents offer and their encouragement, whether she does well or fails. She comments:

I'd run my own home exactly as my parents run theirs. I value my family life.

I'm in a very happy situation at the moment. I'm very fortunate.

Marilyn accepts certain of the restrictions placed on her by her parents:

I'll run my own home along the same lines as my parents run theirs. Much as I say that I'm restricted, I can understand my mother's concerns and her restrictions. I'll raise my children in a very similar way.

Marilyn loves the feeling of warmth and love which her family envelops her in and the feeling of emotional support is rated as a strong criterion for wanting to stay on at home.

Irene speaks about the significance of culture and tradition, which is of great value to her, and she would clearly like to maintain her cultural ties and her family values. She would never dream of leaving home until she's married:

Leave home? No, I've always been a home-bug. I love my home and my family. Then, I'd like to set up a home of my own, with the same cultural traditions and family values.

Matoula talks about raising her children and running her home in "a Greek way", while Ria states that as Greeks, "we are very fanatic(al) with family. We need our family".

The importance of family values can also be seen clearly through the role-models whom the participants selected, and whom they wished to emulate. Marilyn takes her mother as an example and a source of inspiration. She arrived alone in this country at the age of 14, without knowing any English. She stayed with relatives, put herself through high school, and made a life for herself. Marilyn's father is also held in high regard. He arrived from overseas, from a rural area, and taught himself English as well as business skills, and went on to become a successful businessman. She admires her parents for being determined, courageous, but also for inculcating a strong sense of family values and human compassion in her.

Irene singles out her late grandfather as a role model, as he helped to make life easier for many people, and served the Greek community by helping to establish the Greek Old Age Home.

Matoula admires her mother, as she has taught her moral values, and has taught her about her cultural heritage. She also admires her brothers, who pursue their goals with single-minded determination.

Ria also singles out her mother as a role model: "She's taught me right from wrong. I know how to make decisions that will affect my life, because of her."

Natasha admires her mother as well. She sees in her mother a warm, caring person, who has kept

the family together. Her mother has also had to work very hard to make her mark as a career woman. "She is strong, successful and independent. At the end of the day, you can see she's proud...she's done it by herself."

Joanne holds her father in very high esteem, as he's a family man, but also a successful professional person:

My father serves as my role model. He has achieved so much in his life. He is successful, intelligent and a good person.

She also admires her godmother, who is successful in business, while never neglecting her home and cares for her young children.

It is very significant that the girls all mentioned that they enjoyed living at home, had seldom felt any animosity or hostility within the home environment, and had cited their mothers, to a large extent, as being role models. They all appear to have a sincere appreciation of family values, and have enjoyed the warm support offered within the typical Greek family.

Joanne sums up her views on family life through these words:

I feel I have everything I need here: my freedom, my friends, my family. I need these people around me.

Marilyn talks about her family's strong support and their constant encouragement, especially when she has felt depressed or dejected:

At home, I get lots of emotional support. It's very important to me. If anything happened to you, you'd have someone to go and talk to. It's a real comfort zone. That's what families are for.

The participants thus rely heavily on their families for support, emotional strength and encouragement. The majority single out very close family members as role-models, to admire and emulate, and also speak with pride of their Greek heritage and traditions, learnt at home, which they would like to continue to perpetrate in their own homes in the future.

5.3.2.1(a) Discussion of perception of family life

The participants all displayed a very high degree of respect for family life. Every single one of the participants believed that family life is essential in offering an individual support, love, contentment and security (cf 2.6.1.1). They all value their families very much and each one would like to emulate the notions of family life learnt within her home and perpetrate these ideas within her own family, in her future adult role. The notion of care (cf Gilligan 1982:164) was very clearly reinforced through the research findings (cf 2.7.3.1).

Many of the participants spoke about the support they received from their family, and how their families made them feel special and valuable (cf 2.2.18).

The notion of a loving, caring, supportive family life, with a clearly-defined value-system is one which was cherished by all the participants and which featured prominently on their list of priorities for their future adult life (cf 2.4.3). Jung reiterates the idea that women are dominated by "their psychic relatedness to other people", and that human relationships are of primary importance to women (1957:20-21).

Girls are also deeply influenced by their own families and by their parents (cf 2.6.1.1) in particular, especially in learning societally-based sex roles. Gilligan, too, places primary importance on the mother-daughter bond (cf 2.8.1), stating that girls experience themselves as like their mothers, fusing the experience of attachment with the process of identity formation (1982:8). These views were confirmed by the research findings.

5.3.2.2 Attitudes towards motherhood

The participants all expressed a desire to have children, after marriage. However, despite their desire to become mothers, their role as mothers emerged as being far less conventional and traditional to that of their own mothers. Many of the participants' mothers were married at a relatively early age, since tertiary education and a professional career, apart from that of their husbands, was not the norm. The participants all aspired towards a tertiary education and their own independent careers. Motherhood, in their minds, appears to be only one aspect of their adult roles, together with their many other future undertakings, and not an exclusive preoccupation, as was the case with the previous generation.

Marilyn sums it up as follows:

In most of my generation, the parents are young. They were married by 16 and already had their first child. Women of today first want their careers. Many are past 35, and then want to have their first baby. What generation gap will they have? I want to have a balance between career and family. I want to learn to mix them both.

Fotini echoed similar sentiments, believing that a woman does not need to spend 24 hours a day with her child, in order to be a good mother, stressing that it's possible for a woman to combine both roles successfully. She stressed the importance of offering her children "the very best that I can get", and to her, this is clearly a combination of emotional support, together with financial security and material well-being.

The participants all emphasised the notion of "quality time" spent with their children. They all appeared to believe in Irene's words that "if a mom doesn't work, children become dependent on her. They learn to find for themselves if mom's not there. It gives the kids a chance to develop."

Natasha emphasised the fact that if a woman plans everything properly, she will have enough time for her home, her family, her children and her career. She, along with the other participants stressed that the role of the working mother is far more stressful than that of the father, as many more demands were made of her. They all viewed this situation as unfair, when compared to that of males, but accepted the fact that within the Greek community, the attitudes towards the role of the mother, and the expectations which society has of the mother's role, are changing very slowly indeed. The South African Greek community still expects a woman to be more involved with the raising of the children, even if she is a successful professional person or businesswoman in her own right. The idea of the husband helping the mother in matters related strictly to child-rearing, has not yet become well-established, although men are becoming more involved in domestic chores.

Thus, although gender-role stereotypes appear to be disappearing slowly with regards to professional and educational dimensions, there still appears to be a strong gender-prejudice with regards to the child-rearing role. South African Greek society appears to still expect a woman to care for the physical needs of her children, and to put her children before any personal aspirations of

career and personal independence. The husband's involvement with the everyday concerns of raising children still appears to be an exception, rather than the rule. The girls expressed a desire to want to involve their prospective husbands in the rearing and care of their children, but appeared a little doubtful as to whether they can achieve this in their future adult roles.

When asked whether she believed the stresses and strains of combining child-rearing and professional advancement, Victoria replied, without any hesitation: "Yes, I think so."

Marilyn also expressed her inherent doubts as to eradicating traces of role-stereotyping particularly with regards to child-rearing and greater involvement with the men in attending to their children:

I think this will also happen in my own home, but I won't let it get to the same extent. It will take many generations to change this set up.

Even when Marilyn states that she expects her husband to help her, she mentions that he may assist in starting to prepare a meal, should he get back home before her. She does not expect him to wash the children, feed them, do homework with them, nor take time off to see a doctor, if they're ill. These are aspects of a woman's role.

Fotini, when presented with a similar situation clearly stated that, for a woman,

"It's gonna be difficult... it's much easier for a man, because it's more the woman's role to look after the children."

Irene said that it's up to the woman of the family to join up the two different areas of home and work. A strong-minded woman can do this. She, too, appreciates the problems of being a good mother, while pursuing an independent career.

5.3.2.2(a) Discussion of attitudes towards motherhood

Although the participants aspired to becoming mothers and most definitely cherished the idea of having children, it was by no means their only aspiration for the future. The important fact which emerged is that despite wanting to be married, to have families of their own and to become

caring, loving mothers, they did not define their future roles exclusively on the basis of motherhood.

Spence and Helmreich (1978:4) stated that in preliterate or postindustrial society, caring for children is considered the primary role of the woman (cf 2.6.1.4). As society is developing, and as other agents of socialisation are influencing gender identity formation (cf 2.2.2.5) and gender roles (cf 2.2.4.1), the culturally-based perceptions of the previous generation are changing. The school (cf 2.6.1.2), the peer group (cf 2.6.1.3) and changing cultural values (cf 2.6.1.4) are now making girls redefine their future roles as women and as mothers.

Rice (1992:408) states that upper class adolescents are more closely supervised by parents and Mussen et al (1990:634) states that working mothers have a significant influence on the development of their daughters' achievements and independence, providing appropriate role models for achievement and family roles (cf 2.6.1.5). These findings were confirmed by the research.

5.3.2.3 Coping strategies

The girls perceive themselves as having an overwhelming desire to lead independent and fulfilling personal as well as professional lives, and all seemed to have considered various strategies with regard to their home-lives and, more specifically, with the notion of child-care. They displayed a determination to maintain their personal independence, and had formulated, in their minds, very definite strategies for coping with their additional commitments of employment, together with their traditional role of home-makers and mothers.

The majority of the girls shared the view that their prospective husbands would have to share in the responsibilities of home and family yet, having been raised within a patriarchal community, they fear that the burden of family life would fall on them. Despite their reservations they maintain the romantic notion that they will be able to reform age-old traditional views and charge their husbands' approaches towards involvement in family life. They believed that in the modern world, with its over-increasing demands on the married couple, to contribute towards expenses and upkeep of the home, new strategies had to be enforced with regards to raising the children and managing the home.

Marilyn, for example, believes that having children later on in life, will give her the opportunity to establish herself first and then start a family. This will allow her to cope more successfully with family demands. "I'd like to have children, but at a much later stage." She adds:

My husband must help and co-operate. As we are a family, we must share in the tasks and take equal responsibility in fulfilling them.

Fotini expresses a similar view, and believes that, in order to cope with today's demands, there has to be a 50/50 sharing of tasks and responsibilities. She, too, believes in getting married and having children later on in life, "when I'm about 26 or 27 years old." In this way, she hopes to establish her career first, and then to start a family life. This type of coping strategy appears to be favoured by many of the participants.

Irene also believes in having children later on in life, after having established herself professionally. Her coping strategies would also entail leaving marriage until later on in life, and once married, husband and wife are to share the duties and the responsibilities of child-rearing, which is not so common at present but she hopes will change when she reaches adulthood. Only if financially stable, would she consider working part-time and devoting the rest of the time to home and family. She would never consider giving up her job completely. To her, her career is part of her identity, her independence, and would never accept giving up her job entirely.

Ria, who shares similar views, states:

The husband must be very supportive of his wife. In order for a family to be successful, a husband must be supportive. He must take care of the child. He must do dishes - everything. He must. Definitely.

She expects the child-rearing tasks to be shared by the husband, who must take an equally active part as herself in this regard.

Although the majority of the participants expect their husbands to take an active part in helping them to cope with their duties, they still see it as their task to be in charge of the family's well-being, and to make provision for the family's comfort, emotional security and happiness. They view themselves as the primary "care-givers", with their husbands fulfilling a supplementary role in this regard.

5.3.2.3 (a) Discussion of coping strategies

The participants had thought clearly about the ways in which they would be able to combine their future roles as wives and mothers, together with their prospective careers. They had even formulated coping strategies, which they hoped to be able to implement, in order to be able to fulfil their obligations within and without the home. Their predominant coping strategy appears to be delaying motherhood since they wished to establish themselves professionally before starting families.

The girls had, in their own minds, formulated their own coping strategies, to be able to manage the demands placed on them by their various social roles. They had decided to make certain adaptations to be able to accommodate all the different aspects of their prospective adult roles.

Their coping strategies reflected the girls' primary allegiance to others in their lives (cf Gilligan 1982:112). Personal sacrifices such as having children later in life were to be made, so as to interfere as little as possible with the lives of other family members (cf 2.7.3.1). They do, however, expect a certain degree of spouse support in order to be able to accomplish all the aspects of their future role. Thus in the light of the Gilligans (1982:164) findings it appears that the "ethic of care" characterised all the coping strategies put forward by the participants.

5.3.2.4 Child care

The participants all believe in and expressed a distinct desire to employ specialised help to assist them with child care. They believe that hired professional help is perfectly acceptable as an alternative to the mother herself staying home to care for the child. As the extended family is now a thing of the past, the participants did not express the alternative of grandparents taking care of their children. With only one exception, (Matoula), the girls all showed a keen interest to pursue their professional lives, even after the arrival of children.

Matoula states:

A girl should take a break to raise her children. The kids need her. I don't want my kids to feel neglected. A baby needs its mother 24 hours a day. A baby is so dependent on its mom, it's very fragile. Until the age of three to four, you must

be there for the baby, so the baby can feel love and protection. A granny can also do this, but a mom can do it better.

Other girls had far stronger views about maintaining their independence. Irene believes that a woman needs to have her own life and career. "A mother must spend quality time with her kids. It gives the kids a chance to develop if the mom's not there." She is in no way averse to allowing hired help to assist with raising her children, and if she marries, her husband can do his share as well. Fotini believes in help from outside the family as well: "I do not see a problem with a mother working, as long as she does not neglect her kids." She echoes the idea of spending quality time with the children after work, while professional care-givers help out during working hours. Natasha believes that play school and nursery-school can assist in giving the child care and support while the mother is at work, and Joanne also expresses similar views.

The importance of the old-fashioned outlook that a mother needs to take time off work and become a full-time mother to her children, appears to have diminished and is replaced by an attitude of tolerance towards professional childcare. Many of the participants would consider leaving their child at a day-care centre, or at a nursery school, while they were at work. These are relatively new, more liberal approaches to child-care, establishing themselves in the Greek community which has, until recently, frowned on anyone other than the mother or even the grandmother, caring for the child (Georgiou 1998: personal interview).

Joanne stated:

I look at my godmother and see that she has a very good relationship with her child.

She dispels fears of a child drifting away from the mother, if left in the care of a child-minder.

Natasha, whose parents were divorced when she was still young, is very adamant on the idea of women leaving their children in the care of a child-minder, so that they can pursue their own careers:

Children must go to preschool and by the time the mother comes home, so do they. That's the time they spend together obviously. At night. That's how you bring up the children. Quality time - make the most of that time.

Fotini appeared to have thought quite seriously about the issue of child-care. This could be influenced by the fact that she was raised in a single-parent family:

You could get something like a 24 hour housekeeper to care for your children, or, if they're very young, they could stay in a nursery while she works. Practically, if you're a psychologist working in a big company, I'm sure they've got nurseries for the women who work there.

Ria, who comes from a protective, very Greek-orientated family and who always had a granny living at home, believes that the granny has a role to play. She suggests that the entire family should assist a girl with child-care:

But, say she's got a husband who can help her, or maybe a mother who can help her with the child, it's much more easier. That's like my sister. Before there were 2 grannies to help her take care of her child. They used to alternate. That's OK. That's brilliant. I hope that can happen to me as well.

The girls all believed that it is possible to combine the demands of family and work, and foresee no real issues with child care. All seemed keen to continue with their careers, even after the arrival of children, and appeared unwilling to refrain from their professional lives, to devote time to raising children. At no stage did they appear to sacrifice family life for the demands of their work, and appear confident that they can combine the demands of family and work very successfully.

5.3.2.4 (a) Discussion of child care

Gilligan (1982:164) stated that in women, the transition from adolescence to adulthood, is characterised by an ethic of care; and that women define their identity through relationships of intimacy and care. The research findings, and the participants' attitudes towards child-care, strongly supported Gilligan's views (cf 2.7.3.1).

The girls had thought about arrangements that would need to be made in order to allow them to continue with their careers, while not neglecting their children. They agreed that child-care was the most pressing problem faced by working mothers, and that they would need to make suitable

arrangements for their children, when the time came.

Views varied amongst the participants. The majority believed that adequate arrangements could be made, and a paid housekeeper or a good preschool could assist the mother, who would wish to continue with her work commitments. Others believed that the mother herself should take time off to raise the child, as a young child needs its mother or grandmother, if the grandmother is available to assist in this regard (cf 2.2.3). They believe that the "mother role" (Gerdes et al 1988:88) cannot be fulfilled by anyone other than the mother herself, and in this way, they reinforce a very traditional view of motherhood and child care, despite their very modern and liberal outlooks.

Gilligan (1982:7) and Chodorow (1974:43) both believe that as a result of early child care by women, is responsible for gender-formation and sex-role identification and for the socialization of girls (cf 2.8.1). These views were confirmed by the research findings, as girls all expressed deep concerns on the issue of child care and still saw it as their obligation, as mothers, to make the necessary arrangements for the well-being of their children. They, as women, would be the primary care-givers. In this regard, their care gender identity (cf 2.2.4.2) had been deeply entrenched and their role prescription (cf 2.2.3.1) demanded that they concern themselves with their children as a matter of priority. The agents of socialization, however, (cf 2.6.1) had altered their role expectations (cf 2.2.3.2) from the way in which the female role had been fulfilled by their mothers (cf 2.2.3.3).

5.3.3. Career and work

5.3.3.1 Career choices

The participants all view their careers as a very significant aspect of their lives. Every single one of the participants expressed a desire to further her studies at tertiary level and to advance her knowledge at a level which would allow her to become a professional in her field.

All the participants expressed a need to achieve self-actualisation through their career choices, never seeing the career as just a hobby to be pursued until the right marriage partner appeared, but rather, as an ongoing commitment, a means of attaining meaningful fulfilment in their lives. Their career choices were not arrived at by choosing "safe" female careers, but were expressions of their innermost desires to practice a certain career and to become involved in a specific profession.

Joanne sees her future career as an opportunity to become successful and to stand on her own two feet. She is a highly-motivated person who wants to be recognized for her achievements. She aims to complete a B.A. and then go into the world of advertising, journalism or even in the PR field. She is not daunted by the idea of being in a competitive, cut-throat business environment. She is not looking for a "safe" female job, but for a stimulating, exciting career. Natasha would like to attain a B.Com degree, and then enter the world of teaching. She is also interested in hotel management, but the late and often irregular hours do concern her. She believes in a career choice which will allow her to combine work and family life.

Victoria wishes to study at university. She is unsure of the direction of her studies, but eventually, wishes to run her own business and become self-employed.

Marilyn wishes to complete a B.Sc. degree and eventually to branch out into the field of Genetics. She is a highly-motivated person, who makes no distinction between male and female-orientated careers.

I've gone and researched my chosen career. It's very stupid to hear your mom say, 'become a psychologist'. It's stupid to apply for a course not really knowing what it's all about. That's wasting time and money.

She has made an informed choice about her career, disregarding the traditional views relating to careers suited to boys and those suited to girls.

Fotini is interested in the field of psychology and sociology. She stated, however:

I did not choose it because it's a female-dominated field. It's totally coincidence.

Irene also expressed an interest in psychology. Irene's career choice was prompted by her experiences during high school:

I was exposed to a lot of cultures and I've seen a lot of disturbed hearts. I love having conversations with people and saying to them, "Tell me what's wrong." Apart from that, I've researched my career, spoken to a lot of people, received pamphlets and spoke to the guidance teacher at school.

To Matoula, education is important as her parents did not have the opportunity to get a good education. She wishes to study at the University of the Witwatersrand, which is where her brother is also studying. She appeared vague, however, about ultimate career choices. She stressed the need for an education, but did not necessarily see it as leading to full-time employment on a long-term basis.

Ria has a clearly-formulated career choice as she wishes to enter the world of fashion designing. She was very well-informed about the entrance requirements, the curriculum, the career options and the opportunities in the fashion industry.

Marilyn made an interesting point about career choices that arose amongst her fellow pupils:

There has been an increased interest in the Accounting profession amongst girls, with many opting for the qualification of C.A. This had always been considered a male-dominated field. In Std 8 (Grade 10), out of about 30 girls, eight want to become C.A.'s.

Ria herself has, chosen to study fashion design, as it's a field which interests her a great deal. However, she believes that girls' choices are no longer confined to the traditional "female" choices.

We're Greek, we see mostly men businessmen. You know, mostly men, because most of the mothers are housewives, OK, but now us, all of us, are going into Law, B. Comm. (Law), you know, all these things, are me, I'm going into fashion design.... The girls, they're gonna study, work, definitely. My one friend's doing architecture, the other's doing medicine, another one is doing Actuarial Science. These things, they're doing them for a reason. The image of the Greek woman is changing, definitely, definitely. The Greek girls in Greece, they're even more businessy, with accounting... even more than here.

Parental influences have a strong role to play in career choices. The participants felt that their parents did try, subconsciously, to influence them in their long-term career choices and also attempted to encourage their daughters to choose careers that would be easy to integrate with

family life. The participants were sensitive to these needs but felt that ultimately, the choice of career had to satisfy all their own criteria as well. Certain participants were undecided about their career choices, but the majority had formulated clear-cut ideas for their future adult roles.

It appears that there has been a shift from the traditional female domain, such as the “service industries” of teaching and nursing, towards more challenging careers and certainly towards “male”-dominated career choices as well.

5.3.3.1 (a) Discussion of career choices

There seems to be a very clear move away from professions which at one stage used to be considered feminine occupations. The participants no longer feel restricted in their choice of career and believe that they have the potential and the opportunity to do whatever they please. Gender was not seen as a deterrent in any of the participants’ responses (cf 2.2.1.2).

Career choices have been influenced by parents and by significant members of the family, as well as by other cultural factors. The participants admitted to having received input from parents and to having listened to advice (cf 5.3.3.1).

A further major consideration is finding happiness and job-satisfaction through their chosen career paths. A desire was expressed by the participants to be happy in their working lives and to feel a sense of fulfilment through their jobs. The schools have had a major role to play in this regard (cf 2.6.1.2), encouraging girls to compete with boys and breaking the traditional gender-stereotypes of the past.

The participants had approached their research responsibly. They had found out about their preferred careers and had investigated all aspects thoroughly. Career choices were also motivated by a desire to be self-employed. Many of the participants expressed their desire to work for themselves. This could be seen as a result of being raised in a community where most men are self-employed (cf 2.6.1.4) or even as a desire to be available for their families and children, as self-employment is perceived to be a more flexible form of employment.

All the participants believed in the value of tertiary education and also expressed the view that tertiary education would allow them the benefit of a wider career choice, as well as better-paid

and a more stable form of employment.

5.3.3.2 Career and independence

A very major consideration of the participants, was that their career choice should offer them the type of independence which would allow them to enjoy a high standard of living, whether they chose to marry, or not. The participants expressed the need to have job satisfaction, but also made it clear that their job should offer them independence and financial security.

Many of the participants stated very clearly that they would like a career where they could eventually run their own businesses and become independent in the sense that they could be their own bosses. It emerged that the participants place a very strong sense of importance on being financially independent and being in a position to cope with the demands of life, without having to rely on the help of their prospective husbands. They also expressed a concern to be able to maintain their standard of living in the event that they should be widowed or divorced. Joanne stated very clearly:

I want to work in my life. I want to be successful, and to have my own career. I want to be able to make it on my own, and to learn to stand on my own two feet.

Natasha, whose parents were divorced while she was still young, was raised in a single-parent family during her early adolescent years. She admires her mother for being independent, and being able to maintain her independence, through her career, without needing to rely on her ex-husband's help. In her own words:

I admire my mom. She's the type of woman who is a career woman. She has to work so hard. I look at her. She's so tired at times, you know, but she carries on the whole time. It shows how strong she is and independent. She's successful. At the end of the day, you can see she's done it all by herself.... I like the way my mom does things. One day, if anything happens, you must be able to cope. ... Say the husband I marry doesn't let me do things, like work, I'll tell him before. I want to be independent.

Victoria's sentiments are equally clearly stated:

I want to have my own, firm job. I don't want to have to rely on any man. I want to have financial security of my own, and rely on nobody. I don't want to be dependent on my mom or my dad anymore.

Marilyn believes that in the past, many Greek girls were married at a very young age, which prevented them from studying further and becoming independent. She believes that early marriage meant sacrificing their identity, their independence and giving up the chance to achieve something worthwhile of their own. In her own words:

In 10 years from now, I wish to have finished my formal studies. I'd also like to be married and to have had my children. I believe in most of my generation, our parents are young. They were married by 16, and already had their first child soon after that. Women of today first want their careers and they're past 35 when they sit down and want to have their first baby. What generation gap will they have? I think you must balance career and family, and learn to balance both.

She advocates preserving your independence through studying, having a good career, and then, being able to juggle the two simultaneously. Independence is important to her, and she believes it can be acquired by marrying when you've completed your studies and are comfortable in your career.

Marilyn continues:

Marriage today is as common as divorce. There's a fear in girls that they may be on their own, and may need to go out and get a job. They also think, 'what if he leaves me?' The only reason why some, who would otherwise just go out and get married, now try to get an education, is that they need to feel secure and able to support themselves if the need arises. Women becoming independent is affecting the stability of marriage. Many women today are opting for divorce. Previously this was unheard of in Greek families. Now, women have skills and abilities. They can do many new and wonderful things

and aren't just staying in marriages just for security. In the past, a divorce used to bring shame to the family. Family members wouldn't support the divorcee. She was thus forced to stay married, or to be all on her own.

Fotini's views are equally clear:

I need independence... financial independence. I don't want to be controlled by any guy, as they were in the past. What if the male dies, or you get divorced? You have to be able to look after your children and to lead the same life as before, and enjoy the same things as before.

Fotini later continues

I'd definitely have a problem if my husband didn't want me to work. I'd say, Well, look, I want to keep my independence', even if I have children. If anything happens, one day, I'm able to walk out and I'm able to depend on myself. No husband is to stand in my way. I'd try to compromise first. I'm not going to give him up for my career, nor my career for him.

Irene expresses the hope to get married and to have a family of her own, but does not see this as being an all-important step to self-fulfilment. She places her independence very high on a scale of importance:

After school, I'll do my degree. I think it will take about seven years. After that, I'll have established myself. I'll have moved into my own home, have my own car, I may be engaged, I'll be looking towards having my own practice, with other psychologists. I'd like to be married, but if it doesn't happen, it's too bad.

Here, we see the views of a girl who prizes her independence and has thought clearly about achieving and maintaining it. She speaks about "my own" home and car. She places herself, her own achievements and successes at the core of her experiences and dreams for the future.

Ria visualizes herself in a positive way attaining her goals and becoming successful and

independent professional.

The (fashion) industry's very competitive. It's hard, it's practical. I'm gonna reach the top. I'm gonna make it. It's been my dream since I was five, I think... I'd love to go to Paris, London, New York... I'm not going to leave my career. I've dreamt for this....

She wishes to be independent, have a clear-cut career of her own, and to have her own identity, as a fashion designer, quite distinct and apart from her identity as a wife and mother. She does not wish to be deprived of any chances and of success, just because of her family commitments, which is why she'd rather have children and a family later on in life, at about 26.

Matoula, however, appears the least committed to the idea of complete independence and sees herself, despite what she says about studies and career, primarily as a wife and mother. She states that she is very keen to study further, yet also appears to contradict these notions a little later, by saying that as a Greek girl, her family and her role as homemaker actually takes priority over her career and her independence. She claims that she would like to study for a B. Comm degree and to follow a career in either law or economics. When asked about how she views her future, she appeared a little uncertain and tended to hesitate:

It's difficult to balance your working life and family life. The family suffers. Yes, the family - things can be worked out. Only if the husband helps, can it work. The family suffers if a woman has a job. You know what, things can work out. There's only one time this is going to work - that's when the husband agrees on that. Greek men expect their wives to be there for them. They cannot allow their wives to prove themselves higher than them. Bad things are going to come out of this - bad things.

Matoula therefore states that a woman should have her own career, her own independent professional life, yet she proceeds to contradict herself by saying that a woman must know her place and never be so ambitious, that she does better than her husband. She thus negates the idea of independence.

When speaking about having a full-time career, she continues:

I do hope to have one. I want to first finish my studies, get a job and hopefully get married.... A working mom should take a break. The kids need her. The wife should then just concentrate on the home. A baby needs you 24 hours a day. The baby is very dependent on you. The granny can also help, but mom can do that even better.

She appears willing to give up her studies, and to become a devoted wife and mother, even if it means sacrificing her independence:

My family want me to get married soon. I told my family I wanted to study architecture. They weren't happy about it, because it's very long. It's a six year degree. According to my parents, if you don't find a husband by 26, forget about it. They want me to get married soon, before I'm 25.

She has been raised in a very conservative family, where marriage is a priority and studies, career and independence are not seen in a serious light.

5.3.3.2 (a) Discussion of career and independence

The majority of the participants regard their independence as a critically important aspect of their adult role. They view it as vitally important, to maintain their independence. By having a career of their own, they feel that they can be assured of being independent (cf 2.2.1.8). This, is closely related to the notion of self-esteem. To feel worthy, the participants believed they had to feel independent and to be able to rely fully on their own abilities and skills.

The participants had a very realistic approach towards the possibility of a divorce or of the death of a spouse occurring. They felt that, in such an eventuality, they needed to be independent and to be able to care for their children and for themselves. They value their individual identity (cf 2.2.2.4), which they wish to preserve. Their attitudes are also characterised by the ethic of care, as they feel the need to be able to care for children and to be able to provide for them (Gilligan 1989:10). The research confirms Gilligan's findings that for girls to develop a clear sense of self, they must experience the ability to solve problems of care in relationships, while staying connected both with themselves and others (cf 2.5.4).

Jung (1957:20-21) stated that women are dominated by *eros*, which is defined as “psychic relatedness to other people”. Human relationships are thus of primary importance to women. To love and be loved are central to a woman’s life-fulfilment. A number of the participants have been influenced by this view (cf 2.4.3), believing that they may need to sacrifice a degree of their independence in favour of satisfying the needs of the home and family. Jung’s beliefs that women choose to stay in the background and choose to gain their ends through the man they love (1957:20-21), were fiercely refuted by many of the participants, who believe that the only way to gain their ends, is through success in their careers and to be independent individuals relying on no-one other than themselves

5.3.3.3 Earning potential

The participants expressed the view that their career, while providing them with job satisfaction, should also be a career that pays well and where the earning potential is satisfactory. The participants also believe that if a girl does the same work as a man, she should receive the same remuneration.

Although earning potential on its own was not a major consideration for a specific career choice, it did have a fairly significant role to play in the ultimate career choices arrived at by the participants. The participants were very aware of the need to be independent and related the notion of independence to an acceptable remuneration package with regards to their career choices.

Irene, whose family’s resources are not very abundant, was very aware of choosing a career that would pay her well. She says:

I’ll definitely look at salary. It’s important in this age, this time. Coming from not a wealthy family at all, with lots of financial problems, I know that when I have a family, I’ll try my utmost to give them what they want, when they want it. I’d like to be the breadwinner of the family.

The issue of money arose also in a discussion of her reactions if her prospective husband did not want her to work.

I think if he were wealthy enough and if he could take full control of the financial situation, I would consider it and work part-time, either at home or half-day. I'd do this only if he had the financial means to support the whole family in the way that I'd like - comfortably.

Fotini is very realistic about choosing a career that pays well and will provide job security. She stated that her father encouraged her to choose a career where work would be easy to find and where there would be job opportunities. She believes that earning potential is important, and earning a good salary is a prime consideration.

I'm not gonna choose something where I won't earn a sufficient amount of money, because then I'm not going to be happy. I want to offer my children and myself the best that I can get.

Victoria makes it clear that she wants to know that she has financial security of her own and, although the financial aspect is not the most important consideration, her career choice was influenced by taking financial considerations into account.

To Natasha, as well, the idea of a steady, good income was important, although not the prime consideration.

Ria, whose parents have taught her to use money prudently, showed that she had equated her career with a chance to become financially successful as well.

In the fashion industry, the salaries are extremely good. If I get a job for a designer, even after one year, I'd get paid R1000 a week. I'm not too much of a materialistic person, OK, not like other Greek girls, 'cause most of them are. They just wanna make money. I wanna enjoy what I do and make money. I don't just wanna do something I don't enjoy and make lots of money, because money doesn't make the world go round.

5.3.3.3 (a) Discussion of earning potential

Earning potential is an important consideration which the participants had thought about in making career choices. However, it is not their only consideration and other aspects, such as job satisfaction, were also mentioned as being significant.

Earning potential was linked to job satisfaction. For a person to feel fulfilled, one needs to be able to enjoy every aspect of one's job. It is also satisfying to the participants to know that they can expect to be satisfactorily reimbursed for a job well done. By earning a good salary, they will be gaining recognition from a society which had in the past long withheld such recognition from women. This finding confirms the views of de Beauvoir (1954:64), who believes that the development of women as independent and autonomous beings has been undermined by the alienating forces of a society which has been strongly patriarchal and andocentric (cf 2.5.3). The desire of the participants to gain recognition in such a society, and to prove their worth as individuals, is strongly supportive of de Beauvoir's views. Furthermore, it is indicative of their desire to actualise their social self-concept (cf 2.2.1.4) and to strive towards the attainment of the ideal self (2.2.1.7).

5.3.3.4 Commitment to work

With very few exceptions, the participants view their careers as a life-long commitment, not merely as a transitory phase in their lives. The participants expressed long-term career views, long-term commitment to their chosen careers and also expressed their ambitions for success, promotion and excellence within their chosen fields.

The participants view their careers as a means of self-actualisation, especially with regards to establishing their own identity (cf 2.2.2.4) and achieving a degree of independence. Their commitment to work was reinforced by the fact that the majority had thought of coping strategies to use once they would have a family to care for, and they appeared confident that they would be able to reconcile the demands of family with the requirements of their professional commitments. They expressed a desire to be successful, to make a name for themselves and become recognized, respected professionals in their fields. There was also a strong emphasis on opening their own businesses, which could be indicative of the fact that the girls come from a community in which the majority of the men are self-employed businessmen, rather than corporate or professional

people.

Ria was adamant in stating:

I am not going to leave my career once I marry, I am not ... I'll say, 'Just understand me, or go.' Food will be on the table, the house will be cleaned, I'll be sure of that... You can, that's the thing.

She envisages herself as a successful fashion designer, running her own business.

I'm very sorry. I'm going to be successful. One day, I'm going to be making more money than everyone else. I'm sorry. I got my distinction in art. That for me meant everything.

Marilyn, who has always excelled in Mathematics and Science, would like to enter a scientific field after school. She has always enjoyed the sciences, and would like to become a self-employed microbiologist or occupational therapist.

She has often had disagreements with her father, about continuing her working life after marriage, but she has her own set views and wants to become recognized in her own right:

He (father) definitely wants me to study and get my degree and get a job, but when the time comes to get married, I must basically let the man go out and work. I must rely on the male as the breadwinner. He has said this openly to me. We have had a lot of discussions about this ... I don't believe in gender roles at all. I believe there are some differences you can't deny.

She feels frustrated that these stereotyped gender-roles exist (cf 2.2.4.1) and that she's expected to be available firstly for her family and only then to consider her job. She feels that she'll be no less committed to her job than any man, and she'll be successful in both these spheres.

It appears that family upbringing and background does have a strong influence on the notion of work commitment. The girls from more traditional, conservative families have been exposed to traditional ideas: to get a degree/diploma; to work at the start of their professional lives, but then,

to give it all up for family and home. Some of the participants, like Marilyn, show a resentment towards this approach and are determined to be committed to their chosen professions.

Other participants, like Matoula, have a different view. Their commitment to working and to a professional life is not very strong.

Matoula is the youngest child and the only girl in the family. Her parents have placed great emphasis on marriage and on assisting her prospective husband, after she gets married. She typifies the traditional, conservatively-raised Cypriot girl whose parents wish to see her attain a degree, for its inherent social status, but would ultimately like to see her married, at an early age, and helping her husband, in his business, if there should be any such need.

During the course of the interview, she stated, repeatedly:

My parents want me to get married soon. They don't want him (her brother) to get married soon - between 26 - 30. As for me, they want me to get married before 25 and it's very important for them that I marry a Greek guy.

Despite not stating this very openly, she expressed the view that once married, her commitments would be primarily family and home-orientated.

It's difficult to balance a working life and a family life. The family suffers. Yes, the family. The family suffers if a woman has a job.... I won't mind doing all the work in the house.... It's my job to do it, looking at my mother and the way I've learnt from my mom...

Irene, Fotini and Natasha all had clearer ideas regarding work commitment. As Fotini and Natasha both come from single-parent families, they've both been exposed to difficulties not encountered by the other participants. Fotini lives with her father and brother, while Natasha lives with her mother and brother. Both girls from these single-parent families have a keener awareness of the importance of being committed to your job and being able to support the family. Irene, whose family has always been less comfortable financially than the others, also appeared committed to her chosen future career, especially since both her parents have had to work long and hard to provide for her family as Irene pointed out:

I have no problem handling home and work. Definitely no problem. Home and work are two different areas. You're the one that joins them both. A strong-minded person can do this... I want to strive for what I know I can do ... I need a career. Without a career, you don't have much.

Fotini has also thought about a career that will put bread on the table and offer her security and a steady income. She believes that she will make time for her family, but never put her career to the side. Speaking about working mothers, she said:

She (the working mother) has to make a lot of time for her family and - I'm sure it does set her back at work - I'm sure you don't have to stop work and lose hope of ever getting back into it... I want to keep my independence, even if I have children one day.

Natasha believes that careful planning allows a working mother to have job commitment and take care of her home as well. She talks about "making a plan to combine the two", which suggests that she has thought about continuing her work after she's had her family.

Joanne's views are very liberal and she displays a sense of independence and strong commitment to her prospective career.

She believes a girl needs a career, because, if there's a possible divorce or if her husband dies, "how's a girl going to support herself?" She views her career as a fulfilment of her childhood and adolescent dreams:

I know that I want to work in my life. I always have. I want to be successful and to have a career, on my own. I'd like to learn to stand on my own two feet.

She views commitment to her job as an ongoing process and there's never any question raised of stopping work once the children are born.

Victoria would like to marry late in life (26 - 27 years of age), well after having completed her studies. She would like, at first, to work in a big organisation and later to become self-employed. When asked why, it was stated that self-employment offered greater financial benefits. She would never consider stopping work to take care of her family, once more stating: "I want to work." She

did admit, though, that in the corporate world, having a family can hold a woman back and limit her progress within the organisation.

5.3.3.4 (a) Discussion of commitment to work

The stereotype of the professional woman who is also the mother of young children was negated by the data.

The majority of the participants view work as an integral and essential aspect of their roles as adults. They also view the world of work and employment as fulfilment of their roles (cf 2.2.3.3) in adult society. They displayed a very serious commitment to work and did not view it as merely a transitory phase of their lives, which will be abandoned once they become wives and mothers.

The findings of the research confirm that women's issues are finally on the agenda of educational reform (cf 3.4.5.1) and that steps are being taken to ensure that gender issues are being given consideration in South Africa (cf 3.4.5.3). The data also confirms Rice's findings (1992:355) that the child learns sex-role concepts not only from the intensity of parental relationships, but also on the patterns of role models exemplified. Rice believes that daughters of rural mothers, especially those with large families learn more traditional feminine roles than daughters from urban families where the mother is likely to spend more time outside the family (cf 2.6.1.1). The research findings also confirmed Gilligan's views about the way women perceive themselves. Women measure their strength in the activity of attachment, and in so doing, their identity is defined in context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care. This attachment is supported by an ethic of care (1982:163). It is this ethic of care which characterised the participants' views towards work commitment and once more supported the literature study presented in 2.7.3.1.

5.3.3.5 Special concerns related to the workplace

The participants believe that as girls, they will most definitely experience different handling and different attitudes in the workplace to boys. All expressed a fear that gender-stereotyping does still exist in the workplace and that companies tend to prefer promoting males to females. The participants also stated that companies tend to disregard women, while promoting and advancing men, as it was feared that women would put the interests of their homes and families before the

interests of their companies.

It became abundantly clear from the participants that they all believe that males seem to get preference over females, in every single sphere of life, and that discrimination definitely still exists, despite all the progress made towards crating equity between men and women.

One of the areas of greatest concern, is that there may not be equity between salaries earned by men and women. Another special concern is that men may be appointed above women, even though they may both be equally qualified and competent. It was also feared that a woman may not be viewed as a serous candidate by her prospective employers, since they may feel she'll often be absent from work, especially with young children to take care of.

All the participants who have attended co-educational schools have been very aware of the fact that boys have often received more attention than girls from their teachers. This has led to the expression of fears that the same may apply to the workplace.

Joanne was very concerned about males having an unfair earning advantage over females, and voiced her concerns:

I can't understand how that can be justified. I can't understand how someone can say that you're going to be paid less, because you're a woman.

It infuriates her to think that men get a "better deal" simply because they're males.

Marilyn feels that she's not really able to express any views regarding discrimination in the workplace, but should there be a discrepancy in salaries earned by men and women, she'd be furious:

It would upset me. It's so unfair. Just as we had apartheid before, this is now a different kind of apartheid. It's just so wrong.

Fotini's reaction to this type of situation is: "Boy, I'd be furious!" Natasha's comment to this type of situation is, "I'd open my mouth and show him my rights!"

They felt that it would be most unfair that different salary scales were used to calculate salaries,

based entirely on gender and not on qualifications, achievements and success at work.

Another cause of concern was the fear of being overlooked for promotion because women with children may be viewed as being less productive and less reliable than men. The participants feared that working moms may be seen as having divided loyalties and taking time off to attend to family issues.

Ria encapsulates her views by stating the following:

I know that women have always been down. They've always been brought down, and men, they've been up. But, ever since we've hit the nineties, this is changing.

Matoula also believes that discrimination is a current issue that must be addressed:

Discrimination does happen. I've seen it in the news, in the movies. People still do it. A woman applies for a job. She doesn't know a guy's also being interviewed. Then the man gets the job.

Irene also shared similar concerns and fears, believing that women do come off second best:

There's lots of friction between men and women in the workplace, especially if there's a female who has a male boss. He would say, 'I'm higher than you', and so, it's very tense... Lots of women are held back in career promotions, because they're female. But now, women are starting to wake up. Now, they feel if they (the men) can do it, so can we. If it happened to me, that I was denied a promotion, just because I'm a woman, I'd take it all the way to the top. I wouldn't leave it there.

The fact that discrimination can occur on the grounds of gender, was also raised by Victoria. She conceded that being a woman "does hold a woman back" as far as progress at work is concerned.

She also commented that, if she heard any distinctly anti-feminine remarks or comments made, she would have something to say about it:

I don't think I'd accept any such comment if I heard it. It's not fair to judge people nor their abilities on their gender.

A further concern is that women may lose out entirely on a job opportunity, and they may be overlooked, if their employer believes they will be frequently absent or if their loyalties may be divided between home and work. Marilyn had this example to quote:

An aunt of mine applied for a job when she was two months pregnant. They told her that they could not employ her, as she was pregnant. They were worried about what would happen once she had the baby. Even with newly weds, they're not keen to employ the wife. They suspect she might go and get pregnant. That will be an inconvenience to the firm!

Ria also believes that there are obstacles to overcome in the workplace, and that women are very susceptible to discrimination. In her own words:

I'll be totally against it! Sorry! I'd be very upset and I'd make that statement. Why? It's unfair! Just because women have families, why should there be obstacles to their promotion? Sometimes, it does happen, sometimes.

5.3.3.5 (a) Discussion of special concerns related to the workplace

Numerous concerns were voiced about disparity between the salaries of men and women. The participants were infuriated by the idea that any such disparities may exist, and that women may be regarded as inferior purely on the basis of gender (cf 3.4.4.7).

A further concern is that women may be viewed as being less committed and dedicated to their jobs if they have families to attend to. The participants feared that, although equally capable to men, they may be treated differently as women are perceived by employers as being unreliable. Discrimination, whether conscious or unconscious, is seen as an obstacle to women's career development, and constitutes a barrier which is not generally faced by men. The data confirms the views presented by Jacobson on (cf 3.4.4.7) that, in South Africa, in the private sector, less than one in four jobs are held by women, against almost two thirds in the public sector. Jacobson also reported that of the companies interviewed, 47% did not have a gender policy, 41% did not have a sexual harassment policy and only 72% complied with the Labour Relations Act in terms of

maternity leave. Hence the concerns voiced by the participants are certainly not unfounded and need to be addressed, if they are to fulfil this aspect of their adult roles satisfactorily.

5.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented basic characteristics and background data on the participants as revealed in the demographic data and during the interviews. Moreover, key thematic areas identified by eight adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg emerging during in-depth interviews has been presented and discussed. The last chapter will conclude with a synthesis of significant themes, the implications for educational provision and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS, GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AND CONCLUSIONS

Thus in all of women's descriptions, identity is defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care (Gilligan 1993:160).

When women construct the adult domain, the world of relationships emerges and becomes the focus of attention and concern (Gilligan 1993:167).

Women's sense of self becomes very much organised around being able to make, and then maintain, affiliations and relationships. This psychic starting point contains the possibilities for an entirely different (and more advanced) approach to living and functioning in which affiliation is valued as highly as, or more highly than, self-enhancement (Miller 1976:83).

And because women's sense of integrity appears to be entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection, the major transition in women's lives would seem to involve changes in the understanding and activities of care. The shift from childhood to adulthood witnesses a major redefinition of care. When the distinction between helping and pleasing frees the activity of taking care from the wish for approval by others, the ethic of responsibility can become a self-chosen anchor of personal integrity and strength (Gilligan 1993:171).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has aimed at investigating the perceptions of the adult role among adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg, with a view to developing guidelines for educational provision which will support their career development and career management. Such guidelines which have suggested themselves on the basis of this exploratory study are aimed at promoting their career development and career management, particularly in view of the conflict created by their

traditional, subservient upbringing on the one hand, and the demands of a modern education system on the other.

6.1.1 Overview of the Investigation

In this section, an overview of the foregoing study is presented, in the light of the research problem set forth in 1.2.

The Hellenic community of Johannesburg was established in the early 1900's, by immigrants who had left Greece in pursuit of a better life abroad. In the thirties and forties, the community placed immense emphasis on education (cf 1.1.1), with the express purpose of establishing a Greek school, where the Greek language and culture would be taught and preserved. With the establishment of Greek community schools, and later SAHETI, this ideal appeared to have materialised (cf 1.1.2). The importance of education was never underestimated, especially since many of the early immigrants themselves had received poor education, and education was viewed as a vehicle of upward mobility (cf 1.1.3). Girls however, although encouraged to receive an education, were seldom encouraged to enter the job-market, but rather, to become homemakers and child-bearers, with marriage being their prime goal in life (cf 1.1.3). Despite modern legislation, entrenching gender equality, the "hidden curriculum" still promotes female submissiveness and promotes an attitude of male superiority. This is further encouraged by the family, especially within a cultural minority group abroad, as is the Greek community in Johannesburg. This is seen as one way of preserving its cultural identity (cf 1.1.3).

During adolescence, gender identity is clearly formed and the adolescent seeks to clarify who she is and what her role in society will be (cf 2.2.2). The main developmental task of adolescence is the formation of a coherent self-identity (cf 2.2.2.5). At this stage of her development, the adolescent becomes aware of her role prescription, which is culture bound (cf 2.2.3.1), and is also aware of role expectations, which refers to how she expects to play her role in society (cf 2.2.3.2). Every culture also has its own expectations regarding role fulfilment (cf 2.2.3.3). The adolescent girl brings to the life-cycle a different point of view and orders human experience in terms of different priorities to males. She craves understanding and recognition of her gender (cf 2.10), and there is often a conflict between the adult role prescribed by her culture and her own emerging gender identity, as well as the way in which she wishes to fulfil her future adult role.

Girls and women have, over the years, been deprived in their personal development, in their choice of work and in their lives as citizens and family members, because of their unequal access to education (Wilson 1991:1). Legislation has been passed to correct historical inequalities, but in South Africa in particular, gender issues in education have not been resolved. Little attention has been, as yet, paid to the specific needs of girls and women in education (cf 3.2.3.2). Women are still under-represented in jobs at senior management and executive level (cf 3.3.6.1). Despite having made worldwide gains in obtaining access to schooling, women have not secured equality in the professional domain (cf 3.3.6.3). Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg have been exposed to all these influences of the South African education system. In addition they have been raised in traditional Greek families, where women have not made a great impact on the labour market, until very recently. Most of their mothers have essentially been home-makers and child-rearers, assisting their husbands in the family business, but seldom achieving any recognition in their own right (cf 3.5.2).

The literature study, as embodied in Chapters 2 and 3, served both as an overview of research, as well as a means of highlighting areas in which there was little research or theoretical writing on the educational experiences and the perceptions of adult role of adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg.

Therefore, a phenomenological, qualitative approach (cf 4.1) was decided upon, to conduct an exploratory study into the life-world of adolescent Greek schoolgirls, as a population who have been given little prior attention in literature. This study was designed to obtain greater insights into the perception of adult role envisaged by these adolescent schoolgirls, so as to provide a basis upon which guidelines for an improved educational practice, aimed at their specific needs (cf 1.2) could be compiled. Thus, eight Greek schoolgirls, between the ages of 16 and 18, were located by means of judgment sampling and semi-structured interviews were conducted with them. Demographic and background data were gathered and discussed (5.2). Possible cohort effects were also taken into consideration (5.2.5). Narrative data, gathered during the interviews, was subjected to qualitative analysis and organised according to emerging key themes (5.3), relating broadly to marriage (5.3.1), to family life (5.3.2) and to career and work (5.3.3). A further synthesis of the emerging themes was undertaken whereby significant findings discussed in 5.3 were interlinked and arranged under rubrics (6.2) to form grounded theory concerning perceptions of the adult role.

6.1.2 Organisation of material

In 6.2, the findings of the qualitative investigation presented in Chapter 5 are synthesised. This is followed by suggested guidelines for educational provision which would support and enhance the career development and career management of adolescent Greek schoolgirls (cf 6.3). Finally, the chapter concludes with recommendations for future research (6.4) as well as a discussion of the limitations of this study (6.5).

6.2 SYNTHESIS OF SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

The significant themes uncovered by the qualitative investigation are here synthesised and brought into relation to prior research and theory, especially as reviewed in the literature study presented in Chapter 2 and 3, and in the discussions in 5.3. The following approach is followed. The synthesised findings are not arrived at from a mere summary of the themes as discussed in 5.3, but by the scrutinising of the themes for salient and frequently occurring aspects, certain rubrics emerge. The relevant data from the various themes are then described again in terms of the identified rubrics, in this way grounded theory, that is, theory grounded in the data, is generated.

6.2.1 Identity formation and the agents of socialisation

The basis of identity is formed during the period of primary socialisation, when a child learns to be a member of society. A small child assumes the attitudes and roles of significant others in the immediate environment, parents, siblings, close kin. Their definitions are presented as objective reality (cf 2.2.2.4). They modify and mediate the wider structural reality, in the process of defining it. Thus, their own idiosyncrasies, together with their location in the wider social structure, filter the world in a particular way.

Class, nation and culture provide an abstract sense of collective identity that can support the identification of significant others. The individual can, in this way, be insulated from alternative definitions of reality. Thus, immigrant groups may continue to relate to an ancient tradition in an environment where it is devalued by the dominant majority. People also absorb negative definitions, especially where they are reinforced by school and the peer group (cf 2.6.1.3).

The formation of identity is not coterminous with childhood (cf 2.6.1.2). Identity is never finally fixed, and there is continuing interaction between external identification and self-identification. Secondary socialisation (school, peer group) builds on what is already there. Identity is thus a composite of significant self-identifications and external identifications. It is formed by social and ideological pressures, and is maintained and modified in social relations (cf 2.2.2.5).

The Greek community is a relatively large and highly organised minority group in South Africa, with a distinct and comprehensive culture, and a number of ethnically defined institutions, particularly the Greek Orthodox Church, that parallel institutions of the wider society (cf 2.2.1.4). Greeks have, for centuries, maintained their ethnic identity in communities away from their homeland. This has been achieved through a perpetration of the language, the history and the culture. The Greeks have built a school in Johannesburg, partially subsidised by the Greek government. The families, especially first-generation families, have reinforced the importance of ethnicity, with all its related sub-structures. The importance of the Greek Orthodox Church can never be underestimated and, even the second and third generation participants displayed a strong affiliation with the church (cf 1.1.1).

Identity formation was inextricably related with the agents of socialisation, with the family playing a primary role in this regard. All the participants felt a certain degree of "Greekness", as they put it, and were proud of their ethnic identity. Having established their ethnic identity, their gender identity and their role-prescription were a direct result of this concept. Furthermore, as immigrant groups strive to maintain an ethnic identity within a multicultural society, especially one that promotes assimilation and integration, ethnicity tends to be reinforced and even exaggerated (cf 1.1.1).

Numerous of the concepts associated with a Greek ethnic identity thus played a very strong role in the perception of adult role amongst the participants and the other agents of socialisation (school, peer group) reinforced these notions. The participants who attended SAHETI had their sense of ethnicity reinforced by the school's cultural tradition. Those who attended other schools, were keen to maintain their "Greekness" and did whatever they could to reinforce it (cf 1.1.3), by adopting compensatory measures.

6.2.2 Education as a means of upward mobility

Education is viewed by numerous participants as a prerequisite for personal and social mobility. All the participants emphasised the importance of a good educational background in order to earn respect and to be successful in their adult lives (cf 1.1.3).

The parents and grandparents in particular of numerous of the participants were deprived of a good education and became absorbed in their own businesses in order to make a living for their families. These people view education as a means of self-improvement and of social upward mobility. Consequently, the participants all held the view that education is of utmost importance in their lives and, in order to enjoy a better standard of living, one needs to be well-educated. The majority of the participants also expressed the desire to utilise their educational qualifications in an income-generating capacity (cf 5.3.3.3). They held a different view to many of their parents, who believed that one must have a good education, even if one never utilises one's qualifications in an income-generating situation (cf 5.3.3.1).

The participants, on the whole, displayed keen interest to earn a tertiary level qualification, which would then be put to practical use, to help improve their standard of living. They generally did not differentiate between "male" orientated and "female" orientated studies. The concept of gender did not feature in their considerations for further study (cf 1.6).

It was clear that the parental view of education often differed to the view held by the participants. Whereas their parents regarded education as a means of social and personal self-improvement, the participants saw any future educational qualification they may earn, primarily as a source of income and as a lifetime commitment to a chosen career (cf 2.6.1.1).

Their career choices were a reflection of the changes regarding women's employment aspirations. Many of the participants had chosen to enter non-traditional fields (cf 5.3.3.1), indicating a move away from the usual "care industry" and clerical occupations which had previously characterised women's employment patterns. The participants perceived themselves as being able to compete with men in every sphere of life, including their ability to hold top managerial and executive positions in every sphere.

6.2.3 Influence of parental values

The influence of parents and parental values played a very significant role in the perception which the participants had formed of their adult role (cf 2.6.1.1).

The parents had, on the whole, a far stronger feeling of ethnicity than the participants. The home, as the primary agent of socialisation, exposed the participants to a feeling of being Greek, and to upholding cultural values and traditions (cf 5.3.2.1 (a)).

The first-generation families influenced the participants far more strongly in values which may differ from the general values of broader society. This resulted, at times, in conflict between the participants, who have been exposed to a different set of values at school, and from within the peer group.

Very traditional parental attitudes that tended to create conflict situations were mentioned, such as a girl being permitted to study further, at tertiary level, but then upon marriage, being required to abandon her career and attend to her home and family. This approach was not widely appreciated by the participants and, although they could understand the reasoning behind their parents' beliefs, did not subscribe to these.

Further evidence of a conflict of values was evident when participants discussed the distinctly different approach which parents have towards the rearing of sons. Boys appear to have a great deal more freedom and also appear to be more indulged at home, not having to do the same types of chores as girls. The participants objected to this attitude and believed that boys raised in such a way, would invariably perpetrate the vicious circle of gender inequalities in society. This did, however appear to be an issue affecting first-generation parents more strongly than second or third-generation families (cf 5.2.5).

Parental values did have a significant impact on the participants, as the majority expressed the desire to emulate their own upbringing in many ways, once they themselves were parents and they wished to inculcate similar norms and values within their own families (cf 5.3.1). Their predominant role-models remained their mothers, thereby confirming Chodorow's views (cf 2.8.1) that the feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connections to other

people. The mother-daughter bond is close and mothers tend to experience their daughters as more like, and continuous, with themselves (Gilligan 1982:7).

6.2.4 Influence of cultural values

Cultural values very significantly shaped the perception of adult role, held by the participants. The degree of acculturation also played a very significant role in the way in which the participants perceived their future adult role (cf 2.6.1.4).

The families which have been in South Africa longer (second and third generation) have become more assimilated within South African society and their cultural ties with Greece do exist, but have weakened. First-generation families still maintain very strong cultural ties with the motherland (cf 2.6.1.1, 2.6.1.4).

Despite these differences, all the participants identified very strongly with being Greek and expressed an undisputed desire to maintain their distinctive ethnic identity. They all belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, and all would like to marry Greek men. They all related very strongly to the tradition of being Greek and perceived their adult role as being Greek South Africans, combining elements of their Greek culture with the reality of living in South Africa.

However, issues of male domination, of a wife playing a secondary role within the home and of being primarily caregivers and only then career women, did not appear to hold any appeal to the participants. They view their adult role as combining the cultural ethnicity of their Greek upbringing with the realities of living in a modern world, where men and women enjoy equal status (cf 5.3.2.1).

Through the criteria put forward for the choice of marriage partner, the need clearly exists for the cultural identity of the participants to remain intact and for their cultural tradition to be perpetuated to the next generation (cf 5.3.1.2).

The research confirmed the findings reported by Papalia and Olds (1975:610) that teenagers from a cultural minority group within a multicultural society are thrust into a particularly intense identity crisis on approaching adulthood, as they are faced with the typical adjustments that need to be made by adolescents, as demanded by their culture. These teenagers also need to deal with

the typical changes which affect all adolescents, yet since their parents do not share the value-system of the dominant culture, the adolescents often lack suitable role-models to identify with (cf 2.6.1.4). This can create certain conflicts and some degree of ambivalence in the adolescents' minds.

6.2.5 Desire for independence

All the participants emphasised the need for independence and the importance of not having to rely on anybody in fulfilling the expectations of their adult role. They all stressed the importance of relying on no-one, other than themselves and feeling capable of surviving entirely alone, should the need arise (cf 5.3.3.2).

Being independent was an attribute which was emphasised very strongly by all the participants. The need to be able to care for themselves, without needing to rely on anyone for support, emerged as a very powerful factor. The fear of a possible future divorce or the death of a spouse, prompted the majority of the participants to pay serious thought to being able to care for themselves, without having to rely on a spouse for material support and physical well-being. The participants also wished to be able to earn their own income, to shape the course of their own lives and to attain self-actualisation through a sound career choice, which would make them feel fulfilled as people (cf 5.3.3.2 (a), 5.3.3.3).

The research findings confirmed the findings of Gerdes et al (1988:80) concerning the individual's self-esteem. An individual's self-esteem is enhanced and reinforced through the realisation of her ideal self, where her independence and her individual identity have developed and she is recognised as a unique individual in her own right (cf 2.2.1.7, 2.2.1.8, 2.2.2.4).

6.2.6 The importance of marriage

Close examination of the girls' responses regarding marriage, revealed that marriage features very highly in the manner in which they perceive their adult role. Marriage is not an absolute prerequisite, but a highly desired goal in their perceived adult role-fulfilment (cf 5.3.1).

There is a changing perception in the minds of the participants, concerning the notion of marriage. Marriage was viewed as highly desirable, but not an essential aspect of self-

actualisation. There appeared to be conflicting views in the way their parents viewed marriage, with the participant's own ideas. Their parents considered marriage to be an essential prerequisite of their adult role in society. They also regarded marriage to be more significant than obtaining an education, with regards to the girls' future lives. The participants, however, believed that marriage was only one aspect of their adult role and they regarded it as being less essential than their parents did (cf 5.3.1.1. (a)).

A deep concern existed about the institution of marriage and to what extent marriage may be a hinderance to the realisation of the participants' own criteria for fulfilling their adult roles. Concern was expressed that a marriage partner may object to the girls' own definition of their adult role and to their adult role commitments, particularly in view of the way in which Greek men expect their wives to concern themselves primarily with the home and the family (cf 5.3.1.2, 5.3.1.2 (a)).

It was stated that the structure of the family was changing, with more women seeking employment outside the home and the belief existed that marriage would not hamper their aspirations in their commitment to other aspects of their adult role, outside the home (cf 5.3.1.1).

Despite marriage being considered as desirable and being viewed as a pivotal point in their perception of their adult role, the participants clarified their need to be equal partners, at no time being subjected to discriminations on the ground of gender (cf 2.2.4.1). The importance of their self esteem (cf 2.2.1.8) and an unwillingness to succumb to spouse domination, were important aspects of their expectations of marriage (cf 5.3.1.1 (a)).

6.2.7 The ethics of care

A striking feature, which characterised all the participants' attitudes, towards their perceived adult role-fulfilment was the prominent place given to care giving in their discussions of their homes, their families and in the workplace. This indicates a very close correspondence with the work of Gilligan (1982) who emphasised the role played by the concern for others in the female experience.

All the responses offered by the participants indicated the caring nature of girls, and that care is, indeed, an integral part of the female identity (cf 2.7.3, 2.7.3.1). There appeared to be a genuine

concern for care-provision, both within the home, towards children, and also in the workplace. Girls defined their perceived adult role by emphasising the need to show care and to sustain relationships, both in the home and in the workplace. They also believed that job satisfaction could be derived from this aspect of their roles (cf 5.3.2.4 (a)).

The girls did express a degree of concern that arose from the fact that their commitment to providing care and concern to the family and to people within the home, could give rise to problems in the workplace (cf 5.3.3.5). Conversely, by displaying an inordinate amount of care towards the demands at work, they feared that conflicts could emerge at home. They were unable to separate the aspect of care from their approach to any of their endeavours, thereby acknowledging that they would be required to develop a lifestyle which would permit them to continue their roles as caregivers, both within and without the home (cf 5.3.2.3, 5.3.2.3 (a)).

Hence, the research confirmed the findings of Gilligan (1982) that girls are characterised by the ethic of care and the morality of females corresponds to the ethics of care (cf 2.5.4, 2.7.3), while refuting the findings of Kohlberg (cf 2.7.2) regarding the development of female morality.

6.2.8 Overlapping spheres: The interpenetration of work and family

The responses of the girls demonstrated clearly a remarkable interpenetration of career and family concerns, a commonly occurring theme in studies of women's working lives (cf 5.3.3.5).

A very striking theme was the perceived impact of family responsibilities on women's work-related decisions (cf 5.3.3.4), as well as the complications which may arise at home, as a result of being a full-time working mother (cf 5.3.3.4 (a)).

This situation of working mothers is a relatively new one in the life-world experience of many of the participants. The participants were acutely aware of the conflicts that would arise out of such a situation. They appeared to have thought about coping strategies for this aspect of their lives, including taking a career break at the time of their children's births. The participants also expressed a desire to devote quality time to their children, thereby compensating for the time when they would be absent from the home.

6.2.9 Motherhood

Motherhood was viewed as a very desirable and much-anticipated aspect of the participants' adult role-fulfilment. The participants spoke very fondly of the stage of their lives when, as mothers, they would experience self-actualisation of their female gender role (cf 5.3.2.2, 5.3.2.2 (a)).

Despite expressing an eagerness to fulfil the role of mother (cf 2.2.3.3) the participants also expressed concern about the degree of spouse support which they could expect to receive and also expressed fears that their roles and duties as mothers may create a situation which would impede them in their career advancements (cf 5.3.3.5).

The girls who came from the more traditional families displayed a greater desire to stay home and devote time to the task of raising the children, thereby emulating the behaviour of the female role-model in their homes (cf 2.6.1.1, 2.6.1.5). Daughters of working mothers expressed a desire to combine the role of mother with the role of career woman and held higher aspirations than those whose mothers had confined their roles to wives and homemakers (cf 2.6.1.4, 2.6.1.5, 5.2.5).

A degree of conflict was expressed by participants when their personal definition of motherhood and their mothering role contrasted with the more traditional roles of their own mothers. This indicates that the most significant role model in the lives of the adolescents, remains the mother (cf 5.3.1, 5.3.2.1, 5.3.2.1 (a)).

Many participants believed that by delaying motherhood, they could fulfil both their professional and personal aspirations and cope better in the demands made of their different roles. This is a different approach to motherhood from the one learnt from their mothers, who focused primarily on being homemakers, and whose predominant concern was for the home and the children (cf 5.3.2.3).

6.3 GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

In 1.1.3 and 1.3, it was stated that one of the aims of this was to translate the findings of the empirical study into guidelines for educational practice and to offer an outline for career counselling, in order to facilitate career choices for the group under investigation. Therefore, in

this section, attention is drawn to the range of implications for educational provision that have suggested themselves on the basis of this exploratory study.

These proposals are discussed under the following subheadings:

6.3.1 Research

The Greek adolescent schoolgirl, who is a member of an immigrant minority group, living in Johannesburg, constitutes a population into which little or no research has been previously conducted in South Africa. It is recommended that the needs of this group be analysed, so as to design educational policies which would best meet their particular requirements. Such research can assist this specific population, but can also be applied to meeting the educational needs of other minority cultural groups and on a broader level, to the needs of adolescent girls in general.

It is also recommended that large-scale surveys and longitudinal studies of adolescent girls be undertaken to establish the demographic career-choice trends revealed by this population. It is also recommended that extensive research concerning the educational needs of adolescent girls be undertaken, as well as research concerning the most appropriate teaching methods.

6.3.2 Legislation

Protective legislation, which guarantees equity for women, both in education and the workplace, is a prerequisite for the full utilisation of the potential of girls in the workplace. Women are still under represented at executive management level and hold fewer senior academic positions than men, at tertiary educational level.

Although South Africa has a National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, much work still needs to be done in translating the broad Policy Framework into specific, achievable and effective strategies for implementation.

It is essential that there be an audit determining whether there is a Gender Management System in place: a network of structures, mechanisms and processes that can support a gender programme that will enable South Africa to achieve the constitutional mandate of gender equality. This audit can form the basis of evaluation, which can be updated every four years.

It is imperative that a five-year National Gender Action plan be developed, and a clear Gender Mainstreaming Strategy be put into place, to support the execution of the National Gender Action Plan.

Legislation must be passed, to ensure parity for women in the workplace, as regards salaries, service conditions and promotion. Such legislation should outlaw discrimination on grounds of sex, and that this legislation be enforced to protect women.

It is also recommended that protective legislation be passed, to protect pregnant employees against dismissal and enforces the provision of a minimum mandatory maternity leave, with unbroken pension and seniority rights for female employees.

6.3.3 Career guidance

As a result of early socialisation of girls in the home and school (Lemmer 1989:127), the domestic role is stressed to the extent that girls do not engage in realistic long-term planning of their future adult roles. They are encouraged to view themselves primarily in a domestic role-fulfilment situation and, while boys are encouraged to pursue careers, the message which girls receive, is to devote their primary attention to the family and the home. Therefore the following recommendations as regards various aspects of career guidance are proposed.

6.3.3.1 Training of career guidance teachers

Career guidance teachers should be aware of the limitations of the male model of career development as well as sex bias inherent in the classical career theory and vocational interest and aptitude measurement (Lemmer 1989:314). Career guidance teachers should be schooled in developing counselling skills which focus on the particular needs of adolescent girls. They should also be informed of the girls' specific cultural backgrounds and take this into consideration when offering vocational advice. Moreover, they should be aware of the wide range of career choices open to women so that girls are actively and purposefully assisted in crystallising educational objectives within larger life plans (Fitzgerald and Crites 1979:34).

6.3.3.2 Career guidance in the school

Adequate career guidance at school can facilitate the adolescent girl's career choice and ensure success in her future adult role. In this regard, it is recommended that:

- (a) Female students be encouraged to take a wide choice of school subjects so as to ensure as broad an educational base as possible. Girls should be encouraged to continue with critical subjects, such as mathematics and science, until matriculation in order to have a large range of options open to them at tertiary education level and in the employment field on school-leaving;
- (b) Female students be encouraged to consider entering non-traditional fields, such as engineering, medicine, accounting, science-related fields and management. Students' attention should be drawn to the flexibility offered by many non-traditional fields, which allow the combination of home and work. Female students should be made aware of the possibilities that such professions afford for self-employment, and the regulation of hours of work (Silverstone & Ward 1980:208);
- (c) Students be informed of discriminatory practices in certain professions, with particular reference to the nursing and teaching professions. They must also be made aware of the low ceiling of certain occupations, such as those in the clerical field, which offer very little scope for promotion to positions of management;
- (d) Career guidance based on the female experience be offered to both sexes, to prepare boys and girls for their future adult roles. This can assist in preparing for a marriage in which both husband and wife have careers of their own. They can thus acquire the necessary life-skills to cope with the situation of a family in which both parents work. There should be emphasis placed on the sharing of duties, both in the household and in the sphere of parenting, so that adolescents can be prepared to meet these challenges in the future.
- (e) Students of both sexes ought to be exposed to female role models during their guidance sessions. Such role models can be drawn from the community at large and may be called in to address the students. They may be successful women; women

who have succeeded in combining the demands of home and family; women who are in on traditional occupations. These role-models may encourage the adolescents to alter their views of women and by addressing the guidance classes and being available to answer question, they can exert a positive influence on the adolescents and assist them in redefining the very restrictive definitions which they may hold of what a woman's adult role entails;

- (f) Every school ought to have, at its disposal, comprehensive information relating to career choices and career guidance. It is of utmost importance that any information to new careers should be available and be made accessible to the students.

6.3.3.3 Parental involvement

The primary educators of any child, are the parents. It is the home which is the primary agent of socialisation (cf 2.6.1.1).

In this regard, it is recommended that parents accompany their daughters to any career expositions, and that together, they discuss relevant issues with the experts. Parents should be equipped with the necessary knowledge of the existing as well as the new career opportunities open to women and should become involved in the discussions pertaining to their daughters' prospective career choices. Parents should encourage their daughters to pursue higher education and undertake long-term planning, which makes provision for a working life.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study on the perceptions of adult role held by adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg suggest the following priority areas in the search for further knowledge.

From a methodological viewpoint, it is recommended that the potential use of qualitative research methodology in investigating issues related to girls in the social sciences should be further explored (cf 4.2). Qualitative research is an under-utilised research methodology which can add the necessary depth and colour to more conventional qualitative studies. More extensive use of qualitative methods can assist in the discovery of more unexplored areas or themes of female

identity formation and adult role perception, by permitting participants themselves to define the topics and questions to be pursued.

The limited population researched in this study makes the need clear for comparative research on female identity formation and perception of adult role, which extends to other groups of girls, from other immigrant communities, living in South Africa. A comparison could also be made with girls from other cultural groups, including black girls, and also Indian girls, both Hindu and Muslim, to explore the effects of cultural constraints on identity formation of girls, and their perceptions of their adult role.

A more in-depth comparison could also be conducted between girls from first, second and third generation Greek families, as well as girls from Cypriot-Greek homes, and also girls whose parents were raised in Egypt and then immigrated to South Africa. This could assist in gaining a better idea of how these secondary cultures have affected the girls' identity formation and adult-role perception, since all have a dominant Greek culture, modified by external cultural factors.

A further comparative study could be conducted between girls who have been raised in households where there are no male siblings, and girls with brothers, thereby highlighting the effects that male siblings may have on identity formation and adult role perception. The study could reveal differences in attitudes held by parents, when raising boys and girls and the multiple effects that this may have on the girls' identity formation, and ultimately, the perception which the girls have of their adult role.

Further research should be conducted into the effect which the expectation of the fulfilment of multiple roles such as wife, mother, homemaker and career woman has on the way adolescent girls view themselves and on any possible pressures and tensions which such expectations create within the adolescent girls. Thus, special attention should be given to the needs of female learners, who are simultaneously striving to combine the multi-faceted demands of adulthood: wife, worker, mother and homemaker.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a phenomenological research project based on qualitative methodology, this study of the life-world of a small sample of adolescent Greek schoolgirls in Johannesburg demonstrated both the strengths and the limitations intrinsic to such an investigation.

The small sample size, typical of the qualitative tradition (cf 4.2.1.4), is the most obvious limitation of this study. However, the research was designed to be exploratory and descriptive in nature (cf 1.4), utilising semi-structured interviews to elicit data from the participants (cf 4.5.1.2). Its primary goal was to understand how the girls interviewed formed their sex role identity and how they viewed their adult role, with specific reference as to how this affects their ultimate career choice (cf 1.3). No attempts were made to establish trends, to generalise or quantify the findings. Data were not quantified and was presented in descriptive terms only. Furthermore, no attempt was made to predict behaviour or to establish cause and effect relationships under experimental conditions. While the overview of the existing literature (Chapters 2 and 3) provided an important framework for the interviews, no attempt was made to prove or disprove theory (4,1). Instead the focus was on understanding the participants' experiences from their own point of view (1,4). Eventually, the grounded theory, that is, theory grounded in the data, was formulated according to certain themes which emerged from the participants' accounts (cf 4.2.1.3).

Participants were not selected by random sampling techniques, rather judgement sampling was used, a technique commonly used during qualitative research projects (4,2). Therefore, the method of selection was not based on sufficient objective data to ensure that the study could be exactly replicated. The information is thus of limited predictive value.

As in all qualitative research, the validity of findings depended on the researcher's ability to use the techniques chosen, in this case, a combination of the unstructured and semi-structured interview (4.5.1). In such research, demands are made on the researcher's own skills in interviewing and establishing rapport with participants. However, here the interviewer was able to draw on her own experiences, since she herself is the daughter of first-generation Greek parents and she was also raised in Johannesburg and also experienced many of the stereotypes governing gender-roles and gender identity formation, when she was still an adolescent. Further potential for bias was present, in as much as the researcher herself constituted the research instrument. As is often customary in such research, a statement of subjectivity was presented in 4.3 to counteract possible bias.

In this limited sense then, the study can serve to expand our knowledge of the manner in which adolescent Greek schoolgirls form their gender identity, how they perceive their sex roles and

ultimately, their adult roles, by means of the formulation of grounded theory (6,2) and the suggestion of speculative hypotheses which can form the basis for future large scale studies.

6.6 IN CONCLUSION

Young girls today are exposed to the challenges and demands of a modern education system and are motivated to actualise their potential and realise their personal, academic and professional goals. However, these ambitions are often thwarted by the demands imposed on women by domestic and childrearing responsibilities, especially when these responsibilities are also closely related to culture. Young girls often find themselves in a difficult position wanting to fulfil all aspects of their perceived adult role, yet faced with a conflict which is not easily resolved. The greater the degree of acculturation of a family, the fewer these obstacles are perceived to be and the greater the degree of self-actualisation. The agents of socialisation, the school and the peer group, are inspiring significant changes in the way in which the young girls view their gender identity and their adult role, with an increasing emphasis on the principle of equality between males and females, as well as on the principle of freedom. However, a third agent of socialisation, the home and the family, often hampers such progressive views and creates a degree of conflict and confusion. This study calls for the provision of the kind of supportive environment in which girls, and later women may continue at all stages of the life-cycle to realise their potential at school, in their homes, as adults and in the work place, in no way hampered by discrimination or oppression on the basis of their female gender identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Archives for the Hellenes of Southern Africa 1996. Commemorative Brochure: 1896-1996. S.A. Hellenic Archive. Johannesburg: Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit.
- Bandura A & Walters R 1964. *Social learning and personality development*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Beauvoir S de 1954. *The second sex*. (Translated and published by Parshley HM) London: Jonathan Cape. (Original: *Le Deuxième Sexe*. 1949).
- Bendeman H 1992. Apprenticeship opportunities. *Focus*. November 20: 6-7.
- Bogdan RC & Biklen SK 1982. *Qualitative research for education. An introduction to theory and methods*. First edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon
- Bogdan RC & Biklen SK 1992. *Qualitative research for education. An introduction to theory and methods*. Second edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bogdan RC & Taylor SJ 1975. *Introduction to qualitative research methods. A phenomenological approach to the social sciences*. New York: John Wiley & sons.
- Borg RW & Gall MD 1989. *Education research. An introduction*. Fifth Edition. New York: Longman.
- Bot M & Shindler J 1999. An analysis of the 1998 standard 10 examination results. *Edusource data news*, March (24) 4.
- Bottomley G 1979. *After the Odyssey. A study of Greek Australians*. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Bourantas C 1990. H doulia ta allazi ola. (Work changes everything). *Pantheon*, May: 42-45.
- Bowen SG and Roberts OJ 1986. *Physical Science for Standards 9 and 10*. Swaziland: Macmillan Boleswa.
- Burns RB 1979. *The self-concept theory, measurement, development and behaviour*. London: Longman
- Byrne EM 1978. *Women and education*. London: Tavistock
- Chisholm L 1994. Gender, equity and policy. Unpublished Manuscript. Education and Policy Unit. University of the Witwatersrand.
- Chodorow N 1974. Family structure and feminine personality, in Rosaldo MA & Lamphere L (eds). *Women, culture and society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Christie P 1985. *The right to learn - The struggle for education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Rowan Press.

- Conger JJ 1979. *Adolescence: Generation under pressure*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Eliou M 1987. Equality of the sexes in education and now what? *Comparative education*, 23(1): 23-29.
- Erikson EH 1954. Wholeness and totality: A psychiatric contribution, in Friedrich CJ (ed.) *Totalitarianism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Erikson EH 1956. The problem of ego identity, *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* (4): 56-121.
- Erikson EH 1964. *Childhood and society*. (Revised edition) New York: Norton.
- Erikson EH 1966. The concept of identity in race relations: notes and opinions. *Daedalus*, 95(1): 145-171.
- Erikson EH 1968. *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton WW.
- Erikson EH 1970. The quest for identity. *Newsweek* 21 Dec: 84-89.
- Erikson EH 1974 a. *Dimensions of a new identity*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, EH 1974 b. Once more the inner space, in Strouse J (ed). *Women and analysis. Dialogues on psychoanalytic views of femininity*. Boston: Hall GK & Co.
- Erikson, EH 1974 c. Womanhood and the inner space, in Strouse J (ed.) *Women and analysis*. New York: Grossman Publishers.
- Erikson, KT 1973. *In search of common ground: conversations with Erik H Erikson and Huey P Newton*. New York: Norton.
- Erwee R 1992. Women in the workforce. *Focus*. 19:3.
- Everett and Orkin 1993. *Growing up tough: A national survey of South African youth*. Johannesburg: C.A.S.E.
- Fitzgerald LF & Crites JO 1979. Career counselling for women. *The Counselling Psychologist*, B (1): 33-34.
- Frank A 1952. *The diary of a young girl*. New York: Doubleday.
- French J 1990. *The education of girls. A handbook for parents*. London: Cassell Educational Limited.
- Freud A 1946. *The ego and the mechanism of defence*. New York: International University Press.
- Freud S 1905. *Three essays on the theory of sexuality*. New York: Avon Books (original: Trois essais sur la théorie de la sexualité)
- Freud S 1931. Female sexuality, *Collected papers 5 (xxiv)*. New York: Basic Books.

- Freud S 1933. *La Féminité. Nouvelles Conférences sur la Psychanalyse*. Gaillimard: Paris (1956).
- Georgiou E Acting educational attaché of Hellenic consulate in Johannesburg. 1998. Personal interview. 18 March, Johannesburg.
- Gerdes LC & Moore C & Ochse R & van Ede D 1988. *The developing adult*. (2nd edition). Durban: Butterworths.
- Gesell A & Ames LB 1956. *Youth: The years from ten to sixteen*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gilbert P & Taylor S 1991. *Fashioning the feminine: Girls, popular culture and schooling*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Gilligan C 1982. *In a different voice. Psychological theory and women's development*. (1st edition). Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan C 1989. Preface. Teaching Shakespeare's sister: Notes from the underground of female adolescence in Gilligan C, Lyons NP, Hammer TJ (eds.) *Making connections. The relational worlds of adolescent girls at Emma Willard School*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan C 1993. *In a different voice. Psychological theory and women's development* 2nd edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Glaser BG & Strauss LL 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Goodenow C and Espin OE 1993. Identity choices in immigrant adolescent females in *adolescence*. 28, (109): 173-184.
- Gross RD 1992. *Psychology. The science of mind and behaviour*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Hamacheck D 1978. *Encounters with the self*. (2nd edition). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Hansard. 7.6.1954. P 2606.
- Hansard. 7.6.1954. P 2615.
- Hofmeyer J 1996. *The Edge*. Johannesburg Technikon: In Press.
- Horney K 1931. *Feminine psychology*. New York: Norton.
- Horney K 1939. *New ways in psychoanalysis*. New York: Norton.
- Human rights champions from democracy's cradle. 1999. *The Star*, 25 March: 19.
- Hurlock EB 1990. *Developmental psychology. A life-span approach*. Fifth edition. New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill.

- Iglesse C 1991. *Faces of women - masks of consciousness - structuring of women's identity in Greek society*. Athens: Odysseas.
- Jacobson C 1999. Women still on a road to nowhere. *Business Times*, 16 May: 1.
- Jones ET 1969. Needs of Negro youth, in Winter GD & Nuss EM (eds), *The young adult: Identity and awareness*. Glenview, III: Scot, Foresman.
- Jung E 1957. *Animus and anima*. New York: the Analytical Club of New York.
- Kaplan G 1992. *Contemporary Western European feminism*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Kaser J & Shaffer S 1995. Status of women at the turn of the century. <http://www.maec.org>.
- Kelly A (ed) 1981. *The missing half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kelly GP 1989. Achieving equality in education: Prospects and realities, in Kelly GP (ed). *International handbook for women's education*. London: Greenwood.
- Kelly GP 1992. education, women and change, in Arnove RF & Albach PG & Kelly GP (eds). *Emergent issues in education: Comparative perspectives*. New York: State University of New York.
- Kelly GP & Slaughter S (eds) 1991. *Women's higher education in comparative perspective*. Pordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kohlberg L 1966. A cognitive developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes, in Maccoby E (ed.) *The development of sex differences*, Stanford University press: Stanford.
- Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides G 1989. Conceptual definitions, empirical data and theory in the sociology of education. *The Greek review of social research*, 64, Table 2:8 (in Greek).
- Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides G. 1991. Greece, in Wilson, M (ed). *Girls and young women in education. A European perspective*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Krystallidis A. Head of SAHETI School. 1999. Personal interview. 12 May, Johannesburg.
- Labadarios PP 1990. Explanation of the holy sacrament of marriage. Hellenic Orthodox Church of the Virgin Mary, Pantanassa, Johannesburg.
- Le Compte MD & Preissle J 1993. *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. . Second edition. California: Academic Press.
- Lemmer EM 1989. The re-entry of women into the labour market and the implications for educational provision Ph.D Thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Lemmer EM 1993. Gender issues in education, in Dekker EI & Lemmer EM (eds). *Critical issues in modern education*. Durban: Butterworths.

- Lever J 1976. Sex differences in the games children play. *Social problems*, 23 (482).
- Lock J 1980. *Maids and madams: A study of the politics of exploitation*. Johannesburg: Rowan Press.
- Lofland J & Lofland LH 1984. *Analyzing social setting: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Mahoney P 1985. *Schools for the Boys?* London: Hutchinson.
- Maier HW 1978. *Three theories of child development*. Third edition. New York: Harper & Row.
- Marland M 1983. *Sex differentiation and schooling*. London: Heinemann.
- McMillan JH & Schumacher S 1993. *Research in education*. Third edition. New York: Harper Collins.
- Mead M 1935. *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies*. New York: Morrow.
- Mead M 1961. *Coming of age in Samoa*. New York: Morrow
- Miliori P 1993. Greece, in Davidson, M & Cary Cooper (eds.) *European women in business and management*. Bristol, Pennsylvania: Chapman.
- Miller JB 1976. *Toward a new psychology of women*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Millet K 1969. *Sexual politics*. Avon: Equinox Books.
- Moore S & Rosenthal D 1994. Dimensions of adolescent sexual ideology in *Australian educational and developmental psychologist*, 11 (1): 8-14.
- Morrell R 1992. Gender in the transformation of South African education. *Perspectives in education*, 13 (2).
- Moss P 1988. *Childcare and equality of opportunity*. Brussels: Commission of the European Community.
- Mussen PH Conger JJ Kagan J & Huston AC 1990. *Child development and personality*. Seventh edition. New York: Harper Collins
- National statistical services of Greece. 1981. *Statistical yearbook of Greece, Athens*.
- Notman MT 1991. Gender development, in Notman MT & Nadleson CC (eds.) *Women and men. New perspectives on gender differences*. Washington DC: American Psychiatric Press.
- OECE – 1980. *Educational policy and planning: Educational reform policies in Greece*. Paris: OECD
- OECD - 1988. *Policies for equal opportunity for women in the economy, manpower and social affairs committee*. Paris: OECD.

- Office on the status of women, South Africa. 2000. (unpublished). South Africa's national policy framework for women's empowerment and gender equality. Pretoria.
- Papadakis M & Fundudis V 1991. The café society. The relationship between social mobility and the café. B.A. (Honours) dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Papalia DE & Olds SE 1975. *A child's world: Infancy through adolescence*. Third edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Patton, MQ 1990. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Piaget J 1969. The intellectual development of the adolescent, in Caplan G & Lebovici S (eds.) *Adolescence: Psychosocial perspectives*. New York: Basic Books.
- Polydorides G 1985. Women's participation in the Greek educational system, *Comparative education*, 21(3).
- Powney J & Watts M 1987. *Interviewing in educational research*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Rice PF 1992. *The adolescent: Development, relationships and culture*. Seventh edition. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.
- Roll of Merit. Graduates and matriculants. 1995. The governing body of SAHETI, Johannesburg.
- Roll of Merit. Graduates and matriculants. 1998. The governing body of SAHETI, Johannesburg.
- Samuel J 1981. Feminism and science teaching: Some classroom observations, in Kelly, A (ed) *The Missing Half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Samuel J 1990. The state of education, in South Africa in Nasson, B. & Samuel J. (eds). *Education: from Poverty to Liberty*. Cape Town: David Phillips.
- Scoufes P 1985. The prologue and history of the 35 years of SAHETI. The governing body of SAHETI, Johannesburg.
- Seller MS 1989. The United States, in Kelly, GP (ed) *International handbook for women's education*. London: Greenwood.
- Shakeshaft C 1986. A gender at risk. *Phi Delta Kappan*. March, 499-503.
- Shakeshaft C 1987. Theory in a changing reality. *Journal of educational equity and leadership*. 7 (1): 4-20.
- Sharpes DK 1992. Adolescent self-concept. *Pedagogiejoernaal*, 13 (1): 52-71.
- Shindler J 1998. An analysis of the 1997 Standard 10 examination results, *Edusource data news*, March (20)1.

- Silverstone R & Ward A 1980. Summing up, in Silverstone, R and Ward, A (eds). *Careers of professional women*. London: Croom Helm, p. 207-220. Kaplan, G. 1992. *Contemporary Western European Feminism*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Sorensen, RC 1973. *Adolescent sexuality in contemporary America*. New York: World.
- Spence JT & Helmreich RL 1978. *Masculinity and femininity. Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Spencer MB & Markstrom-Adams C 1990. Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child development*, 16 (2): 290-310.
- Spender D 1982. The role of teachers: What choices do they have? Secretariat of the Council of Europe (eds) *Sex stereotyping in schools*. The Netherlands: offsetdrukkerij Kantes.
- Stanworth M 1983. *Gender and schooling*. London: Hutchison.
- Thompson CL 1941. The role of women in this culture, in Strouse J (ed.) *Women and analysis, Dialogues on psychoanalytic views of femininity*. Boston: Hall GK & Co
- Truscott K 1994. *Gender in education*. Johannesburg: Education policy unit, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Turner C & Papaioannou V 1988. Women's local and employment initials, research in commission for the European Network for Women's Local Employment Initiatives, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.
- Van den Aardweg EM & Van den Aardweg ED 1988. *Dictionary of empirical education/educational psychology*. Pretoria: E & E Enterprises.
- Vrey JD 1979. *The self-actualising educand*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Walsh V 1980. Contraception: The growth of technology. In The Brighton Women and Science (eds) *Alice through the microscope: The Power of science over women's lives*. London: Virago
- Weitz S 1977. *Sex Roles. Biological, psychological and social foundations*. New York: Oxford University press.
- Wilson M (ed) 1991. *Girls and young women in education. A European perspective*. Oxford: Pergamon Press

APPENDIX

BASIC INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Personal particulars

Full name _____

Pseudonym _____

Date of birth _____

Number of children in family _____

Position in family _____

Home language _____

Other languages spoken at home _____

Religion _____

Cultural affiliation _____

Family information

Mother's place of birth _____

Father's place of birth _____

Mother's occupation _____

Father's occupation _____

Age and gender of siblings _____

Are both parents Greek? (specify) _____

Educational information

Name of high school _____

Subjects studied _____

Indicate grade _____

Achievements / Awards / Recognitions _____

General

Do you believe that as a Greek South African, your behaviour differs from that of your South African friends? Specify.

Do you have family in Greece? _____

If so, is your behaviour and upbringing different to theirs? _____

To what extent do you consider yourself a South African? Why? _____

Do you feel "GREEK"? Why / why not? _____

Who / What has contributed to your feeling this way? _____

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT

Herewith I consent to participate in the following research project:

Nature of the project

The project is part of a research for a Master's degree that deals with the perception of adult role amongst a group of adolescent Greek girls at secondary schools in Johannesburg.

Researcher

The researcher is Mrs P Panaretos, who is a self-employed language teacher and a part-time M.Ed student at the University of South Africa.

Nature of participation in the project

I am fully aware and understand the following aspects and the implications thereof:

1. that my participation lies in the granting of an interview in which I supply information about the perception of my adult role as an adolescent Greek schoolgirl in Johannesburg;
2. that this interview will be taped on audio cassette, and that I may listen to this tape if I choose to do so;
3. that I am free to refuse the answering of certain questions;
4. that this information, taped on cassette, is part of the research material of the project; and that the researcher may quote certain parts of my interview and interpret such, in the light of the rest of the project, with the view to facilitate the understanding of the perception that adolescent Greek school girls have of their adult role.
5. That the researcher guarantees that my identity will be treated as confidential information at all times, and that this will at no stage be disclosed in reports emanating from this research.

Joint declaration

We, the participant and the researcher, fully understand the above information and implications thereof.

Signed thisday of1999/2000 at

Participant

Researcher

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Personal background questions

Name

Age (Date of birth)

School

What is your father's occupation?

Does your mother work?

What is your mother's occupation?

Do you have brothers or sisters? Are they studying?

Are they older or younger than you?

What are your personal interests? (Hobbies/sports)

What subjects are you studying at school?

Do you have any favourite subjects?

Do you plan to study when you leave school?

Where do you intend to study?

Are you going to move into a university residence/stay on at home? Why?

If you are not planning to study further, what plans do you have for the immediate future?

Knowledge questions (Factual information)

What do you know about gender differences in this country?

What do you know about discrimination against women in the workplace?

Do you know of any successful Greek South African women?

Do you have a role-model amongst any of these women?

Do you know of any successful South African women? Would you like to emulate any of them?

Do you have any information concerning your chosen career? Please elaborate.

What factors did you take into consideration before choosing your proposed career?

Experience or behaviour questions

Describe to me how you react if a boy is given priority in class, or given special attention, simply because he's a boy?

Describe to me how you behave if your parents tell you you can do something on condition your brother/cousin/friend's older brother accompanies you.

Are you made to perform chores around the house that are considered "feminine" tasks? Are your brothers exempt from these?

Can you mention some of these gender-specific tasks/chores and could you tell me who decided on this decision?

Are your brothers given any privileges on the basis of their masculinity? E.g. no curfew; driving alone at night. How do you feel about this?

Feelings

Do you feel happy when you manage to succeed in your goals/realise your ambitions despite having strong competition from boys?

How do you feel if you achieve as well as or better than other girls?

Do you feel any different if you perform better than boys?

How do you feel if you are obliged to do certain things around the house which your brother(s) are exempt from doing? Do you consider this an acceptable practise?

Do you feel that you will run your household and family along the same lines as your parents do?

How do you feel when you hear comments such as:

"It's a girl's job"; "She's only a girl"; "You can't expect her to do any better, as she's just a girl".

Opinions and values

What do you believe about boys receiving superior treatment or better opportunities in life on the strength of their gender?

What do you think ought to happen if a gender-prejudiced decision is made, against women?

Why do you think, do more girls choose certain subjects (like Home Economics, History, French) than boys do?

Do you think girls choose subjects at school with a view to entering a specific profession later in life?

Do you think girls choose subjects that they enjoy, subjects that they're good at, or simply subjects that will be useful to them in later life?

According to what criteria do you think that boys select subjects?

How do you see yourself in ten years from now?

How do you think your family sees you ten years from now?

Do you think your family sees you in a different light to the way they may see your brother(s)?

If they do have different expectations of you, why do you think this is so?

What is your opinion of working mothers?

Can a woman combine home and family life with career success?

Do you think a married woman is discriminated against in the workplace? In your opinion, does she stand as much of a chance in succeeding at work than a man with similar qualifications does?

Sensory experiences

What do your parents actually say to you (a) when you succeed? (b) when you fail?

What tone of voice do your parents use towards you?

What tone of voice do your parents use towards your brother(s)?

How do you feel if you are praised

- a) by your parents?
- b) by your brother(s)?
- c) by a male teacher/figure of authority?
- d) by a female teacher/figure of authority?

How do you feel if you do better than a boy in your class?

Do you have the same feeling when you do better than a girl?

Why is this so?