CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1.0 Introduction

The study focused on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Peters (2005:45) challenges as follows, “imagine yourself trying to accomplish a task where you can see the goal, but an invisible force field prevents you from reaching it.” This may sound unrealistic, but for many women in Zimbabwe and across the globe trying to climb the social ladder and be compensated effectively for their effort, it is very difficult. Slee (2003) says human community is characterized by a basic structural injustice, a distorted relationality between the sexes such that men as a group have power over women as a group. She goes on to say this basic inequality has characterized all known history and is universal and is enshrined in language, culture, social relations, mythology and religion.

1.1.1 Gender Inequalities From A Global Perspective

Literature shows that education management is dominated by males in most areas of the world. Carmen (2002) says women’s participation in national education systems is biased due to the socio-cultural environment. He argues that about two thirds of Africa’s illiterates are women and women teachers still remain under fifty percent of the total in many sub-Saharan African countries and Asia. In Asia, Carmen (2002) notes that Asian values and cultural ideologies demand the enactment of a specific construct of Asian femininity that militates against equality and academic career aspirations to senior management levels. Thus women remain severely underrepresented in education management providing evidence that the glass ceiling still remains a reality. The glass
ceiling concept according to Peters (2005) refers to invisible and artificial barriers to entry and promotion faced by women aspiring to senior management positions.

Smyth (1989:93) notes that, "globally we now have fewer women heads of education institutions than we had previously." He goes on to say when women move into male dominated areas, they remain clustered at the lower levels, marginally represented at the middle and absent from the top other than the occasional, deviant and non-conformist pioneer. Smyth (1989) further notes that governments in the 1970s and 1980s introduced affirmative action and recognized the principle of equal opportunity through both legislation and policy initiatives. Despite this, the number of women in leadership positions according to Smyth (1989) in education in Australia, Britain and USA has decreased. Smyth (1989) notes that there is a tendency for many women who have the qualifications, expertise and aptitude not to apply for positions of leadership in education management.

By 1993 in South Africa, Dekker and Lemmer (1993) posit that teaching was dominated numerically by women. About 70% of all black and white teachers were women. However, women were underrepresented in positions of education management. Sridharan (2009) also shows that in India, despite having a strong women’s movement, women continue to be marginally represented in policy and decision-making processes. The Constitution of India guarantees equality before the law to all Indian women. Political equality for women and men is indisputable in this context. This equality includes not only equal right to franchise but also sharing power of decision-making and policy making at all levels. The actual participation or even representation of women in
various political institutions, especially in the decision-making positions, does not reflect the equality principle so far.

Women’s issues in the Arab world in general and Syria in particular are usually discussed in a positive light. Ghafari (2008) notes that such an optimistic perspective emphasizes that women have long attained their rights for equal job opportunities, equal pay and equal rights to property. However, gender inequality continues to manifest itself in the domain of family life and labour market and within the cultural and ideological system. In contemporary societies, Ghafari (2008) argues that it is important to understand how values and practices embedded in particular domains or social institutions foster inequality, reinforce power relations between men and women which perpetuate the inequality. On the surface the increasing number of trends and means of self representation might suggest that women have attained their freedom at all levels. However, women’s inequality in the workplace remains a rich area for sociological debate.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (2010) notes that while there have been considerable gains since 2000 on the Millennium Development goals (MDG’s) targets, progress has been slowest on the gender equality dimension. Gender based discrimination holds back progress towards social justice. Since the Millennium Summit in 2000 there have been numerous initiatives to explore the gender equality dimension one of which was increasing women’s voice in decision making, full participation of women in society, starting from autonomy in the household to voice in all political processes at community, national and international levels (UNIFEM, 2010).
The MDGs targeted 2015 for the realization of its goals. However, by 2010 only four years to the targeted date UNIFEM (2010) confirmed that no region of the world had achieved the critical mass of 30% for women leadership. According to World Bank Enterprise survey (2008) Sub-Saharan Africa had 10% share of women in senior management positions. Women’s share of senior management positions worldwide ranged from 3% to 13%.

1.1.2 Global Efforts To Address Gender Inequalities

The United Nations (UN) has responded to the gender challenge through gender mainstreaming. Chinken (2001:12) defines gender mainstreaming as “the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action including legislations, policies or programmes, in any area and at any level.” Reardon (2001) also shows that gender mainstreaming involves intentions by the UN to remedy inequalities and problems arising due to failure to respond adequately to gender bias and lack of a gender perspective. The UN Charter affirms its faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person and in equal rights between men and women (Munroe, 2001; Benedek, Kisaakye and Oberteither; 2002).

Since the inception of the UN, Laws, Treaties and Conventions regarding women’s rights have been adopted. In 1946 the UN instituted a commission on the status of women. It proposed political, economic and social measures to remedy the root causes as well as the consequences of systemic and systematic discrimination suffered by women in all parts of the world (Benedek, et al; 2002). 1967 saw the UN adopting the convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Benedek, et al (2002: 33) say CEDAW constitutes the central and most
comprehensive bill of human rights for women. Among the international human rights treaties, the Convention takes an important place in bringing the female half of humanity into the focus of human rights concerns. It states in its preamble that extensive discrimination against women exists. It defines discrimination as “any distinction, exclusive or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, irrespective of their marital status, on the basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres” (Article 1). It condemns discrimination and obliges states to pursue comprehensive policies and measures to eliminate discrimination of women at all levels (Article 2). Article 3 of CEDAW according to Benedek, et al (2002:34) states the purpose as “full development and advancement of women for the purposes of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of equality with men.”

The year 1975 was International Women’s year whose aim was to define a society in which women participated in a real and full sense in economic, social and political life. From 19 June to 2 July 1975 an international conference of International Women’s Year was held in Mexico City. It adopted the World Plan of Action for the advancement of women. The plan expected a marked improvement in women’s literacy, vocational training, equal access to education, women’s employment opportunities, participation in public life and parity under the law (Benedek, et al; 2002). The plan called for the establishment of national machinery to study the situation of women, develop policies and make programmes and legislative recommendations to translate national goals into reality for women.
In Africa, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights presents the continental efforts to provide regional mechanisms for protection of human rights. According to Hellum, Stewart, Ali and Tsanga (2007) a supplement to the African Charter, a protocol on the rights of women had by January 2006 been ratified by the required fifteen signatories and entered into force. The African Charter (1986) states that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African people. Article 20 of the African Charter (1986) states that all people shall have the right to existence. They shall have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen.

1.1.3 Zimbabwean Government Efforts To Address Gender Inequalities

In Zimbabwe, most literature on colonial education is silent on the issue of women in educational management during the colonial era. The issue of racial stratification was more important than the issue of gender based discrimination in the work place (Kazembe, 1982). Women had no right at all under the colonial law and very little value was placed on the participation of women outside the home. Guild (1976) in Mandaza (1982) says should a woman go out to work with the approval of her husband, any money she earned belonged to the husband.

After gaining political independence in 1980 the Zimbabwe government took a proactive approach to addressing women’s issues and problems. Pressure to address gender disparities was a historical product partly as a result of women’s involvement in
the struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe and throughout Africa (Makombe and Geroy, 2009). The ruling party at independence, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in its 1980 election manifesto declared that it would abolish sex discrimination in education and orienting the education system to national goals. The Zimbabwean National Gender Policy Implementation Strategy and work plan (2008–2012) asserts that Zimbabwe has signed and ratified the protocol of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the rights of women in Africa. It has also signed the solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa. Zimbabwe has also signed, ratified and acceded to United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action on gender equality and women empowerment.

Zvobgo (1996) posits that at independence the Zimbabwe government had the task of transforming the education system to abolish the colour and gender band in the provision of education. Some of the education aims of the new government were to:

- Establish a system of free and compulsory primary and secondary education;
- To abolish sex discrimination in the education system;
- Orient the education system to national goals and
- Place education in the category of basic human rights and strive to ensure that every child had an education opportunity to develop his/her mental, physical and emotional faculties (Zvobgo, 1996).

The implication of these aims was to abolish inequalities between boys and girls in the provision of education. This would consequently translate into the full empowerment of the girl child to compete in the world of work. The fruit of this was an increase in the
enrolment of girls in both the primary and secondary schools. This is shown in the statistics in Table 1.

**Table 1.1 Primary and secondary schools enrolment by sex (1984 and 1996)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>1,101,899</td>
<td>1,265,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1,030,405</td>
<td>1,227,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>248,166</td>
<td>404,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>194,939</td>
<td>346,944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Makombe and Geroy (2009) point out that as at 2003 Zimbabwe’s total literacy rate was 90.7%, 94.2% of total males were literate and yet 87.2% of women were literate.

### 1.1.4 Awareness Of The Problem

The problem of gender based inequalities is openly evident in education management in Zimbabwe. On the work front the Zimbabwe government has tried to remove injustices based on cultural, traditional, societal and colonial attitudes which have kept women in down trodden positions. To show its commitment to the gender issue the Zimbabwe government instituted affirmative action policy which was aimed at speeding up equality between men and women. This was done by implementing gender enrolment quotas at education institutions. Measures to speed up recruitment of female teachers to positions of school heads were put in place. Policy Circular Number 11 of 1991 states that, “heads of schools should identify women who could be promoted to positions of school heads without reference to seniority.” Policy circulars Number 22 of 1996 and 1 of 1997 also encouraged women to apply to school management posts. Makombe and Geroy (2009) argue that while Zimbabwean women have penetrated the workforce, few women have gained access to senior management positions. Makombe and Geroy
(2009) postulate that only a small number of elite African women have been able to attain senior management positions in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe Human Development Report (2007) shows the following scenario.

**Table 1.2 Percentage female legislators, senior officials and managers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manicaland</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>-23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland Central</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>266.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland East</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland West</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matabeleland North</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matabeleland South</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>-39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulawayo</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Percentage for ZIMBABWE</strong></td>
<td><strong>21.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>22.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From table 1.2 above, it can be seen that participation of women in management in Masvingo has fallen from 1995 to 2003. This scenario was also noted from 2007 to 2010 as shown in table 1.3.
In Masvingo Province in 2004 according to a research by Chabaya, Rembe and Wadesango (2009) there were 246 secondary school heads, 14 (5.6%) of whom were female and 232 (94.4%) were male. There were 694 primary school heads, 68 (9.8%) of whom were female and 626 (90.2%) were male. In 2007 according to information obtained from Masvingo District Education Offices, there were 36 substantive education officers in Masvingo Province of whom 29 (80%) were male and 7 (20%) were female. In Masvingo District Primary schools there were 93 substantive heads of whom 78 (83.9%) were male and 15 (16.1%) were female. In the secondary schools there were 37 substantive heads of whom 30 (81%) were male and 7 (19%) were female. Table 1.3 below shows the scenario of the proportion of top education managers in Masvingo Province in May 2007 and August 2010 by sex.

**Table 1.3: Number of male and female top education managers for Masvingo Province – May 2007 and August 2010.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Education Director</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Provincial Education Director</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Education Officers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Inspectors</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education Sport, Arts and culture (Masvingo Regional Offices).

From the 2004 statistics in Chabaya, Rembe and Wadesango (2009)'s study and statistics from Table 1.3 for 2007 to 2010, the following percentages were calculated on gender equity in education management in Masvingo Province.
Table 1.4: Percentages of male-female teachers' participation in top education management in Masvingo province 2004, 2007 and 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that female participation in top education management in Masvingo Province increased from 2004 to 2007 but fell from 2007 to 2010. Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 show that there is a general low level of participation of females in management as compared to their male counterparts in Masvingo Province.

This scenario supports Makombe and Geroy (2009)’s argument that while Zimbabwean women have penetrated the workforce, few women have gained access to senior management positions in organizations. They go on to say that it is a known fact that women who manage to reach the top in Zimbabwe would have encountered substantial barriers. Thus a comprehension of the factors involved in the advancement of women into education management posts is essential in determining what changes need to be made regarding designing and development of policies. This has challenged the researcher to ask critical questions about how structures and relationships in the Shona cultural context in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe can hinder or promote the realization of national goals like policies on gender equity in educational management. It is clear that there are challenges about the democratic development and emancipation of women in the Shona culture. Vosloo (2003) notes that there are critical questions about the communities that we are part of and challenges of enclosed identities and enclosed communities. This research, therefore, interrogated ambivalences towards
change and novelty in the Shona culture in Masvingo Province. It explored whether new policies or new power adjustments are needed in balancing gender participation in educational management. It was against this background that this thesis analysed the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management in Masvingo Province.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem addressed in this study was the extent to which socio-cultural factors affect the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in educational management. Research has shown that management in education is dominated by men in nearly all countries in the world in spite of the enactment of several policies from global, regional and national levels. It was noted that in Masvingo Province males far outnumber females in educational management in the primary and secondary education sectors. The following was noted from a survey done by the researcher:

- Both male and female teachers hold the basic education qualifications, that is, certificate in education and diploma in education
- A significant number of degreed female teachers acquired their degrees through open and distance learning as compared to their male counterparts who mostly acquired their degrees through the conventional universities.
- Males generally acquire degrees at relatively younger ages than the females

The problem was then how socio-cultural factors impacted on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in educational management. The approach in this research was different from the approach used in previous researches. The researcher looked at the problem from the point of view of African philosophies of communitarianism, the issue
of morality, language and discourses in the context of the area under study and gendered illusions. These themes were aimed at bridging the gap between themes in previous researches namely socialization, stereotyping, domestic violence, patriarchy and the problem under investigation. Thus, the thesis was guided by the statement: An Analysis of The Impact of Socio-cultural factors on the Effectiveness of Gender Sensitive Policies in Educational Management.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of this study were to:

- establish the impact of socio cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.
- establish ways of minimizing the impact of socio cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies.
- enlighten policy makers on the need to consider socio cultural factors in policy formulation and policy implementation.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study sought to:

- examine how the Shona concept of morality affect entrance rate of male and female teachers into education management positions.
- explore how communitarianism as a core value in Shona societies influences career aspirations of male and female teachers.
- discuss the influence of gendered illusions on perceptions of male and female teachers towards education management.
• explain the relevance of language and discourses in influencing priorities of male and female teachers.

• identify ways of minimizing the impact of socio cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was guided by the following research questions:

• How does the Shona concept of morality affect the entrance rate of male and female teachers into education management?

• To what extent does the communitarian philosophy in the Shona culture influence career aspirations of male and female teachers?

• How does the Shona social image of males and females as reflected in gendered illusions affect priorities of male and female teachers?

• What are the implications of Shona language and discourse on perceptions of male and female teachers towards education management?

• In what ways can the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management be minimized?

1.6 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher worked on the basis of the following assumptions:

• There are gender sensitive policies which promote the advancement of women to leadership positions.
• There has been insignificant impact of these gender sensitive policies on the advancement of women to educational management.

• There are significant inequalities in holding educational management posts between male and female teachers.

• Social and cultural factors inhibit the equal inclusion of male and female teachers to positions of leadership.

• Participants would supply the researcher with the required information.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY
This research was of paramount importance as it was hoped that might lead to rethinking of the implications of the Shona culture on gender based freedom and gender based democracy. This required a critical engagement with the ambivalent nature of the Shona culture and its role in the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies. The researcher hoped that the research might have generative effects as it has the potential to bring about changes in participation and action. It was hoped that the research might lead to rethinking of ways of policy implementation by policy makers thus improve policy formulation and implementation processes. The research was hoped to have the potential of redirecting and refocusing the attention of policy makers to areas not previously explored in educational management, that is, questioning core values like communitarianism and morality – the very essence of the African culture. Also a critical engagement with language and discourses which are valued in the African context (idioms, proverbs, folktales) can have unforeseen impacts as they may unveil the core of women’s problems.
The research has the potential for enabling educational management training institutions to take account of the issue of gender and culture and to address critical questions of the interplay between gender, culture and leadership. As gender and culture are significant in policy implementation, this study may enlighten policy makers to take into consideration the question of gender and culture in policy planning and formulation. The study was intended to unmask some of the gendered illusions concerning differential abilities of different sexes which affect policy implementation, so that both sexes can act positively towards each other knowing the importance of the equality of sexes.

The study was also important to me as a researcher as it enlightened me on what really affect women’s advancement in their careers. This helped me as a lecturer in a teacher’s college and also a dean of students to be able to prepare female student teachers to be able to take up opportunities as they come their way in their teaching professions. This thesis was important as it sought to formulate a concrete foundation upon which the government, traditional communities, schools and other education institutions can work in partnership to address the gender based inequalities in educational management.

It was hoped that this partnership would:

- Empower all educators to see and accept themselves as they are and to actualize the whole of their potential in spite of their gender.

- Affirm the equality of sexes in the workplace.
• Open up a forum for discussion for educators on their experiences and how the experiences can help to forge practice forward despite socio-cultural impediments.

• Lead to a realization that inequities in education management are not just issues of equity but are rooted in socio-cultural gender injustices which need to be addressed.

• Enhance participation from all educators in promoting gender equity and gender justice in education management.

• Result in changed consciousness to promote more gender inclusive attitudes, perceptions and practices.

1.8 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study was limited to examining the impact of socio-cultural factors on effectiveness of gender sensitive policies. The researcher limited herself to the discussion of the African concept of morality, the communitarian philosophy in the Shona culture, an in-depth analysis of Shona language and discourse and also gendered illusions. These were discussed as they affected gender imbalances in education management. These cultural variables were chosen for this research as the researcher had not come across a research which deals with these variables in trying to explain the phenomenon of gender inequalities in education management. It is from the interrogation of these factors that the researcher aimed to fill in the gap in knowledge in education management.
A study of management in primary and secondary education institutions was done. These educational institutions were chosen as representative of educational institutions in Zimbabwe. The study limited itself to the study of educational management in Masvingo Province due to accessibility to the researcher.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

• Social location – there were conflicting perspectives from different people from different social groups. This was because society is stratified on the basis of class, race, tribe, geographical location, education level and gender. Views of the different groups differed on gender issues and education management. To counter this limitation the researcher got a representative sample from all the different groups of teachers in Masvingo Province, for example, male and female, rural and urban, high income and low income, thus the use of maximum variation sampling and negative case sampling.

• Reactive effect – participants were trying to please the researcher by giving what they presumed to be acceptable responses for the research, hiding their real perceptions. If observed participants know that they are being observed they may change their natural behaviour to suit what they presume to be acceptable behaviour to the researcher. This may compromise reliability of research results. To guard against this limitation the researcher tried to be as natural as possible during participant observations to guard against any suspicion from the observed societies that she was a researcher. During interviews the researcher tried as much as she could to gain the participant’s confidence by assuring them that their views would be held in strict confidence. This was meant to allay any fear of victimization. Also the importance of giving true responses was explained to the
participants and that their views were important for any policy outcome of this research.

• Acceptability of researcher in schools – some schools received the researcher with suspicion on the intentions of her visit to them. This threatened to compromise the reliability of the research findings. To guard against suspicion the researcher involved people attached to the schools to be studied as research assistants. The researcher also got permission from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture so that she was received in schools studied by the heads.

• The researcher’s own biases acted as a limitation. The researcher made use of research assistants. Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1996) note that triangulation, which is the use of multiple sources of data, multiple observers and multiple methods enhance the probability that the findings are credible. The researcher confirmed whether the data collected by one person confirmed the data collected by another person. The use of negative case sampling reduced researcher bias as the negative cases were used to extend the research analysis by disconfirming researcher’s expectations and explanations. It ensured dependability and trustworthiness of research findings.

• Social location of the researcher – as a female researcher in a highly patriarchal society, the researcher found it difficult with some highly patriarchal oriented individuals especially with regard to the nature of her research. Male research assistants were used in some of these instances. The researcher also explained the intention of her research to gain confidence from the participants.

• Nature of the study – the nature of this study which to some seemed to negate their traditional values and culture did not go very well with radical
traditionalists. This compromised acquisition of data from such people. Where possible the researcher explained the intentions of her research to gain confidence with those people.

- Mental exclusion which is evident in most Shona women. Most women were not free to talk about their personal experiences in their families. In Shona they say, ‘usafukura hapwa,’ meaning that you should not open up secrets of your home to anyone. This is a strongly guarded principle within the Shona women that extracting information on their personal life is an uphill task. However through a lot of explanations and assurance of the confidentiality of their participation as well as the use of pseudonyms, the researcher got enough research participants especially for the typical cases.

1.10 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Women’s experiences differ depending on the country they live in, their history, culture and religion. Ghafari (2008) notes that in contemporary society, men and women may on the surface seem to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. However, it is important to understand how values and practices embedded in particular domains and social institutions foster inequality. Various studies have shown that culture impacts very negatively on gender equality in leadership. Factors noted in the various studies are socialization, stereotyping, patriarchy, domestic role overload, male culture and gender based abuse. The concept culture is explored in the next section.
1.10.1 THE CONCEPT CULTURE

Culture emphasizes traditions and social heritage. It shows what remains of man’s past, working on their present to shape their future. Mead (1937) in Moore (1980) says culture is the whole complex of traditional behaviour which has been developed by the human race and is successively learned by each generation. It comprises the total way of life of a people and their social legacy. Culture is a product of a social group which is passed from one generation to the next by learning and not by biological inheritance (Higgs, 1994). Culture involves shared perceptions, attitudes, predispositions that allow people to organize their experience (Mazama, 2003). Van der Walt (1999) notes five layers of a culture

A – Forms the behavioural dimension. This includes the concrete ways of life, the peculiar habits and customs of a specific culture.

B – The material side; the tools, machines and buildings.

C – The social part which includes language, institutions, laws.

D – The worldview which could be called the philosophical core of culture because it provides a view of the whole reality. Together with religion it provides inspirations, guidance by ways of norms and values and meaning to the more visible sides of culture.

E – The religious aspect (the core is the deepest and most difficult to change in any culture (Van der Walt 1999). Religion and worldview determine people’s cultural perceptions, values and behaviour.

These five levels of culture are important in this study as they impact on gender based philosophies in the Shona culture.
Moore (1980) sees culture as having different dimensions. He looks at the psychological and the normative side of a culture. The psychological dimension of the definition of the concept culture defines culture as a problem solving device. Moore (1980) quotes Panunzio (1939) who sees culture as a man-made or superorganic order, self generating and dynamic in its operation, a pattern of creating order, objective, humanly useful, cumulative and self perpetuating. Culture is a complex whole of a system of concepts and usages, organizations, skills and instruments by means of which mankind deals with physical, biological and human nature in the satisfaction of his needs. Culture is here seen as a means that is used to attain human beings’ ends. Thus culture arises as a result of trying to satisfy needs. So a culture should be contextual to satisfy needs in a spatio-temporal dimension.

The normative definition of culture emphasizes rules, ideals, values and behaviour. The normative definitions show that culture consist of all those historically created designs for living which exist at any given time e.g. meaning, values, norms, language and behaviour. These values are so deeply ingrained that even though legislation might be passed or public policy might change, it is not easy to change people’s deeply ingrained beliefs. Differential treatment of men and women has been internalized through culture over centuries regardless of social and political reforms. Munroe (2001) argues that even if the law says women and men are equal, this does not mean that people think so. Hence, there is a dilemma society is facing on gender identity which results in women as the disadvantaged group to feel frustrated and manipulated.

Hadebe in Hadebe and Chitando (2009:10) says,

Culture and religion are the key factors in defining and regulating gender relations in most communities in Africa. All questions regarding the welfare and status of women in Africa are explained within the framework of culture.
On a similar note, Kanyoro (2002) in Hadebe and Chitando (2009) further notes that,

Culture is the most important authoritative canon to the African worldview and any form of liberation will have to come to terms with culture. It is essential that African people learn how to question, examine and scrutinize culture. Such a process has a potential of opening the way for a critique of other systems - social, religious, economic and political.

Culture is a social construct so it can be socially deconstructed. According to Perry and Perry (1991), culture was established by generations of humans for their descendants to live by, so each generation can add, delete, change and modify some aspects of culture which are no longer relevant. In this study, a holistic approach to culture was applied in attempting to find out how socio-cultural factors affect the implementation of gender sensitive policies in education management. The researcher looked at the concept of morality and gender-based illusions from the enumerative aspect of the definition which emphasizes on beliefs, behaviour, knowledge, sanctions and values. Communitarian ethos and language and discourse were studied from a historical dimension which showed culture as emphasizing on traditions and social heritage. In this respect, the concept culture was seen as encompassing beliefs, knowledge, sanctions, values, language, traditions and social heritage. The relationship between gender and culture forms the backbone to this study as it is this relationship that has implications on implementation of gender policies. So a discussion of this relationship is imperative in understanding the thrust of this thesis.

1.10.2 Culture And Gender Roles

The concept gender is also important in this study. Benedik, Kisaaye and Oberteither (2002) argue that gender roles are contingent on the socio-economic, political and cultural context and are thus usually specific to a given time and space. So gender roles
are not universal but are defined in different ways by different cultural norms and values. Reardon (2001) notes that gender roles are learned and vary widely within and between cultures. Mbilinyi (1992) reaffirms this point by saying that like culture, gender roles are historical, changeable, subject to abolition and transformation through everyday happenings as well as periodic moments of crisis.

Anderson (2009) says the distinction between gender and sex rests on the fact that constitutes the different roles, norms and meaning they assign to men and women and the behaviour, identity and symbolisms that are associated with them on account of their real or imagined sexual characteristics. These are culture specific as each culture puts importance on different gender roles and expectations. Haslanger (2000) thus notes several dimensions of gender:

- Gender roles - men and women are assigned to distinct social roles based on perceived abilities of men and women.
- Gender norms- men and women are expected to comply with different norms of behavior and bodily comportment
- Gendered traits and virtues- psychological traits are considered masculine and feminine. Masculine traits are considered to be virtues in men and vices in women. Feminine traits are considered to be virtues in women and vices in men.
- Gendered behaviour- this is behaviour which is acceptable for men and not for women and that is acceptable for women and not men.
- Gender identity- this includes all the ways one must understand oneself to be a man or a woman
• Gender symbolism- inanimate objects may be placed in a gendered field of representation through conventional association, imaginative projection and metaphorical thinking for example, a garage is associated with males and a kitchen with females.

The distinguishing characteristics between males and females depend on the context. The behaviour appropriate for men and women determine their differential access to rights, resources and power.

WARC (2003) says social scientists have developed theoretical frameworks that are helping us to understand and unravel the concept of gender. These frameworks attempt to place women and men, boys and girls at the centre of analysis. WARC (2003) further notes that the theoretical framework grew out of a realization that women’s disempowerment concerns not only women but also men and the larger society. Differential traditional expectations of men’s and women’s roles have had an impact on the enjoyment of rights, equal access to opportunities and to participation in decision making at all levels. Munroe (2001) notes that attitudes, prejudices, assumptions and expectations held by individuals and society about men and women’s roles continue to be obstacles to the achievement of gender equality. It is difficult to change gender roles as they are part of a people’s worldview. They are deeply ingrained in people’s mindsets that even laws, policies and legislation have found it difficult to change.

1.10.3 Culture, Gender And The Socialisation Process

Socialization is the transmission of conduct, roles, attitudes and values. De Witt and Booysen (1995) postulate that through socialization a young child learns to comply with moral standards, role expectations and constraints of acceptable conduct in the society.
Meyer (1990) in De Witt and Booysen (1995) also says that socialization is the process whereby the individual becomes a member of a social group in the sense that the person learns to conduct oneself in accordance with the norm and values of the group. The individual assimilates knowledge of rules, attitudes, customs, values, roles, requirements and norms that are acceptable in the social environment. The implication on men and women rests on the fact that differential gender based socialisation result in differential gendered expectations which creates a dividing line between the sexes as they grow up in the community.

On gender role socialization, Dekker and Lemmer (1998:9) define it as, “the means by which social expectations regarding gender appropriate characteristics are conveyed to the child.” Gender role socialization provides the child with a model for behaviour. In Zimbabwe there are certain gendered choices available to a person from the time of one’s birth (UNICEF: 1994). The socialization process is the root of gender based challenges societies are facing today. Due to the gender based socialization girls are socialized for a low status in life and boys are socialized for a higher status. NAPH (1998:20) says that for girls this is done, “through restricting girls’ activities to such an extent that their social development and exploration instincts are curtailed.” This affects the girl’s choices even in later life as a grown up career woman. NAPH (1994) goes on to say that fathers and brothers believe that they have to be very protective of their womenfolk, so that women are punished, reprimanded and even beaten up for being adventurous. On the other hand, boys are allowed to be adventurous and they can even go out at night. This type of socialization restricts women’s horizons but it opens up great possibilities for the males.
Rodgers (1983) saw that men are socialized to tackle and attack problems, override obstacles, overcome difficulties and always take the offensive. On the other hand, women are socialized to be silent even over their pains. Njoroge (1998:30) points out that, “…because she was silent over her trials and tribulations, my grandmother was praised as a good woman.” Even in the Zimbabwean society, women are socialized to be silent, submissive and confined to the domestic sphere. Njoroge and Dube (2001) note that, not only is this passivity expected and endorsed; it is also reinforced and affirmed so that most women expect it of themselves.

The gender differential positions and roles internalized during the socialization process is the reason why women’s positions in society and in the job market continue to be discounted and men’s roles and positions continue to be upheld in almost every society in the world regardless of certain social and political advances. This thesis’ emphasis was on cultural factors such as morality, communitarian philosophy, gendered illusions and language and discourse. It is pertinent that the researcher explores a deeper study of these factors to clarify the concepts.

1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN
This study is located in the qualitative research paradigm. The researcher utilized design and methodological pluralism in this research to achieve credibility, dependability and trustworthiness of results. Phenomenology, grounded theory and critical discourse analysis were mixed to get an in depth understanding of the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Phenomenological design looked at the descriptive analysis of experience. Lived experiences were explored. Grounded theory was used to gain an in-depth
understanding of words and actions of the participants. Critical discourse analysis consolidated the first two designs. According to the post modernist perspective in Wanzala (1998), we construct our world through discourse. So some hidden sheds of meaning were brought to light through people’s natural talk.

In this study, the population was:

- All female and male teachers who qualify to be education managers.
- Female and male education managers.

This population was essential as they were the main focus of this research. The researcher considered all districts in Masvingo Province for the results not to be biased towards one district. For feasibility, the researcher trained research assistants to help her gather data in areas she could not reach due to time and financial constraints. The main type of sampling was purposive sampling. The types of purposive sampling used are maximum variation sampling, typical case sampling, negative case sampling and criterion sampling. Both male and female teachers were considered in the sample.

On data collection the researcher utilized semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, critical discourse analysis and participant observation. In analyzing the data grounded theory was used as the basis for the analysis. Data analysis was done concurrently with and guided data collection.

Data collected when analyzed indicated new directions and new sources of data. During the process as new issues and directions emerged there were changes in methodologies to suit the new issues and directions. A detailed discussion of research methodology is found in Chapter 3.
1.12 DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Culture** - The concept culture is difficult to define as it has a lot of dimensions which no one definition can exhaust. Reardon (2001) defines culture as the sum total of a people’s way of life, their world views, their spiritual and religious beliefs, history and collective memory, arts, language and literature, social institutions and social and personal relationships. It is seen in this research as a social construct that describes the total body of beliefs, behaviour, knowledge, sanctions and values. It comprises the things people have, the things they do and what they think. The concept culture is seen as accepted patterns of thought and behaviour in a given society. It is seen as encompassing beliefs, knowledge, sanctions, values, language, traditions and social heritage.

**Gender**- The concept gender is difficult to define. Different people put different meanings to it.. It describes the differences between women and men which are based on socially defined ideas and beliefs of what it means to be a man or a woman. It is important to note that sex refers to a person’s biological makeup and gender describes their social definition. Gender is thus culturally constructed and gender roles are socially defined and not given by nature. This researcher used the concept of gender to mean the social and cultural construct of roles, responsibilities, attributes, opportunities, privileges, status, access to and control over resources and benefits between women and men, boys and girls in a given society. Gender is thus one’s social identity.
Sex - refers to biological characteristics that make an individual male or female. Eitzen (2003) shows that sex refers to one’s biological identity. Sex differences are God given, universal and unchangeable.

**Sex roles** – these arise from the biological differences between women and men and cannot be changed. Pregnancy is an example of a sex role for women, as only women have the ability to bear children.

**Gender roles** - are the socially constructed and defined responsibilities for example, child rearing is a female gender role rather than a female sex role as it can be done equally by men or women. Eitzen (2003:249) sees gender roles as, “rights, responsibilities, expectations and relationship of men and women.” Unlike sex roles, gender roles are not universal and differ in different places and from time to time. They are also changeable and interchangeable.

**Gender equality** – this is the ability of men and women, boys and girls to enjoy the same status and have equal opportunity to realize their potential to contribute to the wellbeing of their community and country at large. Gender equality according to Billing (2009) rests on five pillars namely:

- men and women have the same intrinsic value;
- men and women are equally valuable to society;
- men and women should have equal rights and responsibilities;
- there should be no discrimination on the grounds of gender; and
- equality need not translate into sameness.

This thesis is thus based upon these convictions.
**Education management** - Zvobgo (2004) defines education management as the art of getting things done through other people. Dekker and Lemmer (1993) also define education management as a specific work in education which comprises those regulatory tasks executed by a person in a position of authority, so as to allow formative education to take place. In the context of this study education management will be seen as the function of leading, planning, organizing, coordinating, controlling and directing human and material resources in the education context in schools, district and provincial levels to achieve education goals.

**Morality** - Coutzee and Roux (1998), define morality as the observance of rules for the harmonious adjustment to the interests of the individual to those of others in the society. Nel (2008) asserts that morality refers to the moral principles pertaining to a distinction between right and wrong and that which constitutes an absolute reference for character and behaviour. It is an authoritative mode of conduct in matters of right and wrong. For the sake of this research the concept morality will refer to the assumptions justifying right and wrong actions. The following aspects of morality will be analyzed:

- Moral standards (with regards to behaviour)
- Moral responsibility (referring to our conscience)
- Moral identity (one who is capable of right or wrong.)

**Gendered Illusions** - Illusions are when people see things not as they are in reality. They are false ideas about something. They may seem sensible and true to the senses but in actual fact they are wrong and false. Gendered illusions are false ideas about the
characteristics of males and females. They distort our understanding of the make-up, abilities and capabilities of males and females.

**Discourse** - In this thesis discourse is used as what is actually spoken and how it is used to denote manifestations of language that are determined by social influences from society. The parts of language analyzed were figurative language involving proverbs, idioms and metaphors in the Shona language used at the workplace. Also an analysis of natural talk through conversations and sex based discussions was also done.

### 1.13 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

To attain a comprehensive view on the impacts of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management, a number of themes deserved attention. These themes were dealt with in the following order:

**Chapter 1** forms the introduction to the study where the justification of the research was explored.

**Chapter 2** is devoted to a detailed Literature Review. The researcher explored relevant literature on what has so far been researched on the problem under investigation. This was done to put the research in the context of other researches on the interaction between gender, culture and education management.

**Chapter 3** is an exploration of the Methodologies to be used in the research. Qualitative research methodologies were explored.

**Chapter 4** is devoted to data presentation, analysis and interpretation. This was done based on the study’s research questions, i.e.

- Impact of the African philosophy of communitarianism on career development of women.
• Impact of the concept of morality.
• Impact of gender based illusions.
• Impact of language and discourse.

Chapter 5  Conclusions and Recommendations
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Nicola Slee (2003) asserts that human community is characterized by a basic structural injustice, a distorted relationship between the sexes such that men as a group have power over women as a group. Due to this distortion, women face varied problems in the Zimbabwean context. These problems are gender based and they arise from gender based socialization, gender based stereotyping, gender based violence as well as gender based discrimination in all spheres. Cunningham and Hamilton (2000) point out that many societies are in a state of transition regarding the status of women, hence many women in the world are facing a dilemma of identity. According to Moorosi (2007: 509) in her study of South African schools, “the barriers facing women in educational management are numerous, multi-faceted, highly complex in nature and deeply interwoven in cultural norms and values.” This chapter explores the socio-cultural background to the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. The chapter first explores the concepts culture and gender. A global perspective of gender power relations in education management is analysed. The historical perspectives of gender and power relations in Zimbabwe is then discussed. Research questions are then explored in the light of literature to identify the gaps which the researcher needs to fill in.
2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In trying to address the problem of inequality in power distribution in educational management in Zimbabwe, the government tried affirmative action which is in line with the positivist school of thought. Positivism requires that the government acts affirmatively to correct inherent or innate disadvantages or disparities among individuals. Despite these policies according to the National Gender Policy (2008 – 2012) gender disparities anchored on negative socio-cultural, religious, political, legal and economic values continue to permeate all aspects of human development and interaction in Zimbabwe.

It is against this background that this thesis grounded on feminist post modernism perspective explored and described the effects of socio-cultural factors on effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

**Post –modernist Feminism**

Post modernism is the rejection of the universal and transcendental foundations of knowledge and thought. Post modernism is a response to the modernist perspective which according to Wanzala (1998) posited a one dimensional view of progress, truth and knowledge. In modernism, absolute truths, founded on rationality controlled decision making. Usher and Edwards (1994) say modernism concealed the partiality and rootedness of knowledge claims in the cloak of universality.

Post modernist feminist rejects the key tenets of modernism. The main principles of post modernist feminism which guided this study were:
• proposes a plural understanding of truth that all knowledge is contextual, historical and discursive. It rejects any one truth about reality;

• emphasizes the socio-cultural locatedness of any experience;

• advocates for the creation of self-critical thought and social criticism; and

• emphasizes the significance of language and discourse as they affect individual dispositions (Wanzala, 1998).

We are living in societies with multiple levels of domination which are different in different cultures. Collins (1990) posits that the domination is at three levels:

• Personal biographies – each person has a unique personal biography made of concrete experiences, values, motivations and emotions. No two individuals occupy the same social space, thus no two biographies are identical.

• Group or community level of the cultural context – the cultural context is formed by those experiences and ideas that are shared with other members of a group or community which give meaning to individual biographies.

• Systemic levels of social institutions.

Although the mode of female exclusion may be the same, the means vary across cultures. Hence we cannot address the issues concerning ineffective implementation of gender sensitive policies using universal solutions. Gender, culture and leadership are socially and culturally constructed and thus should be addressed from within a specific cultural and social context. This study addressed the research questions from the point of view of participants especially taking cognizance of personal biographies and the cultural context which influence the implementation of gender sensitive policies.
The post modernist perspective was of great importance to this research as it was a chance for female teachers deprived of the right to self determination to express their views. They were free to say what their experiences were really and what they thought. Their own perceptions of their socio-cultural values were interrogated and they, themselves identified the impacts of these values on their chances of taking part in higher level education management. Wanzala (1998) notes that post modernist feminism stresses that there is no absolute innocence among members of groups which share a common oppression. The study critically examined whether what is said by policy makers and other influential people, was what they really did in reality.

In this study the idea posited by Bradotti (1994) that it is not enough to simply let women into positions previously occupied by men but what should be addressed is the very structure of the framework that sustain inequalities. What matters is not a straight reversal of the balance of power which may leave the opposition intact as is in the case of education management in Zimbabwe. What matters is redefining the structures (culture and leadership) in such a way as to make them less discriminatory, not only for women but also for men.

Post modernist feminism also show that reality must be understood as not only historically limited, but also locally oriented (Alverson and Due Billing, 1997). Hadebe in Hadebe and Chitando (2009:10) says:

There needs to be a recognition that the African context is diverse and that each context has its own particular challenges. Hence it is important to identify and describe oppressive cultural and religious practices in each context.

The theme of stressing the local and avoiding the universal has two aspects which were of concern in this thesis:
• The level of generalisability, where the local means awareness of history, culture and social variations.

• The dynamics of different micro-situations meaning that truth changes with micro-contexts and it becomes difficult to generalize meaning even across micro-situations (Alverson and Due Billing, 1997).

According to Higgs and Smith (2000) women’s experiences differ so enormously depending on the country they live, their religion, their social history and culture. Carman (2002) also notes that the politics of professional glass ceiling are not universal but always dictated by cultural norms and values. Therefore, in this study, the insignificant advancement of women to higher level management required a local and situated analysis.

Post modernist feminism also looks at the concept of language and discourse as they affect individual dispositions. Alvesson and Due Billing (1997) postulate that notions of women and men are linguistic constructions and should be dissolved. In post modernist feminism there is a heightened awareness of the significance of language, discourse and socio-cultural locatedness of any knowledge. Alverson and Due Billing (1997) argue that discourses about men and women as expressed in the use of language is central. Different discourses produce different effects. In this research, the researcher interrogated metaphors, idioms, proverbs, folk stories which evidently affect women to take up higher education management posts.

Usher and Edwards (1994) say post modernist feminism reminds us that we construct our world through discourses and practice and that therefore with a different discourse and a different set of practices things could be otherwise. Also the study interrogated
conversational themes between women, men and between men and women. This was in a bid to understand gender based discourses and how they may affect leadership orientations.

Post – modernist feminism stress the arbitrariness and vulnerability of social constructions. Gender, culture and leadership should be understood as a dynamic and indeterminate phenomena. Alvesson and Due Billing (1997) state questions that should be asked in analyzing phenomena:

- What in the local situation is defined as masculine and feminine?
- What is the significance of these definitions when it comes to creating and recreating subjectivity i.e. feelings, cognitions and self images of persons?
- What is the effect of language?
- What is the dynamics of gender relations?

2.3 GENDER AND POWER RELATIONS IN EDUCATION MANAGEMENT: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Gender issues are not confined to one region, country or place. Gillham (2012) in Hendriks, Mouton, Hansen and Roux (eds) (2012:94) notes, "...one of the first things we must come to terms with is that what we have here is a local expression of a global problem...In that sense we are speaking of a global rather than a distinctly African problem."

Women’s experiences differ depending on the country they live in, their history, culture and religion. Ghafari (2008) notes that in contemporary society, men and women may
on the surface seem to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. However, it is important to understand how values and practices embedded in particular domains and social institutions foster inequality. Various studies have shown that culture impacts very negatively on gender equality in leadership.

Dines (1993) notes that the position of women in higher education management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society, and from the general aims of economic and social development. In a research she carried out Dines (1993) shows that women hold less than fifty percent of academic and administrative posts in higher education institutions. They are most represented in lower level academic and middle management positions and their participation relative to men decreases at higher levels. The research shows that representation varies between about ten and twenty percent at middle management level and from nothing to ten percent at senior management level. Representation in the committee system follows a similar pattern with women more likely to be members of departmental and faculty committees than on governing boards or councils. A consequence of this pattern of decreasing representation at successively higher levels is that senior women frequently find themselves isolated in hierarchies which are predominantly male. Dines (1993)’s research shows that gender based inequalities in education management are derived from cultural perceptions of women’s role which not only pervade higher education institutions at the systemic level, but inform the attitudes and behaviours of individual men and women. They are reinforced in the family and in the education system, in curricular materials, through the media and in the workplace.
According to a study cited in Smyth (1989) on education management in Australia, Britain and the United States, the number of women in education management in the 1970s and 1980s decreased despite governments introducing affirmative action. Smyth (1989) cited factors of insignificant advancement of women as fear of success, lack of self esteem, passive and non aggressive. These factors imply female deficiency in terms of leadership skills, attributes and vision. Smyth (1989) attributes this perceived deficiency to the fact that leadership has been socially and historically constructed in a manner that looks to characteristics of successful masculine leaders as those that constitute leadership. This has effectively excluded women in management. The recommendation from this study was that policy makers should go beyond just concentrating on increasing the numbers of female teachers in positions of leadership but they should also critically engage with other intervening factors.

Hammoud in IDRC (1993) asserts that the position of women in management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society. In her study of women in higher education management in the Arab region, she saw that the position of women is affected by the underlying influence of the Islamic law and social expectations of women. She says that women’s labour force in the Arab world is as low as 10% which is the world’s lowest. Hammound in IDRC (1993) found out that in the Arab world women were virtually not represented in decision making. In this study the purpose was to explore the perceptions, feelings and opinions of women in education management over women participation in higher education management. The study found out that traditional attitude and stereotypes as well as women’s self image influence women’s participation. Hammound in IDRC (1993) says that it is alleged that Prophet Mohammed once said, “a nation ruled by a woman will not prosper.” So the Islamic
religion and tradition work together to intensify gender inequalities in the Arab world. Hammoud thinks that intensifying efforts to modify attitudes, social awareness of women’s humanity, special efforts to change women’s negative self image and more research on the problem of gender inequality may change gender imbalances in access to power.

Gender stereotyping was also seen to impede the closing of the gender gap in education management in Indonesia. Setiadarma in IDRC (1993) found out that boys in Indonesia were expected to be aggressive and independent and should be socialized to be family providers. On the other hand girls were expected to be refined, sensitive and gentle. They are socialized to be family managers. Setiadarma (1993) notes that children’s relationship with their mothers were mainly influential than with their fathers. There was great importance placed on the symbol of ‘mother’. The fundamental relationship between the child and its mother was seen to affect the child’s mental development and progress, so should be upheld. This affected very much women’s careers outside the home. If a woman married early she plunged directly into child rearing and compromised career development.

In Nigeria, Williams in IRDC (1993) found out that female managerial positions were not easily acceptable to the community. She notes that women had to work very hard and be prepared to face insubordination especially from males in their management jobs. They had to be more committed more to the job and have goodwill of the husband and the family in order for them to succeed. The factors cited in this research that exclude women from education management were child bearing and child rearing, sex discrimination, negative self image, domestic responsibilities, lack of understanding from the husband, economic reasons and sexual harassment.
Moorosi (2007: 508) in her study of the South African education system says, “while women have had access to employment in organizations for a long time, their participation in the management of these organizations is still a matter of concern.” She shows that women constitute 70% of the teaching population but they form only 30% of school principals. This research found out that the absence of women in power positions shows that women were seen through traditional theoretical lenses and were being measured against the ideals that have historically served men best. Moorosi (2007) asserts that female teachers fight a constant battle against discrimination at two levels: at the organizational level and at the social level. At the organizational level she found out that female teachers are prejudiced by traditional and deeply embedded patriarchal values that devalue transformation processes aimed at achieving gender equity. At the social level female teachers face lack of support from their families and cultural association of school management with masculinity. 28 school principals were involved in this research. Moorosi (2007) utilized feminist research methodology in her research. She held semi structured interviews with the female secondary school principals. In this research, this researcher added more dimensions on methodology, research participants and questions explored. In all these studies it shows that culture plays the pivotal role in the exclusion of women in education management. Nearly all cultures have created negative self image in women and have overloaded them with domestic responsibilities which impede their development to education management. Researches carried out in Zimbabwe also showed the same trend.

Having explored the global and regional perspectives on studies on gender equality in education management, the researcher now turns to studies done in the Zimbabwean
context. This is meant to find out what other researchers have explored and concluded as the impact of gender relations in power distribution in education management.

2.4 GENDER AND POWER RELATIONS IN ZIMBABWE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to the Zimbabwe Human Development Report (ZHDR) (2007), the indigenous inhabitants of present-day Zimbabwe lived nomadic lives and survived largely by gathering and hunting. Women and children gathered fruits and vegetables while men were engaged largely in hunting. The division of labour was dictated by the differential biological make up of men and women. Women were involved in tasks related to their reproduction and nursing biological roles. The ZHDR report (2007:6) emphasized that,

'It is important to emphasize that this division of labour did not emanate from the need for men to subordinate women, but reflected men’s appreciation of the triple burden women had: production, reproduction and caring.’

The division of labour reflected the men’s need to protect the family and not to abuse them, as might be inferred. Proctor and Phimister (1995) in Chinyami (2010) say the division of labour between men and women that had begun in the gatherer societies developed into a relationship of inequality in settled farming societies. The association of women with domestic work had become a firmly established tradition. Women and children grew most of the crops and cooked the food but they did not have any rights.

Land was the means of production within these agrarian societies. The ZHDR report (2007) notes that land belonged to the patriarchy. It was controlled and distributed by male heads of society, ranging from headman to chiefs. Land belonged to male heads of households. According to Cheater (1985) women in pre-colonial Zimbabwe did not control the means of production in agriculture and metallurgy, but instead provided much of the labour required in these occupations. Cheater goes on to assert that it is
possible to regard women in pre-colonial societies as comprising the equivalent of the class of labour. This was the beginning of male supremacy over women as they did the riskier tasks which could not be performed by women due to their reproductive roles, protected the women and children and owned the means of production. Children were seen as an asset in that they provided labour, in which case the more children a woman had, the higher her status within the marital family she joined. So a woman’s status was judged by her reproductive ability.

Female authority grew with time. While the newly married wife had no authority in her husband’s home, by the time she acquired grandchildren she was a force to be reckoned with in the family. Cheater (1985) shows that post menopausal women became a type of ‘honorary males’ as they abandoned domestic duties to the work of younger females. However their influence remained in the private sphere as even elderly women did not frequent the male world of decision making.

Cheater (1985) notes that the major role of authority occupied by women in pre-colonial Zimbabwe was that of spirit mediumship. The mhondoro spirits of deceased chiefs like Chaminuka were predominantly male. However their mediums were as likely to be males as females for example Charwe the medium of Nehanda. The medium became identified with the spirit. The authority of the spirit overrode the prior social identity of the medium. Therefore in the role of being spirit medium the fact of being female was irrelevant to the practice of spiritual authority. The demands of the male spirit were legitimate even when these interfered with the modal social personality of a woman. Cheater (1985:69) argues that, “traditional belief systems afforded women who refused to conform to the standard female social personality an escape route into individualized
positions of power as well as authority.” The authority of traditional religion whose defenders were mainly spirit mediums whether male or female, overrode and determined secular political authority normally wielded by men. Thus in pre-colonial Zimbabwe the authority bestowed on women was not because of themselves as women but because of the male spirit. Thus the society respected the spirit through the medium.

In colonial, Zimbabwe Cheater (1985) notes that many factors intensified the gender problem. The most important factors were education, migration to towns, urbanization and religious conversion. These affected women’s roles in their societies, families and the economy. Chinyami (2010) notes that the advent of colonialism saw the further entrenchment of gender roles as men left their traditional homes to work on settler farms and mines to earn money to pay the taxes. The ZHDR report (2007:7) says,

> Even though they were exploited, working black men had access to a new source of scarce resources, money, which gave them a more privileged position than women in the increasingly monetized economy.

The ZHDR (2007) notes that men’s status was further enhanced in that they controlled money as a resource and they used it to acquire consumer goods, adding to women’s economic dependence on their working husbands. Men mainly migrated to towns in search for employment and women were left in the rural areas to work their husbands’ fields. Women were left behind to take care of the children and the home.

In education there were negative family attitudes towards the education of the girl child as families considered the benefits they would gain from educating a boy over a girl. This resulted in men having greater opportunities for study than women, thus widening the gap between males and females. This intensified the gender discrepancies in society.
between males and females as the female became more dependent on the male. Chinyami (2010) notes that the ideological development of the modal female social personality during the colonial period was related to the ways in which women were rendered more economically dependent on the males.

The current differentiated roles and status of women relative to men, therefore, have their roots largely in the developments that took place from sedentary societies to the colonial period. These gender disparities undermined the position of women.

At independence in 1980 women who constituted over half the population, accounted for only about 17 percent of the total employment of slightly over 1 million workers in the formal sector in 1980 (ZHDR, 2007). In the sector where political and administrative power is located, public administration, women accounted for only 7 percent of the workforce in 1980 (ZHDR, 2007). The government of Zimbabwe tried to remove these injustices which were based on factors such as cultural, traditional, societal and colonial attitudes which had kept women in downtrodden positions for generations. As a result ZANU (PF) in its 1980 election manifesto declared the party's intention to abolish gender disparities. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs was instituted. Kazembe (1988) notes that the task of this ministry was to mobilize, organise, coordinate public and private organizations geared towards closing the gap between men and women in Zimbabwe. In 1991 Zimbabwe ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (UNDP, 2010). From 1994, Curriculum Development Unit (1997) shows that the Gender Equity in Education Programme was implemented by the Ministry of Education. This programme was meant to reduce gender disparities in the education sector. Its focus was
on changing both the male's and female's attitudes, perceptions, values and aspirations at the individual, family, community and institutional levels. Zimbabwe signed the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. In 2003 Zimbabwe instituted the National Gender Policy. UNDP (2010) shows that to mainstream gender in public service the 2004 Public Service Gender Sector put in place gender focal points in all ministries and parastatals. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 17 Act, 2005 Section 23 is a law on protection from discrimination on the grounds of race, tribe, gender, sex and so on. Section 23(g) of the constitution states that there will be, "the implementation of affirmative action programmes for the protection and advancement of persons or classes of people who have been previously disadvantaged by unfair discrimination." Despite the implementation of gender sensitive policies, gender based disparities still persist in education management between males and females.

Gender biased practices and public attitudes towards the advancement of women and men and gender equality have not changed at the same pace as policy, legal and institutional frameworks (African Development Forum (ADF), 2008). Examining the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming efforts, Aruna Rao in ADF (2008) notes that gender mainstreaming has been associated with more failures than gains. In order to move the gender equality agenda forward, she argued, it is necessary to examine the policy environment (resources, strategies, and institutional features) and problems related to implementation that contributed to the failure of gender mainstreaming. Having explored the history of gender inequality in Zimbabwe, it is pertinent that a discussion of findings from researches done in Zimbabwe on the effects of culture on gender equity be done. The following section therefore examines what other researchers
have found out on the extent to which socio-cultural factors affect gender equality in education management.

2.4.1 Gender Power Relations In Education Management In Zimbabwe

A study by Makombe and Geroy (2009) in Harare reveals that while numerous laws and policies have been implemented to improve the circumstances of women, few women have gained access to senior management positions in Zimbabwe. They argue that there is very little empirically designed systematic research on women in management in Zimbabwe. Chabaya, Rembe, and Wadesango (2009) in their study carried out in Masvingo’s urban and peri-urban areas note that concern about gender disparities have focused on student performance particularly underachievement of girls, sex differentiated access to schooling but the question of gender disparities in the management of schools and colleges has received little attention.

Chabaya, Rembe and Wadesango (2009) found out that family attachment, low self esteem, lack of self confidence and lack of support were all compounded by stereotyping to hinder women to develop in their careers. They recommended gender sensitive courses, re-socialization of individuals into a new order where gender equality is a norm, support prospective women heads, design graduate programs that reflect the needs of women and intensify the recruitment of women into education administration

Makombe and Geroy (2009) found out that there are paradoxes between being a professional woman and being a traditional woman which women need to reconcile like cultural role expectations, work/family interface, personal characteristics and organizational support. They recommended that women should know the variables
within their ability to control that they can use to further their careers. This would increase their potential for achieving career goals and for advancing from within their culture. A critical question to be asked here is how the same culture which is disempowering to women can provide channels for women development from within it. This conclusion might have been arrived at due to the limited sample of only five executive women without consideration of the vast number of poor marginalized women teachers in the rural areas.

Rutoro (2007) found out that the factors that impede the equal development of men and women into leadership in the Shona culture were the payment of bride wealth, polygamy, belief in the cultural supremacy of males over females, widowhood and remarriage. His study was mainly grounded in church leadership, but his findings showed a congruency between what happens in educational leadership and what happens in church leadership. The study also shows that from the inception of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe (RCZ) in 1891, women were excluded from church leadership due to the cultural mindset of church leadership as well as due to the effects of western patriarchy. Despite the fact that female membership far outnumbered male membership, women were not allowed in church leadership. Rutoro (2007:107) says, "The role of the women was to participate in singing, listening to sermons preached by men and contributing in alms. Church leadership was a clerical domain for males." It was only in 2002 when women were allowed to hold ministerial positions in this church. It is thus clear that it is not only in educational management where there are gender disparities in leadership, but the problem infuses a wide spectrum of sectors.
From these studies it is clear that each country and region has its own set of problems that have impacted negatively on gender equity. It is from this perspective that the researcher used feminist post modernism to understand the problem of gender inequity in education management in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean studies cited have also gone a long way in trying to explain the problem. However this researcher has seen that there are still gaps which need to be filled.

There are methodological and theoretical gaps in knowledge of the impact of socio-cultural factors in the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies. In this research, the researcher used new methodologies which have not been used by other researchers in Zimbabwe in exploring this problem. She mixed phenomenology, critical discourse analysis and grounded theory to get a greater understanding of the problem of gender inequity in education management. The sampling procedures also offered a new approach in the study of gender and education management. This researcher employed a variety of purposive sampling methods to get a deep picture from people with different perspective.

This researcher also looked at new themes in the interrogation of factors that impede the development of female teachers to education management. The issues of morality, communitarianism were seen as the major problems which differentiate the Zimbabwean gender problem from gender problems in other regions of the world. From the researches the researcher came across, these themes were not explored on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Language and discourse and gendered illusions were seen as means of
imparting these core values and thus they work together to completely differentiate the sexes in the Zimbabwean context.

Thus this research was aimed at filling in the methodological as well as the theoretical gaps in knowledge existing on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. The next section therefore discusses the areas of theoretical gaps discovered in the area under study.

2.5 CULTURE AND MORALITY

According to Clarken (2010) morality is important in our societies because it dictates what makes up the ideal and whole person. The role of morality in defining personhood has been questioned and challenged. Coutzee and Roux (1998) cited moral questions which may be linked to the metaphysical conception of the person:

- The status of the right of the individual (whether these are so fundamental that they cannot be overridden in any circumstances).
- The place of duty (how the person sees his/her socio-ethical roles in relation to the interest and welfare of others).
- The existence and appreciation of a common life and a common good.

The morality factor in the African context requires that a person conforms to those requirements which are inspired by identification with the interests of others, even at the cost of a possible curtailment of one’s interests. Nel (2008) argues that morals are embedded in people’s practices, customs and rituals and are transmitted through generations. He goes on to note that morality is related to socially inscribed modes of action derived from experiences of what is in the interest and wellbeing of the
community. The moral imperative is to achieve right relationships between individuals and the community.

Nel (2008) goes on to say that in morality, justification of good and bad is not in terms of reason only. The collective input of practice, custom and ritual makes the moral imperative and its justification. There is no moral reasoning for the sake of moral justification. Moral appraisals are made by reference to sets of values and standards prescribed by tradition, customs, practices as well as social and family codes. In Africa, the concept of morality is embedded in the Ubuntu philosophy. Even within the African context morality is relative with society.

Different societies have different views about what is considered to be right or wrong. Shaw (1999) says that these variations reflect differing factual beliefs and diverging circumstances rather than fundamental differences in values. Even within the same society there can be variations in moral standards between families. However, there are generally agreed moral norms. Lennick and Kiel (2005) in Clarken (2010) see morality as embracing integrity, responsibility and compassion. Integrity encompasses acting consistently with principles, values and beliefs and standing for what is right. Responsibility encompasses taking personal responsibility and embracing responsibility for serving others. Compassion involves actively caring for others. Integrity, responsibility and compassion are inevitable for one to be accepted as a moral person with moral intelligence.

Borba (2001) in Clarken (2010) says moral intelligence involve the capacity to understand right from wrong and to have strong ethical convictions to act and behave in
the right and honorable way. She identified seven moral virtues to be nurtured in any society: empathy, conscience, self control, respect, kindness, tolerance and fairness. The Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development Panel on Moral Education (1988) in Clarken (2010) defines a moral person as one who:

- Respects human dignity
- Cares about the welfare of others
- Integrates individual interest and social responsibility
- Demonstrates integrity
- Reflects on moral choices

A person’s moral uprightness is a product of affective, cognitive and social forces that converge to create a growing moral awareness. A person’s social and cultural experience shapes his/her morality standards. Through the process of participation, observation and interpretation a person develops enduring moral values (Darmon: 1988 in Clarken: 2010). However, the way people view morality differs between the liberals and the communitarianists. Thus Geisler (1971) divides morality into two perspectives.

Geisler (1971) says that morality can be viewed from two perspectives, the teleological perspective and the deontological perspective. The teleological stresses a type of morality which is concerned with end results of an action. It is a utilitarian approach concerned with whether an action will in the end work. Duty is done for the sake of results and not for the sake of duty itself. Human action is based on its utility to man in general.
Geisler (1971:20) notes that the deontological perspective “is an ethic of principle which is concerned with one’s duty to do what is inherently right apart from the foreseeable consequences.” It looks at the intrinsic good in an act regardless of the good or evil it will produce. It looks at duty for the sake of duty not for the sake of results. This perspective is in line with Kantian type of morality which stipulates that duty ought to be done for the sake of duty regardless of future dividends. One does one’s duty because it is good to do what one ought to do. Geisler (1971) notes that deontological morality is prescriptive as it commands certain courses of action. This type of morality holds that there are certain things one must do whether or not one feels they should do it. Deontological morality takes precedence over both feelings and facts. It is the deontological type of morality which governs action in a communitarian system.

In accordance with African traditional values and morality Article 18 of the African Charter (1986) states that:

- The family shall be the natural unit and basis of society. It shall be protected by the State which shall take care of its physical health and moral.
- The State shall have the duty to assist the family which is the custodian of morals and traditional values recognized by the community.

Because this moral imperative is embedded in African values, Famakinwa (2010) argues that the natural bond among members of a community gives rise to the need to fulfil certain responsibilities towards members of one’s community. Famakinwa (2010) notes that in African morality, love not justice is the first virtue of social institutions. He goes on to say that there is no good reason to say that the majority view on moral issues is automatically right. The belief that it is automatically right has unacceptable
consequences e.g. silencing the weaker group and the minority. In most societies the gendered perceptions of differential sources and requirements for happiness is unethical. It ignores considerations of justice and fairness.

Shaw (1999) argues that an action that may be morally right may be unethical. What is morally permissible is different from ethical. The fact that something is unethical provides a moral consideration for not doing it. If something is not good to be done upon one sex then there is a moral imperative not to practice it on another sex.

Morality in the African context is fulfilled through the use of hidden rules. Hazelton (2008) defines hidden rules as the unspoken rules that guide everyday behaviour and form the basis for decision making. While the rules are unspoken, they form a handbook for behaviour. Man as a cultural being is bound by hidden rules. The rules hover on the background implicitly affecting behaviour. According to Abrahamson (1990:24); “because the rules of a culture typically pass unnoticed, people are conditioned to respond without even realizing that they are acquiring an arbitrary set of responses.” To fulfil the morality factor, Maslow in Davidoff (1987) argues that most of us are blind to our true potential. We conform to cultural rules rather than pursue personal needs. Concern about safety makes us fearful of risk taking (challenging the status core) and we remain closed to new experiences.

Ghafari (2008) argues that gender inequality in the workplace remains a rich area for debate. Because attitudes and beliefs are recreated in the workplace, gendered access to employment positions remain intact in the workplace. Women continue to find themselves in the lower employment positions. Hazelton (2008) notes that if we want to
help men and women to have equal opportunities in the job market we must know the hidden rules affecting their equality. The greatest frustration faced in society is lack of knowledge of hidden rules.

In order to fulfil the morality demands, African women conform to cultural rules rather than pursue personal goals. Munroe (2001) rightly notes that it is extremely difficult to be an African woman in the twenty first century, when our societies are still in a state of transition regarding the issue of women. The problems women face in the work place are manifestations of underlying issues.

Curran and Renzenti (1996) note that women due to a need to fulfil morality requirements have primary allegiance to the home and the family so they seek undemanding jobs so that they can better tend to their household responsibilities. Their husbands, on the other hand, are free to move or go wherever they want to advance in their careers. This is in line with Henry Murray’s needs theory in Nash, Stoch and Harper (1990). He stipulates that individuals have a need for achievement. Success in life requires a strong need in this area. A need for achievement (nAch) is coupled with a fear for failure (FF). Women have been socialized to fear failure in their private lives especially in their marriages where the society measures their feminity. Men fear failure in the public sphere where their manhood is measured. This causes differential career aspiration for men and women.

It is in the light of the above findings that this research seeks to add to the already accumulated knowledge on the factors that influence the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. This research addressed the thematic and
methodological gaps identified in previous researches in order to address the critical question: What are the impacts of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. The themes which were addressed were: the impact of the African philosophy of communitarianism, the African concept of morality, gendered illusions and language and discourses.

2.5.1 Morality And The Ethic Of Care

One aspect of morality explored was the ethic of care. Engster (2007:28) defines care as a practice that includes, “everything we do to help individuals to meet their vital biological needs, develop and maintain their basic capabilities and avoid or alleviate unnecessary or unwanted pain and suffering so that they can survive, develop and function in society.” Caring should not be confused with offering a service. To care is to meet the needs of others who cannot meet their own needs. Service is to meet the needs of others who are capable of meeting their own needs. Shaw (1999) says that an ethic of care involves a willingness to receive others, a willingness to give the lucid attention to appropriately fill the needs of others. He goes on to say that the ethic of care is not an appeal to abstract principles but the use of our moral imagination where our attention to the particular situation is infused by our involved concern for others. Although the obligation to care is rooted in our relations to others, a concern with formal rules or explicitly formulated duties tends to get in the way of our ability to care for others. The tactics used to enforce the rules upon members of the community in an effort to force them to comply with the ethic of care principle make it a burden rather than a joy. Care combined with service serves to compromise the ability of females to meet their own needs and to fulfil their own ambitions (Engster, 2007).
Shaw (1999) argues that an ethic of care accurately reflects the way many people experience their moral obligations and that it captures the intuitive concern that guides their moral thinking. The ethic of care in the Shona society according to Gelfand (1992) embraces the concept of brotherhood. Love of a good family life with close support of its members and good neighbourliness are the pillars of Shona culture. Gelfand further reiterates that in traditional societies human relations involved reciprocal obligations and sanctions and the Shona people are fully taken up with them. The concern of the Shona’s clansmen is directed at social justice, obligation and responsibility.

The ethic of care results in the differential workloads for females and males. Due to the gendered ethic of care, male and female teachers have different obligations. Munroe (2001) asserts that in many Western countries women are accepted as competitors in the world of work but at the same time they are expected to fulfil their traditional roles of mothers and wives. Kazembe (1988) notes that a woman has to juggle between career and family obligations. However for a male teacher family obligations are limited. This may result in women putting career advancement as a secondary issue. Eitzer (1998:402) argues that, “the responsibility of women for domestic maintenance and child care frees men of such duties but limits the capacity of women.”

During the socialization process boys and girls are taught different duties. Girls are socialized to care while boys are socialized to protect and control their womenfolk. Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) (1997) says that the assumption is that women do not define or create any space for themselves but for other people around them. This type of socialization creates women who are self denying, passive and who sacrifice their own development for others.
Feminist philosopher, Gillian (1992) argues that the ages between twelve and sixteen are crucial to girls’ formation of identity. However it is the time girls are taught to silence their inner moral intuitions. Gillian found out that in adulthood women are encouraged to resolve the crisis of adolescents by excluding themselves. As a result women’s adolescent voices of resistance become silent and they experience a dislocation of self, mind and body which may reflect in low leadership aspirations.

De Witt and Booysen (1995) state that the women’s roles are seen against the background of their domestic duties and their feminine abilities are measured in terms of fulfilment of a supportive and constructive role in supporting their husbands. This results in women who feel that their primary duty is to aid their husbands’ development and not their own development. Gillian (1992: 3) asserts that:

> Women's deference is rooted not only in their social subordination but also in the substance of their moral concern. Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgment other points of view.

This ethic of care is reflected in Shona proverbs. The following proverbs from Hamutyinei and Hangger (1987) show that culturally women are the custodians of care in the Shona society.

- *Mai vevana kufa pwere dzinorezvewa nani?* (if a mother dies who will caress the child?) This shows that it is the role of the mother to care for the children and not the father.
- *Nherera inoguta musi wafa mai vayo.* (an orphan eats to the full the day the mother dies)
• *Mai kunatsa muroyi, ziso riri pamwana.* (a mother pleases a witch while her eye is on the child.) This implies that a mother can do anything to protect her children’s welfare.

The implication of these proverbs is that the burden of care lies on the mother’s shoulders. The mother can forego anything to protect her children’s welfare thus we see Shona women even foregoing career advancement for the good of the children. Moorosi (2007) postulates that for most women moving into education management brings an additional stress, as they associate educational management with inflexibility and restrictiveness as compared to what teaching in the classroom offers them in terms of meeting the demands of their time. Women’s roles as caregivers were seen to compete with professional commitment. Moorosi (2007) further notes that:

> In their attempt to balance their personal and professional lives, some women hesitate to seek promotion into management posts during their careers because they anticipate difficulties in maintaining the balance between the two.

Critics like Puka (1991), Card (1999) and Davion (1993) see the ethic of care as slave morality. They say care ethics comes from patriarchal traditions characterized by rigidly enforced sexual division of labour. They say that women who predominantly perform the work of care often do so to their own economic and political disadvantage. Care ethics is here seen to be characterized by self sacrifice and self effacement on the part of women.

Thus the ethic of care is seen here to impede female teachers’ development into education management. The impacts of the ethic of care are further compounded by the ethic of virtue which again is gendered. The next section explores the ethic of virtue.
2.5.2 Morality And Virtues

A good person according to Shaw (1999) is a virtuous person. Achieving excellence or virtue involves acquiring certain habits of actions and emotions. Shaw (1999) shows that a virtue is a kind of disposition or character trait and one acquires a virtue not by memorizing certain rules but by acting in certain ways until those ways of acting become firm dispositions. Virtue goes beyond morality which limits itself to rule oriented approaches. A virtue embraces inside character instilled into a person through years of socialization. Shaw (1999) noted that morality is grounded on virtue. Virtues are the basic dispositions to adhere to the basic rules of morality and not violate them without justification.

Vasquez, Andre, Shanks, Meyer and Meyer (1985) show that virtues are attitudes, dispositions or character traits that enable us to be and act in ways that develop our potential. They are developed through learning and through practice. Virtues are habits, which once developed, they become characteristic of a person. At the heart of the virtue approach to morality, is the idea of community. Character traits are not developed in isolation, but within a community to which one belongs. As people grow their personality traits are deeply affected by the values that their communities prize, by the personality traits that their communities encourage and by the role models of their communities.

In most societies virtues are dictated without considering that the disposition should maximize the wellbeing of the society and the individual. The wellbeing of the society is always put above the wellbeing of the individual. At times societies value virtues for
their own sake. Virtues should be upheld if they have good results both on the individual and on the society. Shaw (1999: 259) asserts that it is good for a person to possess virtue. He further enquires: “Are the traits identified as virtue good for their possessors? Those virtues promote human flourishing, but does their possession necessarily promote one’s own flourishing?”


High morality is upheld in indigenous African homes and societies. People are encouraged to do good and chastised for wrong doing. The culturally defined goodness include…respect for properly constituted authority, promoting honesty, integrity, accountability, responsibility, hospitality, selflessness, virtuousness, generosity, reciprocity and courage.

In Africa the concept of morality is embedded in the Ubuntu philosophy or Unhuism as it is referred to by Zimbabwean philosophers like Samkange (1980). Desmond Tutu (1999) points out that a person can’t exist as a human being in isolation. The following standards are used in telling whether a person has ubuntu or not:

- Moral standards (with regards to behaviour);
- Moral responsibility (referring to our conscience); and
- Moral identity (one who is capable of right or wrong).

Ubuntu is a virtue which is important in African societies for both males and females. However, the type of ubuntu required for a male is different from the type of ubuntu required for a female. Chiwome in Mutswairo et al (1996:54) says in the Shona society, “unhu is attained through one’s plausible performance of one’s role in society.”
A person with ubuntu in the African context is open and available to others. Louw (1998) suggests that ubuntu defines a person in his/her several relationships with others. The idea requires that one draws from one’s experience based on the examples and behaviours of elders and other people whose actions are considered models of good action. Thus ubuntu is derived from parents, tribal practices and inheritance from the distant past. Lauw (1998) stresses that in the western liberal idea of moral reasoning and rationality, moral reasoning is seen and understood solely in the context of individual will, metaphysical autonomy and rationality. On the other hand, African morality is couched in the social context of the individual’s moral and cognitive development. This type of morality calls for greater social obligation than the western type of morality.

Mbiti (2012) asserts that African societies believe that their morals were given to them by God from the beginning. This provides an unchallenged authority for the morals. Mbiti (2012) shows that the Yoruba believe that morality is certainly the fruit of religion. It is also believed that some of the departed and the spirits keep watch over the people to make sure that they observe the moral laws and are punished when they break them deliberately (Mbiti, 2012). This argument strengthens the authority of morals. Thus morality is associated with the spirituality of the Africans. To be moral is seen as to obey the ancestors, which make morals very coercive.

However morality in the African culture is seen as very gendered. What is not moral to do for a female, may not be taken as such for males. This gender differentiation on morality creates differences in perceptions, attitudes and aspirations in males and
females. To elucidate this concept, the following section discusses morality and gender in the African context.

2.5.3 Morality And Gender In The African Context

Morality in the African context is gendered. The society is in a dilemma concerning gender equality. Society has internalized gender inequity so that people no longer perceive gender inequality as a form of social injustice because they have been socialized into the acceptance of their situation. Family and social conventions disable women’s agency by limiting their capability to reason and act independently and by obliging them to put the needs of others above their own while encouraging males to excel in the public sphere.

Goetz (2007) rightly notes that in the context of cultural variety in perception of what is right and fair in gender relations, it is difficult to pin down a definition of gender justice. It encompasses human agency, autonomy, rights and capabilities. Ideologies about women’s subordination to men and the family are often rooted in assumptions about what is natural or divinely ordained in human relations. These perspectives are legitimated not by an appeal to justice, but by socially embedded convictions about honour and priority- convictions felt to be beyond the realms of justice (Goetz :2007). Hence the concept of gender justice in morality can raise intense debate.

In a research by the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PASCA, 2008:9) one woman had the following story to tell about her life:

As I look back to my past life, many memories come to mind. I think back to the times I wore two hats. As a student social worker I was empowered on gender issues but at home I submitted to the patriarchal norms and customs expected of me as a Zulu wife.
I worked in the domestic violence section of the police station and the court at Umlazi. Every story I heard and worked through with my clients was like a slap on my face. I was a hypocrite; here I was advocating for other people’s rights in their relationships, when I did not have a voice in mine. I was seen as a champion to the women I worked with. I was their voice in my reports to the courts. The magistrates sought my opinion on cases that I always had an answer and strategy to help. In my life I was living in bondage. At work I was free: at home I was bound by my own fears and wanting to bring stability to my own children. I hated going home. I was made to feel inferior at home but yet at work I was powerful. I could not cope with work because it brought home all my issues. I resigned and changed focus.

From the above narrative the following lessons can be drawn:

- Even though women and men work as equals in the workplace, women’s careers are drawn back by experiences in the domestic sphere. Obligations, expectations and social perceptions of womanhood pull them back.
- Freedom for women in the public sphere cannot be translated to freedom in the domestic sphere as social influences affect their professional development.
- Knowledge of gender equity does not mean freedom from gender based discrimination in the socio-cultural field.
- The conflict between work and home causes stress in most women. This is a result of the dual personalities they have to assume to fit the situation. This creates internal conflict which discourages most women to aspire for management positions.

Another story which shows the impact of morality on career aspirations of women, again from a research by PASCA (2008: 10) goes:

When I was younger I felt confident about myself and my own achievements. I went to college and I got a diploma. I had close relationship with my family and my church. Then I married. From the beginning of my marriage my husband
struggled to accept that I was more educated than him. He seemed angered by my confidence and my thoughts. He abused me emotionally and physically. I asked my family for help but they said I was married and had to accept my husband’s authority. I went to my pastor for help. He came to our house to counsel us. He told me that my husband was the head of the family, and that I should not question his actions. He said I had made trouble for myself by thinking that I was too clever. To my husband he said nothing.

Not long after that my husband tried to kill me. That night I ran from my home. I ran from my church. I have never been back to either.

From this extract the following themes were raised by the researcher:

- Women’s self confidence and self esteem may diminish through marriage while most men’s self confidence and self esteem are enhanced;
- Some husbands hinder their wife’s career development;
- Some husbands are not supportive of their wife’s career development as their self esteem is lowered if a wife is better than them professionally; and
- Psycho-social support systems are gendered. They are an extension of the social patriarchy.

Thus career development becomes gender biased in favour of the males.

According to Cheater (1985), women are limited conceptually in the social order. Women just as men perform different roles. She explains that each individual as a social person has a social personality which encompasses all of his/her relations with others. But in the case of women, the concept ‘woman’ seems to provide a ‘modal social personality’ which lessens a female’s chances of entering into management positions. Thus gender affects moral expectations from an individual. This results in differences in socio-cultural expectations for the sexes. This impacts differentially on gender based aspiration towards career advancement.
The other research question addressed by this research was on the impact of communitarianism on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Morality in the African context cannot be discussed in isolation from the communitarian philosophy. So having looked at the concept of morality, the following section links morality to communitarianism.

2.6 CULTURE AND AFRICAN COMMUNITARIANISM

The African communitarian philosophy cannot be discussed as a separate entity from morality as they are closely intertwined. The metaphysical question asked by African philosophers is whether a person though she lives in a human society is, “a self sufficient, atomic individual who does not depend on his/her relations with others for the realization of his/her goals or is a person by nature, a communal person having essential relationships with others” (Coetzee and Roux, 1998:317). Menkit (1984:319) argues that; “as far as Africans are concerned, the reality of the community takes precedence over the reality of the person.” Mazama (2003) defines the core values of communitarianism as:

- Centrality of the community
- Respect of tradition
- The sociality of selfhood
- Unity of being

In communitarianism the social structure reflects and is influenced by the public conception of personhood. African societies put more stress on the group and not on autonomy (Coutzee and Roux, 1998). Even the African Charter on Human and People’s
Rights is premised upon characteristic features of the African set up, which according to Benedek, Kissakye and Oberteither (2002) are:

- A communitarian unit in which the status of the individual is defined within the family, society and state.
- Inspiring norms are the traditions and values.
- Rights are paralleled by duties that are owed by the individual to the communitarian unit.
- Rights accrue to both the individual and the community.

African social structures are very communal. Coetsee and Roux (1998) say the African philosophy of communitarianism puts more stress on the group and not on the person, more on communion of persons than on autonomy. By African standards the reality of the communal world takes precedence over the reality of the person. Oduyoye (2001) notes that realities in the African system of communitarianism are very community oriented and therefore require all to be sensitive to the wellbeing of the community. A Communitarian ethos encompasses fellow feeling, selflessness, and interdependence, principles of communality, egalitarianism and solidarity.

Human beings are seen as communal beings embedded in a context of interdependence. Menkiti Ifeanyi (1984) a Nigerian philosopher emphasizes that communitarianism emphasize the ontological primacy of the community over the reality of the individual. He says it is the community which defines the individual as a person, not some isolated static quality of rationality, will or memory. This view of communitarianism assumes that the welfare, values and goals of the community are supreme and the overriding
consideration for morality and social justice. It is this view that will guide the researcher’s approach to communitarianism in this thesis.

Richardson in Kunhiyop (2008:20) argues that, “community is the central concept in African ethics, the central experience in African morality.” In communitarianism the social structure reflects and is influenced by the public conception of personhood and African societies emphasize the group and not autonomy.

Verhoef and Michel (1997) noted that unlike western view of a person as an individual, the concept of a person in African worldview is first and foremost that of community. In the West, according to Sigh (1997) many liberals see personal autonomy as paramount to civil society. They see human dignity as consisting mainly of autonomy i.e. in the ability of each person to determine for him or herself a view of the good life. Communities which are liberal according to Sigh (1997) contribute to their members’ abilities to develop appropriate mental abilities. Members of a liberal society should have the capacity to form, revise and rationally pursue their existing conception of the good (Sigh, 1997).

Liberalism gives room to freedom, justice, fairness and individual rights. Individual rights are not sacrificed for the sake of the general good. Liberalism is protective of the individual and argues for the conditions that make for individual self fulfilment and freedom.

However, Mbiti (1970) in Kunhiyop (2008:21) asserts that:

An individual does not and cannot exist alone. He owes his existence to other people...only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of
his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. When he suffers he does not suffer alone, when he rejoices he does not rejoice alone but with his kinsmen. When he marries he is not alone, neither does his wife belong to him alone.

This is in direct conflict with the ideals of liberalism. So a person in the African context is seen in the light of other people and is judged by his relations with other people. The role of the woman is not seen in the light of herself, but in the light of the husband.

The communitarian ethos encompasses fellow feeling, selflessness, and interdependence, principles of communality, egalitarianism and solidarity. In accordance with the African communitarian ethos of egalitarianism Article 19 of the African Charter (1989) asserts that, “All peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another.” However this implied devotion to equality is not extended to the socio-cultural sphere with regards to socio-cultural gender equality.

Moral questions linked to the precepts of community are noted by Coetzee and Roux (1998) as:

- The status of the right of the individual (whether these are so fundamental that they cannot be overridden in any circumstances);
- The place of duty (how the person sees his/her socio-ethical roles in relation to the interest and welfare of others); and
- The existence and appreciation of a common life and a common good.

Kunhiyop (2008) notes that one’s grasp of African morality is dismal if one does not come to terms with the profound concept of community. Thus community is a pre-
requisite in African morality. This understanding is supported by many Shona proverbs that buttress the significance of the community and relationships for example:

- **Munhu vanhu** – a person is a person because of other people.
- **Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda** – one finger cannot crush a louse.
- **Rume rimwe harikombi churu** – one man cannot circle an anthill.
- **Zanondoga akapisa jira** – the one who makes decisions alone burnt his blanket
- **Chawawana idya nehama mutorwa anehanganwa** – what you find, eat with your relative for a stranger easily forgets.

It is such proverbs which instil the spirit of community in African people. Their use across generations is a way of passing on well guarded beliefs and values of African people. While liberals see personal autonomy as paramount in civil societies and as intrinsic to human dignity and human rights, communitarians see group rights as intrinsic to human development and human welfare. Communitarianism emphasizes group solidarity, group identity and uncritical transmission of a group’s core beliefs and values. One does not focus on oneself as a distinct entity but in relation to others. According to Kluckhohn and Sterodtbeck (1996:196) in Verhoef and Michel (1997) “the individual is not a human being except as he is part of a social order.” ‘We’ transcends ‘Me’ and ‘I’. This does not mean that the individual is selfless but that the self is embraced within the community. If one does not devote oneself to the welfare of the community one purposely causes harm to oneself. According to Mbiti (1969) in Verhoef and Michel (1997:17) the African view of the person can be summed up in the statement “I am because we are and since we are therefore I am.”
Menkiti (1979) in Verhoef and Michel (1997) explain that the West moves from the individual to the community, while Africa moves from the community to the individual. The ‘We’ of the African ethos is a shared experience, a body of collective experience and an understanding that one’s experiences are never entirely one’s own. The African collectivism entails responsibility and concern for the welfare of others before one’s own.

Verhoef and Michel (1997) further note that from the African perspective morality is not primarily a justice morality as it is in the West. What is moral from the West’s perspective tends to be defined by absolute standards which apply to all situations regardless of social position. From an African perspective moral processes are primarily concerned with the maintenance of good relations. What is right is what connects people together. Moral transgression is seen as that which disrupts communal unity, for example the direct denial of an obligation or the indirect avoidance of an obligation. This may entail failing to care for a younger sibling. The failure to fulfil obligations expected of one’s social position leads to a break in relationship between individuals.

The only way to understand morality in Africa is to understand African conceptualization of the world or African ethos. Verhoef and Michel (1997) note the distinctive aspects of the African ethos as:

- Holistic approach – no one can exist alone “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”
- Concept of personhood – without relationship to the whole, the person is not a person. One does not focus on him/herself as a distinct entity, but rather in relationship to others. ‘we’ transcends ‘me’ or ‘I’;
• Communal life – the ‘we’ of the African ethos is a shared experience, a body of collective experience, an understanding that one’s experiences are never entirely one’s own; and

• An orientation towards the past – for the African the ideal takes the form of the exemplary past which is realized in the present. In the African worldview life is grounded in the past but experience in the present. ‘I do this because my forefathers did it.’

Unlike the Western belief in absolute equality between individuals, the African perspective does not necessarily grant human beings equality. Each individual is positioned uniquely within the community according to social variables like age and gender (Verhoef and Michel, 1997). Verhoef and Michel (1997)’s paper shows that authority of elders in the communal system in African communities is unquestioned and it involves the imposition of communal values and principles on people in a way that does not allow them to use their free will and rationality. Autonomy and moral reasoning is unacceptable according to African communalistic view because morality and moral autonomy and their rationale basis indicate that they have a social foundation which include communal normative structures that shape choices and judgment. The conception of person, community and their connection have implications for how one may conceive the idea of autonomy, rationality and moral reasoning. According to Menkiti (1979) in Verhoef and Michel (1997) the Western conception of a person’s autonomy, rationality and moral reasoning are couched in terms of the person’s metaphysical and psychological characteristics which include her cognitive ability, will and memory. The African idea of rationality, autonomy and moral reasoning seek to emphasize the moral primacy of the community which shapes the reality of the person.
The idea of moral reasoning is based on the view that the autonomy and ability to make reasonable choices among available alternatives must be educated, informed, shaped, cultivated and nurtured by the community.

In the same vein, Chapter two of the African Charter Article 27 (1989) reinforces the moral responsibilities and obligations every individual owes towards one's family and society, the State and other legally recognized communities and the international community. The Charter reiterates that the rights and freedoms of each individual shall be exercised with due regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest.

Senghor (1964:49) states that African communalism believes in “communion of souls rather than an aggregate individual, more on solidarity than on activities and needs of the individual, more on communion of persons than on their autonomy.” Human beings are seen as communal beings embedded in a context of interdependence. This view of communitarianism assumes that the welfare, values and goals of the community are supreme and the overriding consideration for morality and social justice. It is this view that guided the researcher’s approach to communitarianism in this thesis.

This community also, within this transcendental term of reference (god-made), becomes the custodian of the individual's ideas. In another sense, the community offers the African the psychological and ultimate security as it gives its members both physical and ideological identity. Culture is a community property and must therefore be communally-protected. The philosophy behind the African communitarianism therefore guaranteed individual responsibility within the communal ownership and relationship.
But what is more important is the solidarity it fosters. However, the spirit of community is quite gendered in the African context. To clarify on this, the researcher explores the relationship between the African communitarian philosophies and gender.

2.6.1 Communitarianism And Gender In The African Context

In the communitarian system, the notion of motherhood is not just biological but an orientation towards the well being of the whole community. This has an implication on gender sensitive policies as women put their social obligations before career development. Ikuonobe (2006) noted that African communal setup is associated with social responsibilities and expectations which some people see as external impositions that limit one's freedom and autonomy. The division of labour in the communitarian system is based on the patriarchal system which is a father ruled system in which all power and authority rests in the hands of the male head of the family (Phiri, 2000). As a result there are gender differentiated spaces in a communitarian society. Dube (2001: 8) says, "if power is denied to certain groups of people, they are susceptible to manipulation by the powerful." Through the patriarchal system women have been culturally kept from power.

Gender space is defined by Louw and Zuniga (2007) as locales that culture invest with gendered meanings. It refers to sites in which sex differentiated practices occur. Anderson (2009) argues that gender space shapes one’s perspective of the world and provides a framework for behaviour of a group. In a communitarian system women are mainly associated with the domestic sphere and it forms the basis of all their activities. Men on the contrary are associated with the public sphere. Anderson (2009) asserts that men’s privileged position in the communitarian system has given them the privilege to
ignore how their actions affect women as a class. The woman in the African context belongs to men and is not an independent being. She does what is required of her by the men in her life. The communal system is a system of men with women out of the picture. They act as service providers and caregivers.

The communitarian system restricts women in terms of freedom to enjoy autonomy and realize their full potential. Benedik et al (2002) point out that women in Africa have largely remained trapped in communitarian structure steeped in tradition where primary allegiance is to the community rather than to the person. According to Carl Rodgers’ self concept theory in Meyer, Moore and Vilgoen (1989) potential is realized in an atmosphere in which the individual is unconditionally accepted for what she is and feels free to develop without external restrictions. Thus, Munroe (2001) argues that denying women space freedom stifles their ability, aspirations and dignity. He goes on to say that the negative attitudes towards women are the reasons why social and political advances of women which on the surface seem to be victories can be burdens for women.

In the communitarian system women are treated as a group and not as individuals. They are relegated to supporting men emotionally and physically while men sit in communal councils to make decisions. While communitarians say that in this system there is community of persons and egalitarianism, they do not consider gender egalitarianism. Thus women in the African communitarian societies remain in subordinated positions.

Bondi (1996) notes that women’s subordinated positions have reinforced their work orientations. They make them less assertive and less committed to success. A Malawian
woman in Phiri (2000:12) laments, “in our village, where are we women when plans are being made and discussed for the good of our people? It is the men who are inside the kraal, we women are cut out.” Due to this disregard of women’s abilities, Munroe (2001) points out that there has been a loss of human potential over the years throughout the world.

Benedik et al (2002) argue that traditional expectations of women’s roles have an impact on the enjoyment of rights, on equal access to opportunities and resources and to participation in decision making at all levels. Women’s experiences differ depending on the country they live, their history, culture and religion. Ghafari (2008) notes that in contemporary society, men and women may on the surface seem to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. However, it is important to understand how culture through its values and practices embedded in particular domains and social institutions fosters inequality.

Mbiti (1970) in Kunhiyop (2008:21) asserts that:

An individual does not and cannot exist alone. He owes his existence to other people...only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. When he suffers he does not suffer alone, when he rejoices he does not rejoice alone but with his kinsmen. When he marries he is not alone, neither does his wife belong to him alone.

In this regard, the role of the woman is not seen in the light of herself, but in the light of the husband. When Mbiti refers to the person, he is referring to the male person with the woman as the object of the 'person'. Thus, this view of communitarianism sees the male as the subject of the male-female relationship and the female as the object.
In total disregard of gender disparities in African societies Malidoma in Kunhiyop (2008:22) asserts that, “nobody is higher than anybody else, so there is no class.” He does not consider women as a class that is less privileged. He does not see women as a down trodden grouping society as most by African standards women are legally inferior to men. Such thinking by most people has slowed down progress towards gender equity in most African communities.

Ray in Kunhiyop (2008:23) says, “African thought also recognizes that each individual is a unique person endowed by the creator with his own personality and talents and motivated by his own particular needs and ambitions.” This assessment defies any critical assessment of the gender question in the African context. He further notes that, African thought acknowledges the transcendence of individuals over their own socio-cultural conditions. Individual achievements are encouraged, acknowledged and interpreted in the context of the whole community.

This is a questionable assertion in as far as gender equity is concerned in most African societies. To understand this the researcher looked at the relationship between communitarian ethos and morality.

**2.6.2 Relationship Between Morality And Communitarianism**

There is a strong relationship between morality and religion (Kunhiyop, 2008). The belief in a supreme God is the basis of all morality. The fundamental aspect of African morality is community. The community shapes and regulates moral life and behaviour. Religion and communal aspects of morality reflect and create values that are deep seated, entrenched belief systems that exercise a profound effect on African morality. The core moral beliefs are embedded in oral tradition, stories and proverbs that are foundations, grounds and motivations of morality among Africans.
It is clear that these cultural systems devalue, degrade and dehumanize women. They create women who are not ready to take up leadership positions because:

- Their decision making skills, communication skills, skills of control over their own environment, leadership skills have been stifled from infancy due to the patriarchal system. One Malawian women cited in Phiri (2000: 12) laments, "in our own village, where are we women when plans are being made or discussed for the good of our people. It is men who are inside the kraal, we women are cut out." Such type of gendered treatment has deprived many women of the opportunity to develop many of the essential skills such as control of the environment and achievement of success (De Witt and Booysen, 1995).

- Their socialization has made them subordinate to males, silenced them in the home and the society, and led them to think that their role is to support their husband’s development and not their own. Njoroge (1998: 30) notes that, "in my grandmother's house, I learnt that as a woman I was expected to be silent and express good will towards male persons . . . a child seen but never heard." This type of socialisation affect self concept as well as aspirations of women.

- They have been stereotyped as weak, immature, thoughtless, always children, indecisive, subservient, passive and dependant on males on everything. Munroe (2001: 12) argues that, "there are fundamental truths about the inherent makeup of women that has been lost to culture and traditions of the world as well as the hearts and minds of individual men and women." this has resulted in the negative stereotypes associated with women.

- They are victims of gender based violence (physical, emotional and sexual). This makes women bring into the work place broken bones and broken hearts. They come to work depressed, silenced, frightened of males, humiliated,
disillusioned, dehumanized, deprived of their thought, dispossessed of their self will, feeling worthless, dejected and frustrated. Naumann (1996) argues that many people think about the physical injuries - the broken bones, bruises and wounds. What people cannot see are the emotional injuries. Njoroge and Dube (2001) show that psychological and emotional abuse deprive a person of her thought and her will resulting in low self esteem, fear of success and dependence on outward appearance.

• They are overworked at home due to domestic role overload. Munroe (2001) asserts that although women are accepted as competitors in the world of work, they are also expected to fulfil the traditional roles of mother and wife. They come to work exhausted, debilitated of their strength, disgruntled due to the role conflict imposed upon them by the domestic sphere and the professional sphere.

It is this type of women who come into the education profession. Even though policies may be enacted most, lack the drive to go into education management and inequalities persist in terms of numbers between men and women resulting in serious under representation of women in management positions. Goetz (2010) notes that the patriarchal mindset and social relations that are produced in the private sphere are not contained there, but permeate most economic, social and political systems. The term gender justice provides a direct reminder of this problem of institutionalized bias by reminding us that justice itself is much gendered, responding to a patriarchal standard derived from the domestic sphere.

There is need to have a renewed vision on women emancipation and to take meaningful decisions on what form of leadership would best advance such concerns. There should
be comprehensive and transformative approaches to the problem of gender justice in Zimbabwe’s education system.

However language plays an important part in culture in the African context. It is the one which instils morality and the communitarian ethos into the communities. A discussion of socio-cultural factors which impact negatively on gender equity in education management is incomplete without examining the gendered illusions that characterize it. So the next section looks at society and gendered illusions.

2.7 SOCIETY AND GENDERED ILLUSIONS

Culture, during the socialization process, imparts some gendered illusions into members of a particular group. Munroe (2001:9) says, “over centuries societies all over the world have developed ideas about what it is to be a man or a woman. These resulted in the loss of some fundamental truths about the inherent make up of women and replaced them with distorted views.”

Gendered illusions are mainly reflected in people’s language and discourses. Dines (1993) asserts that cultural values and cultural stereotypes, which see women either as the archetypal seductress, or as vulnerable and in need of protection, or destined for a nurturing, domestic role have kept most female teachers from education management. The patriarchal system in Zimbabwe is firmly entrenched within culture, religion and the socialization process reinforced by the biased education system. These emphasize the dominance of men over women and that women should be subordinate to men. According to Zimbizi (2007: 15), “issues of masculinity emphasize that a man should be in control of his household and should be strong enough to look after his family and his
“vulnerable” and “weak” wife. The wife should be submissive, care and provide for the family and do household chores such as cooking, dressing up children and looking after sick family members.” Women are mostly confined to the private space of the home.

These beliefs are based on illusions held by people on the abilities of males and females. Higgs (1994) postulates that cultural illusions are of interest to education as constraints that hinder the achievement of national goal and hinder the possibility for transformation. Illusions are false ideas about something. They may seem sensible and true to the senses but in actual fact they are wrong and false.

Culture, during the socialization process, imparts some gendered illusions into members of a particular group. Munroe (2001:9) says, “over centuries societies all over the world have developed ideas about what it is to be a man or a woman. These resulted in the loss of some fundamental truths about the inherent make up of women and replaced them with distorted views.” It is these distorted views that come as illusions and most societies act upon them as truths.

Hazelton (2008) says cultural illusions give rise to mental constructs which may be unjust. Mental constructs shape women’s self concept. Mental constructs according to Freud in Daniel (1991) affect behaviour, perception and self concept. So an environment should be created throughout an individual’s life that allows the individual to see and accept herself exactly as she is so that she can actualize the whole of her potential.

Munroe (2001) shows that in nearly every culture women have been regarded as:

- Second class citizens;
• Incapable of real strength;
• Objects of sexual gratification;
• Lacking in intelligence and therefore having nothing to contribute to society; and
• Personal property of males.

In many instances occupation sex segregation is maintained by cultural beliefs about men and women which hover in the background. Reardon (2001) argues that concepts of masculinity and femininity vary among cultures and societies as do ideas about appropriate roles and behaviour for men and women. Throughout the world, gender continues to be a factor that limits choices and possibilities for both men and women. Cultural illusions give rise to attitudes which are relatively persistent. Davidoff (1989) notes three components of attitudes:

• Belief components (What do you believe in?)

• Feelings of evaluation (Do I want to do what I believe in?)

• Behavioural tendencies (Actions)

A cultural illusion on leadership according to Smyth (1989) looks at characteristics of successful masculine leaders as those constituting effective leadership. If a woman displays culturally defined traits of femininity (emotional, passive, dependant, nurturing, intuitive, submissive) she is perceived as a poor leader. If on the other hand she acts according to the male role (aggressive, achievement oriented, self confident, forceful and competitive) she is condemned as unfeminine. Smyth (1989) notes that because of these illusions, women’s incorporation into leadership has been at a cost as it requires them to publicly reject and submerge their definition of self as women. Curran and Ronzetti (1996) also argue that research has documented male workers’ efforts to
exclude women from leadership and sabotaging their work due to their cultural concept of leadership and female abilities. As a result, some women with the qualifications and great leadership aptitudes choose not to enter into leadership as they do not want to subject themselves to discrimination on the job.

Males develop a high concept of themselves due to the cultural illusions about their ability. This motivates them towards higher ideals. Njoroge (1998:30) says, “in my grandmother’s house I learnt that as a woman I was expected to be silent and express good will towards male persons… a child seen but not heard.” Gender illusions tend to silence women which negatively affect their concept of self. Njoroge and Dube (2001) assert that it is easier for a woman to pursue academic study, but the big question is whether she can bring change to her own life and to the society.

Due to illusions that women are always children who need to be controlled, they suffer violence in its various forms. This violence is perpetuated as a means of controlling them and ‘teaching’ them to behave properly. The home and the family are major locations of gender violence in society. Violence can take the form of physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse. Eitzer (1988) notes that research on husbands who are abusers has tended to show that these men are underachievers when compared to their wives. UNICEF (2001) notes that the inability to be superior to one’s wife in a male dominated society tends to lead one to prove his superiority through the physical subjugation of the wife. The husband uses force to control the wife. Njoroge and Dube (2001) have shown that the use of physical force against one’s wife is an expression of power and control. Physical violence silences the woman.
According to Naumann (1996) battered women often feel ashamed and hide the truth thinking they are beaten because they did something wrong. He goes on to say that other effects of physical violence are that the person physically abused feels worthless and finds it difficult to concentrate. Naumann (1996) reiterates that most people may think about the physical injuries – broken bones, bruises and wounds. Many forget that the broken bones are what they can see. What they cannot see are the emotional injuries. The abused person feels less in control of herself and her destiny. The person is always frightened and nervous and she cannot carry on with her normal life. This has a big impact on advancement of female teachers into education management.

According to Njoroge and Dube (2001), psychological abuse ranges from insults to a complete negation of a person’s personality. This includes constant criticism (You know nothing), belittling (Who do you think you are in my house?) and using derogatory words against a person (You are useless). Njoroge and Dube (2001) say that this destroys a person’s inner being, shatters her personality and destroys all her self confidence. It leaves a person feeling humiliated, ashamed, worthless and defenceless. Perry and Perry (1984) assert that psychological abuse leads to low self esteem, fear of success, frustration and dependence on outward appearance. Psychologically abused people are silenced.

Gendered illusions in societies are also evident in stereotyping. De Witt and Booysen (1995) postulate that when people are unable to react to a person as an individual they resort to stereotyping. De Witt and Booysen (1995:27) define stereotyping as, “a classification of a person as a member of a group and the assumption that the individual has the characteristics of the other members of the group.” Language used in society
reproduces gender stereotypes. Men are seen as self confident, responsible, mature, independent, resolute, powerful leaders who perform and motivated to achieve. Women are considered weak, thoughtless, indecisive, subjective, irrational, excessively emotional, warm, supportive, subservient and generous. Ministry of Education, Sport, Art and Culture (MOESC) (2000) notes that these stereotypes guide the way women and men are treated and opportunities which are made available to them in the home and in the world of work.

Because of such stereotypes women learn to play subservient roles and aspire for low status careers which give them very little power and influence. One Malawian elder said in Phiri (2000:100), “women cannot take leadership positions even when offered them because they are not aggressive by nature.” Kazembe (1988) notes that stereotyping demotivates women to take up leadership positions.

Munroe (2001:12) argues that, “there are fundamental truths about the inherent makeup of women that has been lost to culture and traditions of the world as well as the hearts and minds of individual men and women.” He goes on to say that through gender stereotyping these fundamental truths have been replaced by distorted views of women and men. Women are seen as a group and their individual abilities are ignored and thus denying even the most talented the chances to advance.

Phiri (2000) says that women have been taught over generations and they have come to believe that what is said about them is true. They have internalized the prejudices against themselves and they have learnt to conform with what is expected of them to such an extent that they do not seek change. This has hampered the development of
women in African societies as non-conformity can yield disastrous consequences on an individual. A discussion of morality and communitarianism will be incomplete if the use of language and discourse that embedded these values is not done. The next section thus deals with society, language and discourse.

2.8 SOCIETY, LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

Bakari (1996) noted that power is exercised not only through direct coercion but also through the way in which language shapes and restricts reality. Certain beliefs are acted upon as truths, as in gendered illusions, and therefore becomes partially true in terms of consequences. De Witt and Booysen (1995) say that language reflects human beings’ thoughts. The way society uses its’ language may reflect gender insensitivity. This may come in the form of direct statements, similes, metaphors or imagery. Language according to the Ministry of Education, Sports, Art and culture (2000) is capable of conveying explicit as well as subtle meanings which may perpetuate gender disparities and inequalities.

According to Van Dijk (1993) discourse looks at structures and strategies of text, talk, verbal interaction and communication events. Abdullah and Abdullah and Hoon (2008) assert that it is generally acknowledged that discourse is primarily concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with the dialectical relationship between language and society, and with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication both in the written and/or spoken modes. Simply put, discourse is language in context and refers to expressing ourselves using words in ubiquitous ways of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. Alvesson and Due Billing (1997) also define discourse as a set of statements, beliefs and vocabularies that
are historically and socially specific, and that tend to produce truth effects. Thus according to Alvesson and Due Billing (1997) different discourses produce different effects. Discourse reflects the way in which language is used socially to convey broad historical and social meaning. According to Henry and Tator (2002), underlying beliefs and worldviews specific to social contexts are seen to be mediated by discourse. Martin and Ringham (2006:253) quotes the dictionary of semiotics which shows that,

"Discourse does not refer to the literal or narrative level of language, but to the interaction between the figurative dimension relating to the representation of the natural world and the thematic dimension, relating to the abstract values actualized in utterance."

Most beliefs about the world are acquired through discourse. Wanzala (1998) notes one principle of post-modernist feminism as that human experience is located inescapably within language. Certain beliefs are acted upon as truths, as in gendered illusions, and therefore become partially true in terms of consequences. De Witt and Booy森 (1995) say that language reflects human beings’ thoughts. The way society uses its’ language may reflect gender insensitivity. This may come in the form of direct statements, similes, metaphors or imagery. Metaphors used in a language may show that people are set in the idea that men have superior minds than women. Language according to the Ministry of Education, Sports and culture (2000) is capable of conveying explicit as well as subtle meanings which may perpetuate gender disparities and inequalities.

Mwaura (1980:27) in Abdullah, Abdullah and Hoon (2008: 22) noted the following:

"Language influences the way in which we perceive reality, evaluate it and conduct ourselves with respect to it. Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought and action and speakers of different languages do not have the same world view or perceive the same reality unless they have a similar culture or background."

In this thesis discourse is used as what is actually spoken and how it is used to denote manifestations of language that are determined by social influences from society. The
version of post-modernist feminism used in this study saw language as loosely coupled to social reality and maintains some idea of some social relation between words and a social reality beyond language.

Allamin M Mazrui in Abdullah et al (2008) says, “African languages, while being mobilised in the struggle against imperial domination, have also been transmuted into instruments of domination.” Human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. Abdullah et al (2008) notes that the real world is to a large extent built up on the language habits of the group and a person’s basic ontology or worldview is structured or determined or organized by language. They argue that grammar embodies the nascent form of a cultural metaphysics. Each language is encoded with a particular mode of thought, a metaphysics that affects the speaker’s experience at the level of perception.

Discourse reveals hidden ideological assumptions and related discursive sources as well as formations of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts. Abdullh et al (2008) note that language and discourse can be used by the power-holders in society, particularly the state and/or those who control the mass media, to make unequal power relations and representations of social groups appear to be “common sense”, “normal”, and “natural” when in fact there is inherent prejudice, injustice and social inequity. Mazrui in Abdullah et al (2008) says language has been an important and integral part of control and domination as it results in the domination of the mental universe of the dominated. Metaphorical language in most languages show disregard for women’s humanness.
In the Shona culture the language conveyed in proverbs show a distinct gender bias. Mutswairo, Chiome, Mberi, Masasire and Furusa (1996: 83) say,

Shona proverbs are a significant part of Shona culture which is both a product of the active and purposeful productivity of Shona people and a reflection of their ability to be productive and also to understand their social and natural life.

Proverbs are a way the Shona use to communicate about their own world. Mutswairo et al (1996) show that the Shona proverbs:

- Focus on issues of ethical moral significance which are related to the problem of the individual society;
- Affirms definite viewpoints in life and regulates and standardizes the organization of activities of individuals;
- They are the society’s way of moulding its members to work towards a common goal and to forge a common purpose;
- They represent the ethos of the Shona society, their tone, character and quality of life;
- They are a set of guiding principles which define the underlying attitude of the shone people;
- They reflect the Shona’s cultural elements and worldview, which give the Shona their philosophy of life; and
- They represent the world in which man, nature and the spiritual world move in step where social organization, social control and moral balance are maintained by clearly defined and subtle protocols of law, custom and ritual.

Mutswairo et al (1996) note that the Shona people use a language, words and expressions which are an image of thoughts, sensations, customs, habits and total
experience in the political, social, spiritual, emotional and economic experience. The Shona people emphasize the need to be rooted in one’s history, culture and tradition. The following proverbs from Hamutyinei and Hangger (1982) show a gender bias in the Shona language.

- **Musikana rufuta runobarika.** (a girl is like a seed which scatters from a pod)
  
  This proverb means that just as a seed scatters from its pod, so does a girl when she gets married. The implication of this proverb is that parents should not be proud of their daughters as she is bound to leave them as she gets married. This results in the preferential treatment of boys in families and it affects the self perception of the girl and she grows up to be a woman with a low self esteem. This results in low career aspirations.

- **Mwanasikana ndimapfumise** (a girl enriches a family) According to Hamutyinei and Hangger (1987) this proverb is quoted at the birth of a girl child to consol her parents as most Shona people rejoice more over the birth of a son. The concept of being a woman who is inferior is labelled on a girl child from birth until her grave.

- **Mwanarume ihona youtare** (a boy child is a bone of iron). This implies that a son guarantees the survival of the family. Thus more importance is put on the male from birth and the family motivates him more towards higher ideals than they motivate the girl.

- **Ane mhuri kwayo ndeane mhuri ndume, ane mhurikadzi vaeni.** (the one with a good family is the one with sons, one with a family of girls has strangers)

- **Ane mhuri ndeane mhurikadzi, mhurirume inozvitsvagira.** (The one with a family has daughters, sons look after themselves.) For parents in Shona
society daughters are a greater liability than their sons who enjoy a greater measure of freedom. Daughters need more protection and support.

These proverbs show the inferior position of women in the Shona society which dictates their work orientations. It is not only the Shona language in which proverbs play an important part in conveying social meaning, but in many different languages across Africa. PASCA (2008: 37) showed the following proverbs as they are used in different languages

- Women have no mouth (Beti proverb- Cameroon)
- Women never reign (Igbo)
- What the devil does in a year, an old woman does in an hour (Moorish)
- If you give your heart to a woman she will kill you (Northern Nigeria)
- A man’s ‘Yes’ is a ‘Yes’, a woman’s ‘Yes’ is often a ‘No’ (Tswana)
- Obedience to a woman makes one enter hell (Moorish)
- A woman is like the milk of a young coconut, it is not pleasant except in its shell (Swahili)

This affects the way men see women and the way women see themselves. It is clear that the language discussed above is filled with gendered illusions.

2.9 IMPACTS OF NON CONFORMITY TO SOCIO-CULTURAL STANDARDS

For a person to be accepted as a person of virtue he/she must conform to the set moral standards in the society. The person should exhibit the prescribed social personality which conforms to the person’s socially ascribed gender. Non conformity yields social
rejection and social isolation which have negative impacts on career development due to their associated impacts on the victim.

According to Baumeister and Leary (1995), people have a strong motivation to form and maintain social relationships. One of the central tasks of a person is to obtain social acceptance, and as a result many people’s functions and activities are geared toward promoting that goal. Catase and Tice (2004) assert that the need to belong is reflected in the universal human desire for frequent, pleasant, and reciprocal interpersonal attachments. A fulfilled need to belong may be essential for achieving intrapersonal and interpersonal wellbeing. In contrast, Baumeister and Leary (1995) predict that thwarting the need to belong should have serious negative consequences for the self.

It was noted during the literature study that if human beings do not conform with social norms the result may be social rejection. Social rejection occurs when an individual is deliberately excluded from a social relationships or social interactions. Rejection can take the form of active rejection manifested in bullying or ridiculing, or passive rejection which may be seen in ignoring a person. Rejection by an entire group of people can have especially negative effects, particularly when it results in social isolation. The experience of rejection can lead to a number of adverse psychological consequences such as loneliness, low self-esteem, aggression and depression. It can also lead to feelings of insecurity and a heightened sensitivity to future rejection.

Rejection is emotionally painful because of the social nature of human beings and their basic need to be accepted in groups. Abraham Maslow in Robbins (2002) and other theorists suggested that the need for love and belongingness is a fundamental human
motivation. According to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs there are five levels of needs which people are supposed to satisfy in order to reach full potential. These include:

- The physiological needs – these include satisfaction of hunger, thirst, shelter and sex. These are extrinsic needs;
- Safety needs – include the need for security and protection from physical and emotional harm;
- Social needs – affection, belonging, acceptance and friendship;
- Esteem needs – self respect, autonomy, achievement, recognition and attention; and
- Self actualization – the drive to become what one is capable of becoming. This includes achieving one’s potential and self fulfilment.

Psychologists believe that simple contact or social interaction with others is not enough to fulfil these needs. Instead, people have a strong motivational drive to form and maintain caring interpersonal relationships. People need both stable relationships and satisfying interactions with the people in those relationships. If either of these two ingredients is missing, people will begin to feel lonely and unhappy. Rejection is a significant threat to self esteem, self confidence, self worth and self perception. All these affect a person’s drive towards self development as the inner person will be at conflict.

Fear of rejection leads to conformity and compliance to the demands of others. According to Henry Murray’s Needs Theory in Kendra (2004) need for social acceptance forces people to comply to social rules. To be moral, a person has to conform to societal standards and avoid threatening consequences such as alienation,
punishment, rejection, stigmatization, ridicule, ostracized, isolation and victimization. Different people take up conformity in different ways. These are cited in Davidoff (1987) as:

- Conformity with acceptance - you assume your perceptions are wrong and you comply. In this case a number of people in social institutions go with the group ideas. They accept what the group believes in as true and acceptable. In most cases they don’t weigh the ethical significance of group decisions and group beliefs.

- Conformity with non-acceptance - may go along with the group while privately believing everyone else is wrong. These people may see the negative aspects of group decisions but for fear of being isolated by the group they act as if they accept group decisions and beliefs both in their actions and in their words. They do not publicly oppose the group.

- Non-conformity with acceptance - minority yields to majority in public while continuing to adhere to their original position. Such people hide their real feelings about group decisions and beliefs. They may not show their dissent about certain issues, but they do not adhere to the group’s beliefs in their lives. They do what they believe is right while accepting what other people think.

- Nonconformity and non-acceptance - continue to believe and report your own perceptions. These people analyze group beliefs and decisions. If they are bad they do not accept them and they voice their concern. They also do not follow what they do not believe in.

For fear of rejection and alienation in their societies, people mainly take up the second and the third type of conformity. This influences efforts by policy makers to empower
women. Ghafari (2008) notes that women’s issues are generally discussed in a positive light. Such discussions emphasize that women have long attained their rights for equality in all areas. However social pressure may override a person’s belief in equity of the human race and social justice. Belief itself should not be taken to predict behaviour as one may believe in the emancipation of women but may behave in a contrary manner (Munroe, 2001). In assessing behaviour one must take into account past experiences, perceptions of norms, cognitions, contexts and goals. It’s not all what people believe in which they do.

A person’s need for affiliation and social interaction appears to be particularly strong when the person is under stress. Rejected people are likely to have lower self esteem, and to be at greater risk for internalizing problems like depression. Rejection impairs will power or self-regulation.

Another effect of non conformity to social expectations is ostracism. It is proposed that ostracism uniquely poses a threat to four fundamental human needs; the need to belong, the need for control in social situations, the need to maintain high levels of self-esteem, and the need to have a sense of a meaningful existence. A threat to these needs produces psychological distress and pain.

Social rejection can yield social isolation. True social isolation affects all aspects of a person’s existence. The isolated person has no one to turn to in personal emergencies and no one to confide in during a crisis. It may also give rise to uncomfortable thoughts and behaviours within the person, buoyed by the fact that there are no other humans around to tell the person whether those behaviours are right or wrong. Naurt (2007) explains the effects of social isolation as anxiety, aggression, memory impairment and
fear. A victim of social isolation may also feel confused about his/her ability to interact with other human beings. The result may be self blame which may yield incompetence at work. Social isolation also breeds depression. The effects of depression according to Nash, Stoch and Harper (1990) are delusions, weight loss, psychomotor retardation, difficulty in concentration at work, loss of energy, loss of interests, loss of confidence, a feeling of hopelessness, inability to think clearly and logically and emotional disturbance especially anxiety.

According to Nash et al (1990) a person needs stimulation to aim towards higher ideals. Due to isolation a person can become suspicious of everyone around her/him resulting in the further entrenchment of the isolation. This is retrogressive to professional development. The person questions her/his competencies, values, expectations in line with social experience. The individual’s perception of him or herself is questioned, thus affecting career progression. It is from the light of the above factors that their impact on education management is experienced. So the next section discusses culture and education management.

2.10 CULTURE, GENDER AND EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

Clegg, Kernburger and Pitsis (2005) argue that many leadership traits assumed to be innate are actually based on cultural norms and values. What a leader is and what a leader does actually changes as society changes over time and as we move from one culture to another. Tamangani (2000) argues that there are cross-cultural differences that influence perception of management, that derive from the different cultures, societal values and norms.
Smyth (1989) noted that like culture and gender the characteristic of leadership have been socially and historically constructed and thus can also be deconstructed. The universal characteristics of leadership have been modelled upon men’s experiences. Leaders display attributes and behaviours, possess moral virtues and principles which are generally associated with masculinity. Although there has been an evolution in leadership theory from pre-modern (characterized by master, authoritarian, taskmaster, ruler) to modern (authoritarian, organizational, head, inspector) to post modern (servant, empowers, recounter of stories, visionary, networker, team builder) – it is culture that frames leadership perceptions in its people.

Clegg et al (2005) believe that many characteristics believed to be critical to successful leadership have been made important through culture and social norms. Leadership styles are therefore not universal but are different with localities. Gonzales (1989) notes the basic leadership principles as:

- Focus on the situation, issue, behaviour and not on the person;
- Maintain the self confidence and self esteem of subordinates;
- Maintain good relations with subordinates, peers and other managers; and
- Take initiative to make things right.

Most traditional managers follow what Gonzales (1989) say is the Theory X style of leadership. It is a form of leadership in which the manager dictates the flow of the organization. In this type of leadership, the leader assumes that workers need constant supervision besides which work will not be done. Tamangani (2000) argues that there are cross-cultural differences that influence perception of management, that derive from the different cultures, societal values and norms.
Traditional approaches to understanding and eradicating gender inequalities in organizations have also left gendered social practices intact. Moorosi (2007) discusses these gender social practices in depth. She notes that policies and procedures in the workplace are much gendered. These come in the form of work rules, labour contracts, managerial activities and job descriptions. These do not have a gender perspective. She also notes that informal patterns of everyday interactions are gendered. These include organizational norms on how work has to be done, relationships required to do the job and distribution of roles and responsibilities. Moorosi (2007:510) goes on to say that, “because these social practices are deeply embedded in culture, they tend to be perceived as gender neutral and are regarded as the natural way in which organizations operate.” This neutrality inaccurately shapes the discourses of what constitutes leadership and management in schools.

In management discourses we see that the epitome of leadership is associated with masculine traits, for example control of subordinates, ability to influence others, risk taking, exploring, autonomous, goal oriented, competitiveness, drive for power, authoritative, aggressive and high need for achievement. Each leader is expected to fulfil such requirement to be appraised as a competent, effective and efficient leader. These traits may not follow what female teachers were socialized to prioritize, that is warmth, relationship orientedness and being supportive to others.

Time allocation between work and home also affects female teachers more than male teachers. This is referred to as public-private dichotomy by Moorosi (2007). The ideal teacher as upheld in many schools is the one who is always there for the pupil. The ideal
manager is willing to put family obligations second to work related obligations. These expectations are again gender neutral as they do not take cognizance of social gender differentiated roles of male and female teachers. They do not take into consideration the morality perspectives and social philosophies which impact on performance of different people. This creates women teachers who are labelled as less work oriented resulting in less female teachers aspiring for management positions.

Women’s advancement is therefore often accompanied by feelings of conflict or ambivalence. Moorosi (2007) argues that women fight a constant battle against discrimination at two levels: the organization and the social level. At the organization level women are prejudiced by the deeply embedded patriarchal values that devalue processes aimed at closing the gender gap. At the social level women are prejudiced by the lack of support from their families and the cultural association of headship with masculinity which assumes that every head has some support base at home. A conflict in leadership style can confuse someone who has not been socialized into leadership. According to Gonzales (1989) the answers to organizational practice lie in the following:

- What motivates people?
- What are their needs?
- How management can create an environment that allows people to be most productive in their work?

Someone who lacks a firm support base from the family may find it very difficult to motivate others and create conducive environment for effective work. Contemplating on these challenges can thus deter most women to take the risk of entering education
management. This results in ineffectiveness in the implementation of gender sensitive policies.

To be effective the manager should understand the feelings, prejudices and beliefs of the people one is leading. This requires a lot of time and effort on the part of the manager. Also an organization can be marred by conflict which is the political view of the organization. Gonzales (1989) says that managers need to understand, manage power, coalitions, bargaining and conflict. This requires a strong personality which should be instilled during the socialization process. Although women's empowerment is fundamental for the achievement of equality, it is difficult in the face of perceived difficulties they will face as they enter education management.

A study by Zimbizi, James and Milanzi (2007) shows that gender inequality is embedded in the patriarchal, social, religious and cultural sphere of Zimbabwean life. Women are expected to be subordinate to men, when they marry they lose their identity and assume that of their husbands and are culturally constrained to take leadership positions in politics, in the community or in churches. Moorosi (2007) argues that structural barriers to women's advancement in education management have their roots in the fact that most organizations have been created by and for men and are based on male experiences of management. She goes on to say that organizations still define their competence and leadership on traits that were stereotypically associated with males such as availability for work at all times.
The question of gender has excluded women from many cultures from leadership including education management. Smyth (1989) shows that there are three ways by which women have become invisible in leadership:

- Totally excluding them on the basis of cultural beliefs. Dosey (1989) notes that women tend to be excluded from male networks in which ideas are exchanged informally. Since informal networks of communication are very important in professional life in order to be aware of the latest developments in one’s field, to have one’s work informally assessed and to collaborate with other education managers, women are disadvantaged through exclusion.

- Pseudo-inclusion – where women are put in leadership as a front, i.e. to promote male created ideologies or just to satisfy requirements set by the United Nations.

- Alienation - Clegg et al (2005) argue that the way women are excluded are very subtle. Before meetings women may be left alone while men chat with each other. They go on to say that being left out at this stage can prove critical. Women may be left out due to the social restrictions on areas where women are allowed to be by their societies. Men may meet in beer halls or night clubs and there informally discuss work related issues. This puts women at a disadvantage as a socially virtuous woman is not expected to go to such areas.

According to Curran and Renzetti (1996) one common argument of occupational sex segregation is the assumption that women’s primary allegiance is to the home and family. Thus they seek undemanding jobs so that they can better tend to their households responsibilities. Curran and Renzetti (1996) emphasize that some women choose not to enter certain occupations because they do not want to subject themselves to discrimination on the job and to working environments that are hostile to women.
Culturally and historically education management has been constructed in a manner that ignores and denigrates feminine values and experiences and this has alienated women from leadership positions. It has effectively displaced women in education thought and rendered women invisible in education management practices.

Runhare and Gordon (2004) assert that since independence in Zimbabwe the gender gap has persisted in education. They go on to say that gender neutral policies have been seen as means by which equality could be achieved. They go on to say that despite Zimbabwe’s outstanding achievements in the area of education provision, there remain major challenges of gender equality and equity. Runhare and Gordon (2004) show five distinct areas requiring attention:

- Gender insensitive work environment;
- Home and community environment that is not adequately supportive;
- HIV/AIDS and their impacts on the career development of women; and
- Problematic economic environment in the country.

UNDP (2001) asserts that there is no country in which the outcomes of public policy are equal for men and women. The dimensions of these inequalities are often so deeply embedded that they are difficult to perceive. Because of their different positions in society, women and men may not be able to take advantage of advantages to the same extent. UNDP (2001) says in some cases equal opportunities can actually have a negative impact on women’s wellbeing if women exert time and energy to take advantage of them with no result.
While laws are a necessary vehicle through which women’s rights can be achieved, they are not necessarily an end in themselves. The approach used in implementation of gender equity policies are against the real core of African social survival. Liberal feminism is an offshoot of liberalism and it primarily focuses on women’s ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminists believe that female subordination is rooted in a set of socio-cultural beliefs. They believe that this blocks women’s entrance to and success in the so-called public world. They thus work hard to emphasize the equality of men and women through political and legal reform. However the policies and legal reforms do not take cognizance of the social system in which women subordination is entrenched and that inequality is grounded in a patriarchal society. Liberal feminism focuses on the individual, and in doing so, discredits the importance of the community which is core in African societies. Therefore mainstream liberal feminism largely ignores women of different races, cultures or classes. Thus policies which have little relevance to upholding African socio-cultural values have not been very successful.

2.11 SUMMARY

Having explored different theoretical perspectives propounded by various scholars the researcher noted that there are still glaring gaps in literature which need to be filled in. Although there is literature that explains various phenomena on morality and communitarianism, but linking these to gender inequality remains a rich area for research. Also various literature explored language and discourse but intertwining these with their impacts in instilling morality and communitarian ethos and consequently their impact on gendered perceptions need to be researched on in detail. Thus, this research
sought to fill in the grey areas identified in the review of related literature. The next chapter focuses on research methodology.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION
The focus of this chapter is an exploration of the methodology used in this research. The researcher used the qualitative research paradigm. The research design, methodology, sampling techniques, data collection and data analysis procedures were also explored below.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND JUSTIFICATION
This study utilized the qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of phenomena. The study interrogated the effects of socio-cultural factors on implementation of gender sensitive policies. The main idea was to understand people in terms of their own definition of their world (Mourton, 2001). McMillan and Schumacher (1993) stress that the major goal of qualitative research is to capture the richness and completeness of an experience from participants. Qualitative research was important to this research as it investigated the why and how of the phenomenon studied not just what, where and when as in quantitative research. It is qualitative research which could answer the deep seated question in this research i.e. why is the entrance rate of women into education management insignificant despite the institution of gender sensitive policies? This could not be quantified. The research sought to understand why certain intended outcomes were not achieved. As human experiences are key to understanding the factors behind effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in this study, qualitative research was then the most appropriate approach to this study. Experiences
cannot be reduced into variables as in quantitative research, but can best be expressed through the use of rich verbal descriptions which are characteristic of qualitative research. The researcher elicited accounts of meaning, experience and perceptions from interacting with the research participants. Merrian and Simpson (2000) argue that qualitative research enables the researcher to uncover the lived experiences of individuals through enabling them to interpret and attach meaning to their experiences and in the process construct their worlds.

The importance of utilizing qualitative research paradigm in this study was that the researcher utilized participants’ views of their world. This reflects the post modernist feminist perspective used in this study which emphasizes the local orientedness of knowledge. Gendered experiences differ enormously depending on context (Higgs and Smith, 2000). An understanding of people in terms of their own definition of their world was invaluable to this study.

3.2.1 Challenges Faced In Using The Qualitative Research Paradigm

In most instances a single case highlighted the general situation of the problem investigated. This characteristic of qualitative research had the shortfall that the researcher was tempted to use few cases. To guard against this shortfall of qualitative research, the researcher used grounded theory and collected data as they emerged from the research process. The researcher had to get a number of cases for in depth study to ensure that the results were dependable, trustworthy and credible. More cases were involved through interviewing, observations and Critical Discourse analysis. Due to the large quantity of data collected through the varied methods, it was difficult to analyse the data. The researcher mitigated this problem by doing data analysis
concurrently with data collection. This meant that data were analysed throughout the research process.

As the researcher and the assistants were part of the community under study, it was likely that they could overlook some vital information as they saw it as trivial or natural. To guard against this weakness, the researcher did thorough planning by putting in place checklists for participant observation and discourse analysis. These were taught to the research assistants so that they could use them effectively.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study utilized mixed methodology. A phenomenological method and grounded theory were utilized to gain an in-depth understanding of the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

3.3.1 The phenomenological method

A phenomenological design was used as the study was concerned with the descriptive analysis of experience. Marshall and Rossman (2006) define phenomenology as the study of lived experiences and the way we understand those experiences to develop a worldview. In this research the insignificant inclusion of women in education management is not the phenomenon in itself but it points to something more profound. The insignificant participation of women is a symptom of something hidden and disguised. Hence phenomenology is the most appropriate method which can unmask the phenomenon through focusing on experiences and their meanings through the views of the affected people themselves.
Goulding (2004) says experience involves an “I,” that is a centre of passivity, activities, possibilities, and habitualities; various ways in which objects may be given (perceiving, behaving, imagining, anticipating); and the meaningful situations and worldly affairs encountered through these processes of experiencing. Husserl and other phenomenologists emphasized that human experience is fundamentally an embodied, social, and temporal process that includes a practical and emotional presence, thereby illuminating the utilities and values that are inherent in the world. The assumption is that there is structure of essence to shared experience (Bryne, 2001). Also truth and understanding of life emerge from people’s experience. The phenomenological design is invaluable to this research because:

- It is essential to understand the participants’ everyday experiences;
- It is important to gain an understanding on the essential truths of the participants’ lived experiences;
- To understand how women teachers in Masvingo Province have been separated from who they are, their feelings, their self esteem which have an implication on the fulfilment of their full potential. According to Higgs (2000) phenomenology locates the underlying causes in cultural social norms which have diminished regard for women which is the very essence of this research; and
- To reconstruct women as people who have a sense of worth and who are able to participate in education management.

### 3.3.2 Grounded Theory

Eaves (2001) noted that grounded theory is a qualitative research method that was developed for the purpose of studying social phenomena from the perspective of symbolic interaction. Symbolic interactionism focuses on the inner experiential aspect
of human behaviour or how people define events and reality and how they act according to their beliefs (Eaves, 2001). The researcher chose grounded theory as behaviour of people in organizations is goal driven, evolving from social interactions that are highly symbolic in themselves (Goulding, 2001). According to Brown, Stevens, Troiano and Schneider (2002) grounded theory sheds light on complex phenomenon, with particular emphasis on how it occurred. It answers process oriented questions, connecting the conditions that give rise to certain complex and dynamic phenomena. Grounded theory reflects theory that is grounded in the words and actions of those individuals under study. The theory in this research was derived from the actions and words of the participants.

3.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) according to Van Dyke (1993) is a socio political analytic tool used to analyze how discourse enact dominance and subordination. Silvermann (2000) explains that discourse analysis emphasizes the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse.

Fairclough (1995) in his sociocritical approach postulates that discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure (class, status, age, ethnic identity and gender) and culture. He notes the three central tenets of CDA as: (a) language, i.e., the actual text that serves as cues to or traces of the discourse; (b) context of interaction that produces the discursive practices; and (c) social structure, which is the larger social context that bears upon the discourse. He determines the relationship between these three dimensions of a given discourse and its interdiscursivity with other discourse moments via three interrelated levels of analysis, namely, description, interpretation and
explanation, to systematically explore and uncover often opaque relationships between ideologically invested discursive practices.

It is generally acknowledged that “discourse” is primarily concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with the dialectical relationship between language and society, and with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication both in the written and/or spoken modes. (Abdullah, Abdullah and Hoon : 2008)

The researcher sought to interrogate discourse because:

- Discourse constitutes society and culture;
- Discourse does ideological work;
- The link between text and society is mediated; and
- Discourse is a form of social action.

### 3.3.4 Phenomenology and Grounded Theory

Although both phenomenological research and grounded theory begin with concrete instances of human experience, phenomenological analysis remains descriptive. On the other hand grounded theory constructs theory from the research finding. Phenomenology’s reflective analysis does not code data or emphasize the frequency of themes, or explain experience by means of functional relations of variables outside immediate experience. It is due to these differences that the researcher saw it fit to infuse these two designs into this research to complement each other. From a procedural standpoint, there are many similarities. Both approaches use line by line analysis. All data, every expression of participants, is subject to analysis in both approaches and each finding is recorded and accounted for.
Using grounded theory method the researcher began her analysis after individuals have entered the education system. To complement this, the researcher had to add aspects of phenomenology to draw meaning from childhood experience thereby having a holistic picture of the impact of socio cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. This is shown in how childhood meanings, are retained in later experience which then affect one’s perception of self. Rather than always bracketing realities independent of experience, grounded theory theorizing incorporates real-world conditions in order to explain the impact of culture on career aspirations. Phenomenological description does not focus on independent variables outside experience and limits itself to describing the organization of meanings as experienced. Phenomenological analysis remains purely descriptive.

### 3.3.5 Phenomenology and Discourse Analysis.

Discourse analysis brought to light something that phenomenological analysis did not. The researcher had not focused at all on participants’ speech pattern of “enhancing themselves and minimizing others” and did not relate this to the context of the present interaction with the interviewer or her social situation in school. The researcher's analysis moved instead to what the participants’ discourse described and found patterns of meaning quite different from that which the participants brought to light in the interview. Discourse analysis and phenomenology converge on similar knowledge because there is unity in experience and discourse.

These contrasting methods, although divergent, are also complementary. Phenomenology reveals the individual’s intentions and developmental history, and discourse analysis reveals in language some important cultural structures and belief
systems. The researcher incorporated grounded theory and discourse analysis into phenomenology to generate descriptive knowledge of the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

It is from this background that the researcher mixed phenomenology, grounded theory and critical discourse analysis in this research. This enabled her to gain rich data from the varied approaches which she employed. It enabled the researcher to clearly reflect on the impact of the lived experiences (phenomenology) and discourse content (discourse analysis) on the inner experiential aspects of human behaviour or how people define events and reality and how they act according to their beliefs (grounded theory). The research process for this study will now be explained.

**3.3.6 Advantages of using the multi-design approach**

Keller (1995) in Frost (2010) asserts that the multi-perspectival analysis draws from the multi-methodological research strategies which seeks to introduce a variety of ways of seeing and interpreting in the pursuit of knowledge. This approach reduces the impacts of assumptions and limitations brought to the research process through the use of single method approach. Frost (2010) argues that the multi-perspectival approach enhances multi dimensional insights and illuminate the complexity of the phenomena under study. The problem of gender is quite a complex phenomenon, hence the researcher used the multi design strategy to view the problem from different lenses, thereby illuminating the problem for analysis. Frost (2010) argues that triangulation offers a more in depth, multi dimensional insight to the complexities of the social world.
3.3.7 Challenges faced in using the multi-design research strategy

This approach was time consuming as it required a lot of time to concentrate on the varied designs to get data to answer the research question adequately. However the researcher used the designs concurrently as she was collecting the data. She also taught her assistants on the use of the mixed design approach in collecting data.

3.3.8 CASE STUDY

This study is a case study of Masvingo Province, so the case study approach was also utilised. Best and Kahn (1993) define a case study as a way of examining a social unit as a whole. The purpose is seen as to understand the life cycle of the unit. In this study Masvingo Province was studied as a case for the impact of socio-cultural factors in the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies.

3.4 THE POPULATION

Mourton and Marais (1988) define the population as that group of people about whom we want to draw conclusions. In this study, the population included:

- All female and male teachers who qualify to be education managers; and
- Female and male education managers.

This population was essential as they were the main focus of this research.

The female teachers who qualified for headship posts were included in the population of this study to assess:

- Their perception on leadership;
- Whether they had ever applied for any educational management post or not (if not, why?);
- Their career aspirations; and
• What factors hindered their progress to education management (Research questions to be used to assess the factors).

Male teachers were included for a comparative analysis and justification of perceptions of female teachers. This was important to show whether there was a difference in perceptions of leadership between males and females. This was used to evaluate how these perceptions were rooted in socio-cultural factors reflected in the research questions.

Female education managers were included as Makombe and Deroy (2009) note that it is a known fact that women who manage to reach the top have surmounted substantial barriers. What barriers? These were analyzed in the face of research questions i.e. how have communitarianism, morality, gender illusions and language and discourse affected the advancement of other women teachers.

Female and male teachers were addressed in the same way as they are all prospective education managers. The population was drawn from the seven districts of Masvingo Region. The next section describes the sampling methods used in this study.

3.4.1 The study sample

The following section shows the study sample in terms of gender, experience, qualifications and position held in school.
Table 3.1 Distribution of research participants by age and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=70

Table 3.2 Distribution of research participants by teaching experience and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of years in teaching</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 -20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31+</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 70

NB* Larger numbers of respondents were used in the group with higher experience as they are the ones with greater possibility of entering education management due to their experience. See Table 3.4 for distribution of the sample by position held at school.
Table 3.3 Distribution of research participants by position held at school and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Head</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 70

Table 3.4 Distribution of participants by qualification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 30</td>
<td>Certificate or Diploma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelors' Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters' Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>Certificate or Diploma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelors' Degree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters' Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>Certificate or Diploma</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelors' Degree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters' Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>Certificate or Diploma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelors' Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters' Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>Certificate or Diploma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelors' Degree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters' Degree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 SAMPLING METHODS

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

The main type of sampling was purposive sampling. Purposeful sampling is a non-random method of sampling where the researcher selects information-rich cases for in-
depth study (Patton: 2001). Information-rich cases were those from which the researcher could learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

Purposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some features or processes in which we are interested (Silverman, 2000; De Vos, Strydon, Fouche and Delport, 2002). Goulding (2001) says in grounded theory most sampling should be purposive and defined before data collection commences. The researcher used purposive sampling in the selection of her research participants. Initially in this study participants were chosen basing on their prospectiveness in terms of qualification and work experience to which was likely to lead to education managers. This was important because it is this sample which the researcher supposed could give relevant information especially female teachers and lecturers on the reasons which hindered them to enter education management.

Types of purposive sampling used were criterion sampling, maximum variation sampling, typical case sampling and negative case sampling. These are briefly explained in the next section.

3.5.1.1 Phase 1 sampling procedures - criterion sampling

The first type of purposive sampling employed in this study was criterion sampling. Palys (2008) says this involves searching for cases or individuals who meet a certain criterion, e.g., that they have had a particular life experience. The factors considered in the selection of the research participant were initial qualifications to enter education management and being education managers. This was done to gain an in-depth
understanding of factors that contributed to the inequalities in holding education management posts across sexes.

The researcher considered all the seven districts in Masvingo Province for the results not to be biased towards one district. For feasibility, the researcher trained three research assistants to gather data in the following districts: Chiredzi, Mwenezi and Zaka. The researcher concentrated on data collection in Masvingo, Chivi, Bikita and Gutu.

Both male and female education managers were purposively chosen so that they could highlight their experiences on their way to the top. Schools included in the sample in each district were chosen using simple random sampling. Fourteen schools, two from each district were included in the sample. This was done to ensure that each school in all the districts had an equal chance of being selected.

Table 3.5 Phase 1 sample –criterion sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>MANAGERS</th>
<th>TEACHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaka</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiredzi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwenezi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikita</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chivi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB* This is a part of the sample. Some more participants were involved in the phase 2 sample (28) and the recently qualified teachers (7).
3.5.1.2 Phase 2 sampling procedures - maximum variation sampling

The type of purposive sample the researcher used in the second phase of the research was the maximum variation sampling technique which according to Leard (2011) captures a wide range of perspectives relating to the impacts of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Palys (2008) says Maximum Variation Sampling searches for cases or individuals who cover the spectrum of positions and perspectives in relation to the phenomenon one is studying.

The researcher resorted to this type of purposive sampling because she saw during the initial phase of the research that she has to consider variation in perspectives between people of different social groups and backgrounds to capture a wide range of perspectives. It was used to search for variations in perspectives hence the division of the population based on the following criteria:

- Geographical location;
- Teaching experience; and
- Economic status of family.

The basic principle of maximum variation sampling was to gain greater insight about the impact of socio-cultural factors on the implementation of gender sensitive policies by looking at it from different angles. This helped the researcher to identify common themes that were evident across the sample. The sample was an interview sample.
Table 3.6 Maximum variation sample (interview sample)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>SECONDARY</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>SECONDARY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaka</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiredzi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwenezi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikita</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chivi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 29  (14 females and 15 males)

NB* these figures include both the education managers and the teachers.

Table 3.7 –Observation sample and CDA sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN AND PERI-URBAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primary schools</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 14 SCHOOLS (urban include peri-urban schools and boarding school)

Having worked with the above sample the researcher noticed that it was essential for her to interview and listen to the discourses of younger (below 25 years) recently qualified (0 - 5 years after obtaining a teaching qualification) teachers both males and females.
This was done to find out whether there was any variation of perspectives across ages and the significance of such variations to the research. The following sample was used:

Table 3.8 Younger recently qualified teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiredzi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwenezi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikita</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chivi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 7

The factors which were considered in the choice of the sample are:

- Accessibility (whether the area can easily be reached by the researcher)
- Cost (financial feasibility of reaching the participants)
- Time (as the researcher is on full time employment and is a part-time student, consideration is on time feasibility i.e. the time to reach the participants)
- Willingness of participants (only willing participants will be included in the study for ethical reason)

3.5.1.3. Phase 3 sampling - typical case sampling

After gaining information through maximum variation sampling the researcher then saw that it was pertinent that she makes an in depth study of four cases she came across.
during phase 1 and 2 of the research by using typical case sampling, a type of purposive sampling. Typical case sampling according to Laerd (2011), uses cases which are illustrative of other similar cases. The typical cases were chosen from the maximum variation sample. During interviews the researcher chose typical cases which she used in the research as illustrative case due to the depth of the experiences.

The three types of purposive sampling used by the researcher effectively complemented each other in data collection. These sampling techniques helped the researcher to show the typical experiences of both male and female teachers.

3.5.1.4 Phase 4 sampling - Negative Case Sampling

This was done at the end of the study to ascertain the reliability and validity of the research findings. Palys (2008) asserts that negative case sampling locates and examines cases that disconfirm the researcher’s expectations and tentative explanations. It was used to measure the reliability of research findings.

N = 4

- Total interview sample = 70
- Total number of schools observed = 14
- Critical discourse analysis was done concurrently with participant observation.

This sample was used in the field to collect data. The next section thus explores the methods used in data collection.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Goulding (2001) notes that the most common data collection methods in grounded theory are in-depth interviews, observations and memos. He adds that in grounded
theory behaviour involves various forms of communication both verbal and non-verbal hence the use of critical discourse analysis. Such kinds of data collection methods seek for data which describes situations, record events, note feelings and keep track of ideas. Barrett (2007) shows that qualitative researchers seek to understand the phenomenal world through the study of events, actions, talk and interactions. It is because of the need to study events, actions, talk and interactions that the researcher used interviews, observations and critical discourse analysis in this study. These methods are going to be discussed below.

3.6.1 Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews are according to Burgess (1984), 'conversations with purpose', while Rubin and Rubin (1995) call them 'guided conversations'. Rose (1994) points out that in unstructured interviews the researcher should not try to influence the scope or depth of a participant's responses. Unstructured interview guides were used to guide the researcher and the assistants.

Advantages of unstructured interviews

Allowing the participant maximum control was seen as a particular advantage of unstructured interviewing. Fielding (1994) argues that the unstructured interview allows participants to use their own way of defining the world, assumes that no fixed sequence of questions is suitable to all participants and allows participants to raise considerations the interviewer hadn't thought of. Gray (1994) contends that one of the significant features of an unstructured interview is that it views the individual holistically, as unstructured interviews are the best means of securing the personal and private concerns of the participants. Patton (1990) describe unstructured interviewing as a less remote
and arbitrary form of interviewing, allowing participants to tell their stories. Interviewees are allowed to speak openly, frankly and give as much detail as possible. Listening to participants recounting their stories is according to Glaser and Strauss (1967), very important during the early stages of grounded theory research. Flexibility within the interview situation would therefore be advantageous when exploring new ground. Unstructured interviews are consistent with grounded theory methodology as they are valuable 'methods of discovery'. The researcher used the unstructured interviews to help her to get deeper into unexplored ideas on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

Unstructured interviews allowed the researcher to probe more deeply on matters of interest raised during the interview. Issues not previously thought of during the planning phase came up during the unstructured research sessions. Valuable new insights were explored on the problem.

**Disadvantages of using unstructured interviews**

Ary, Jacobs and Rezevich (1996) the interview may suffer from social desirability where the respondent want to please the interviewer by giving socially acceptable responses that they would not give on an anonymous questionnaire. Unstructured interviews are also not standardised so it is difficult to replicate one interview session to another. This was addressed by having a guide with the main themes to follow in an interview which were modified to suit each situation.
Challenges faced when using unstructured interviews

The major challenge faced was on the use of research assistants. Unstructured interviews need skilled interviewers, so there was need to train the research assistants on the use of unstructured interviews. The Public Service Commission of Canada (2009) show that it is difficult to take notes during the unstructured interview as there is little control over the type of data collected across participants. Alby (2010) argues that due to lack of standardisation, participants may head off into irrelevant topics. To ensure that the researcher and the research assistants made full use of this method a pre-research workshop with the assistants was done to equip each other with skills of probing in unstructured interviewing. Role plays were done during the workshop to come up with likely situations which the researchers could meet during the interviews and likely responses and likely probes to be given. Interview guides were prepared to guide the researcher and the assistants to collect data. This went a long way in ensuring that data collection was dependable and trustworthy. Two of the research assistants had done their Masters' degrees, so they had some experience in undertaking interviews.

Both unstructured and semi-structured interviews as means of data collection appear congruent with the grounded theory approach. The type of interview used was dependent on the stage of the research project. Given the advantages associated with unstructured interviews, both from the participants' perspective and the grounded theory approach itself, initial data collection in this study centred on unstructured one-to-one interviews with participants. As the study progressed unstructured interviews gave more direction to subsequent semi structured interviews.
3.6.2 Semi-structured interviews

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews are described by Rubin and Rubin (1995) as coming from the same family but differing in approach. In semi-structured interviewing, the interviewer requires more focused information and asks specific questions to gain it. In essence, the researcher opens the discussion, listens and uses prompts to guide the participant. The use of more focused interview questions is consistent with the grounded theory approach but they are generally used at a later stage in the data collection process. A central feature of grounded theory methodology is that analysis is concurrent with data collection, thus allowing emerging theory to inform subsequent data collection. Corbetta (2003: 270) explains semi structured interviews as:

> The order in which the various topics are dealt with and the wording of the questions are left to the interviewer’s discretion. Within each topic, the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he/she feels fit, to ask questions he/she deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanation and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt respondents to elucidate further if necessary, and to establish his own style of conversation.

Advantages of semi-structured interviews

In grounded theory ongoing analysis influenced the questions that were asked, with the direction of the interview becoming driven by the emerging theory. Using semi-structured interviews still allowed some flexibility: for example they permitted the interviewer to pursue issues of particular significance that relate to the research question. This method also allowed for exploration and clarification of comments made by the participants, as well as letting the interviewer use prior knowledge during the interview process. The use of semi-structured interviews was therefore also congruent with grounded theory methodology as it allowed the researcher to ask key questions in the same way each time, but allowed flexibility in the sequencing of questions and in the depth of exploration (Fielding 1994). Gray (2004) notes that probing is a way for the
interviewer to explore new paths which were not initially considered. This helped the researcher quite much as the theory unfolded in the research.

The strength of semi-structured interviews was that the researcher could probe deeper into given situations. The researcher could ask more detailed questions about individual participants’ situations and not adhere only to the interview guide. The researcher could also explain or rephrase questions depending on the type of participant.

**Challenges faced in using the semi structured interviews**

The use of research assistants was a major challenge as the researcher could not visit all the districts of Masvingo due to time limitations. Because of the use of research assistants Newton (2010) asserts that comparability of data may be difficult as sequencing and wording may vary from interview to interview. To circumvent this challenge the researcher trained the research assistants prior to the data collection process. The data collected by research assistants was reported by e-mail or sent to the researcher as scripts on a regular basis so that the researcher could explore the emerging theory in line with data she was getting from other districts. Newton (2010) again notes that the researcher should identify common themes among the participants to come up with convincing and credible data. The researcher always informed the assistants on further data to be collected, which was in line with the emerging theory. Where need be, the researcher and the research assistants met to evaluate the research process, explore challenges and craft the way forward, to verify findings and explore further questions to be researched on. This ensured that the researcher and the research assistants worked on the same wavelength.
Corbetta (2003) identifies another challenge faced in semi-structured interviews as premised on the large amounts of raw data that was collected by the researcher and the research assistants which was difficult to compile. This problem was mitigated by processing data concurrently with data collection. The assistants regularly sent interview scripts to the researcher so that the researcher analysed the data throughout the data collection process. More questions were sent by mail to the assistants for further research into emergent themes.

The study utilized the semi-structured interview guides because the researcher aimed to concentrate on topical issues not specific questions. The researcher adapted the formulation of questions including the terminology to fit the background, position and education levels of participants. The semi-structured interviews were used with teachers, school heads and education inspectors.

3.6.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation was added in this research as previous researches only concentrated on interviews. Observation was used to measure consistency of interview results with what people really do and say outside the interview situation. Marshall and Rossman (2006) contend that combined with observation, interviews allow the researchers to understand the meaning that everyday activities hold for people.

Participant observation according to Marshall and Rossman (2006) is an essential element of all qualitative interviewing. In this study the researcher was involved first hand in the institutions under study. The aim of participant observation was to hear, see
and experience reality as participants live it. In participant observation, the researcher was the research instrument as she and the research assistants collected the data.

**Advantages of participant observation**

Participant observation was essential for this study because the observer observed events as they naturally occurred i.e. how male and female teachers/lecturers relate, attitudes towards female heads, effectiveness of female heads, effect of home on time of female teacher. The advantage of making the research’s intention unknown according to Kerlinger (1996) is to minimize the reactive effect. This ensured that the researcher shared the gender based experiences within education institutions e.g. gender based roles, gendered behaviour which promoted or discouraged management aspiration in people. This was in line with the phenomenological approach used.

**Challenges faced in using participant observation**

This method, as it uses the human as the research instrument is prone to a lot of bias. Selltiz (1964) argues that the researcher may become too accustomed to certain kinds of behaviour and take certain behaviours for granted. To ensure credibility of the findings, the researcher used multiple observers. There was an initial discussion with research assistants on points to note during the observation process. The observation checklist was discussed and pre-tested together with the assistants so that they could be able to employ it in the field.
3.6.4 Critical discourse analysis

Van Dijk (1993) defines CDA as a type of discourse analytic research that primarily studies the way social power abuses, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and the political context. It aims at understanding, exposing and ultimately resisting social inequality. Van Dijk (1993) further notes that CDA is motivated by pressing social issues which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis. It hopes to change society through a critical understanding of social factors and how discourse enact, sustain, legitimate, condone and ignore social inequalities and injustices. CDA seeks to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality. This research did a critical analysis of who has greater access to education management discourses in schools and colleges (discourse access profiles) and a critical analysis of factors that affect access to management discourse and communication.

Advantages of using CDA in this research

CDA was used in this research in describing, interpreting, analyzing and critiquing access to leadership as it is influenced by language and discourse. It analyzed natural talk. The researcher employed the devil’s advocate strategy to raise issues for ‘natural talk’. This was important as participants freely said out their minds, unlike in the formal interview. Issues looked at are:

- Major themes in sex differentiated conversations
- Extent to which the issue of cultural obligation to the family affect each sex’s readiness to accept responsibility
- Views on cultural view of morality and communitarianism and how they differentially affect different sexes
• Gendered illusions as seen in naturally occurring conversations

The aim was to note whether there is a congruency between what people say in formal interviews and what they say off hand (in natural talk conversations).

CDA in this research also looked at:

• The uses of imagery which have gendered connotations. Metaphors, similes and proverbs used in the Shona culture were analyzed.

• An analysis of contents of male only and female only conversations was done.

**Challenges faced in using CDA in this research**

The use of research assistants was the major challenge faced in the use of CDA. Getting meaning out of conversations needed a lot of standardisation on what information to derive from the conversations and any other discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2008) show that in CDA there is no explicitly recommended method of data collection. The researcher and her assistants needed to collect data that could be analysed into one thing, so only relevant data were required. A discourse analysis checklist was prepared which was discussed with the assistants and pre-tested before the data collection process. The major issues were highlighted and boundaries were defined on the relevant data required. Role plays were done to equip the assistants on how to employ skills like the devil’s advocate in getting data from the research participants.
Advantages of using the multi-method research strategy

The use of different methods in a research is called methodological triangulation. This is done to find out more about the phenomena under study. Frost (2010) argues that researchers use more than one method in qualitative research in order to triangulate the outcomes of the different methods. As this research was not in search of a definitive truth about experience and did not regard reality as fixed, but sought to understand participants as individuals in order to bring a unique understanding to the way they understand the world, a multi-methodological design was essential. The different methods brought in different ways of understanding the data collected in the research.

3.7 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Data collection instruments used in this research were semi-structured interview guides, observation schedules and discourse analysis schedules.

3.7.1 The researcher as an instrument

In accordance with the qualitative research paradigm, the researcher was the major data collection instrument. She was the primary instrument for making sense of the phenomenon under investigation. Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2003) show that the researcher is the key person in obtaining data from participants. In this research the researcher and the assistants created the context in which the participants shared data regarding their experiences. They ensured that there was flow of information from the participants to the researcher and the assistants. The researcher translated and interpreted data generated from participants into themes and theories.

In all the methods and phases used, the researcher as the primary instrument collected data using the other data collection instruments like the unstructured interview guide,
the semi structured interview guide, observation checklists and discourse analysis check lists.

3.7.2 Unstructured interview guides

The unstructured interview guide consisted of questions which guided how the researcher and the assistants started the interview and other key questions which guided the interview process. As the interviews progressed the researcher let the participants’ stories lead the questioning during the interviews. These were meant to guide the researcher on the issues to follow up in the next stage where she used the semi-structured interview guides. Unstructured interview guides were meant to standardise the nature of data collection between the researcher and the research assistants.

3.7.3 Semi-structured interview guides

These are non-standardized interview guides. In this type of interview the researcher had key themes, issues and questions that she intended to cover. The order of questions changed with each interview and additional questions were added for clarity as the interview dictated.

The study utilized the semi-structured interview guides because the researcher aimed to concentrate on topical issues not specific questions. The researcher focused on subjects chosen, for example:

- Communitarianism
- Morality
- Gendered illusions
- Language and discourse
The researcher adapted the formulation of questions including the terminology to fit the background, position and education levels of participants. The semi-structured interviews were used with teachers, school heads and education inspectors.

The major advantage of using the semi-structured interview guide was that the interviewer was in control of the interview situation. As the questions were semi-structured, the interviewer could use probes to clear up vague responses and to elaborate on incomplete answers (flexibility) (Huysamen 1993). The interviewer asked ‘why’ or ‘could you elaborate’ type of questions. Semi-structured interviews were used with people from diverse backgrounds as the questions were restructured to suit contexts and persons (adaptability). Semi-structured interviews according to Mouton (2001) can be used when the topic is of a very sensitive nature. Challenging core values of a culture is very sensitive in any context. Participants may not be willing to unveil some sensitive aspects of their culture e.g. the question of morality and the communitarianist philosophy. These form the very essence of the African culture so the researcher had to probe to get meaning out of experiences of participants.

3.7.4 Observation checklist

These checklists consisted of the key issues to be observed in any situation for example:

- male/female teacher relationships;
- absenteeism from work by gender (these were also found in log books);
- teachers’ arrival time at work by gender;
- teachers' knocking off time from work by gender;
- interference of work by family commitments during working hours by gender;
• reaction of teachers when assigned posts of responsibility by gender;

• teachers' reactions to male/female headship;

• interactions between teachers outside school hours by gender; and

• interaction of teachers with other teachers outside their school by gender.

These key issues and other emergent issues guided the participant observation process. The researcher with the help of the assistants were the major data collection instruments in this process.

3.7.5 Critical discourse analysis checklists

The researcher with the assistance from the research assistants were the major instruments in collecting data through CDA. CDA checklists were used to guide the researcher and the research assistants on what data to collect as they listened to discourses. This was meant to standardise data collection between the researcher and her assistants. Major issues which the CDA checklists comprised of were:

• major themes in male teachers only conversations;

• major themes in female teachers only conversations;

• major gendered similes used in the context of the research;

• major gendered metaphors used in the context of the research;

• major gendered illusions as shown in naturally occurring speeches by teachers;

• reactions of different sexes to gendered language for example 'you are a woman' to a male teacher or 'you are a real man' to a female teacher; and
• major gendered proverbs used to illuminate the view of the society towards females and males.

CDA was also used to highlight the importance of language and discourse in instilling the values and philosophies of the Shona people like morality and communitarianism.

3.8. THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

The researcher and the assistants entered the field as soon as she found the area of research. Literature search was done at the same time as data collection as part of an iterative, inductive and interactional process of data collection (Goulding, 2001). The developing theory guided the researcher to appropriate literature that had relevance to the emerging data grounded concepts. Eaves (2001) says that grounded theory uses a systematic set of data collection and analysis procedures to develop an inductively derived theory from data. The generation of theory occurred during actual research and was based on comparative analysis between and among groups of people.

3.8.1 Interviews

The researcher asked for permission from the selected participants at least a week before the interview date. Interview guides were sent to the prospective participants before the interview date for them to have time to reflect on the interview themes. Interview styles used in this research were dictated by grounded theory method. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that researchers move from broad to more specific questions. This was done as the researcher prepared a pre-determined interview guide which was unstructured. This was done to enable the researcher to code more discriminately. A few initial questions were asked which gave birth to more questions as more themes emerged during the research process. The main idea was to explore the teachers’
experiences and to put the experiences in the context of the research. Semi-structured interviews then followed which utilized following general format:

- The interviewee’s view on the local philosophy of communitarianism;
- View on the issue of morality in the local context;
- What effect it has on female and male teachers prospecting for management position;
- How the issues of morality and communitarianism have affected their advancement; and
- How they perceive female and male leadership.

The interviews were aimed at obtaining depth and detail of the participants’ experiences. Interviews were held until redundancy was reached.

Interviews were transcribed after each interview session to get the codes and do constant comparison of the emerging codes and categories. The participants were assured of confidentiality by the use of pseudonyms in reporting especially on typical cases.

**3.8.2 Participant observation**

The next step was to employ participant observation. The researcher got permission from the relevant ministries (Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education; Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture) to spend time in their institutions. Permission was sought from school heads of the selected schools. The researcher and in other instances, the research assistants then became part of the schools under observation.
3.8.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

During the week of observation the researcher with the help of research assistants in other districts were eliciting meaning from discourses as shown in conversations, use of metaphors, similes and proverbs. CDA was done concurrently with participant observation as these actions and talk always take place concurrently.

3.9. DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

Best and Kahn (1993:203) assert that the challenge in analyzing qualitative data, “is to make sense of the massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals.” To avert this problem the researcher used grounded theory technique which uses the constant comparison methodology that combines data collection and data analysis.

Analysis was based on open coding techniques and the use of line by line analysis where the researcher analyzed words in speeches and interview responses that had meaning to theory formation in this research hence the use of critical discourse analysis.

A multi-step data analysis technique was used to analyze the data. The development of this multi-step technique was based on the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990):

• Line by line coding was done on a transcript that was considered to be thick in description which has been used as a typical case in the research report in Chapter 4. The researcher used key phrases in the informant’s own word. The transcript used in the coding was read very carefully and key words and phrases utilised;
• Listing of all codes was done and developed to catch the main ideas brought forward by the research participant;
• Similar codes were grouped together;
• These groupings formed concepts;
• Similar concepts were grouped together to form categories. The categories were based upon similar phenomena;
• Codes and categories were compared for similarities and differences through the technique of constant comparison;
• Linkages were identified among categories by answering questions on the relationship in the data and by using literature to outline and compare relationships among the categories;
• Core categories were identified which are the central themes of the data. The core categories then led to the identification of the basic problems faced by the participants; and
• Theories were derived from the core categories and an explanatory framework was developed.

Throughout the entire process memos were written to

• Interpret the line by line analysis material;
• Articulate discourses;
• Examine the relationship between code categories;
• Explain major code categories;
• explore major methodological issues; and
• Generate theory.
Throughout the coding procedure theoretical sampling was done. This is the sampling of concepts that are relevant to the emerging theory. Theoretical sampling is cumulative, increases the depth of focus, notes variations and occurs in all three coding phases to uncover and validate the relationship between concepts and to determine the accuracy of the relationships. Theoretical sampling was done until theoretical saturation was reached, that is, no new data emerged, the categories were dense enough to cover variations in data and relationships between categories were delineated satisfactorily.

The researcher had to ensure that the data she collected and the results were dependable, trustworthy and credible. Credibility, dependability and trustworthiness tests were thus done on the data. The next section therefore discusses these issues.

3.10 CREDIBILITY, DEPENDABILITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.

The criteria in qualitative research to ensure validity are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. To attain trustworthiness the researcher used negative cases, prolonged engagement and member checks.

According to Chiovitti and Piran (2003) in qualitative research the term credibility relates to the vividness and faithfulness of the descriptions of the phenomena. It relates to the trustworthiness of the findings. To ensure that research results are trustworthy, this research was guided by the enquiry process. The emergent themes guided the direction of research so that a thick description of the phenomena were achieved. The researcher tried by all means to use the researchers’ own words and stories to guide theory formulation.
**Triangulation**

To ensure trustworthiness of the research results, the researcher used different forms of triangulation. In this research four types of triangulation were used:

- **Researcher triangulation** – different research assistants were used in this research to ensure that the data gathered were not biased towards one researcher. Both male and female assistants were used to avoid sex bias of the results.

- **Research design triangulation** – the research was also based on different research designs which had different theoretical bases. Phenomenology, grounded theory and critical discourse analysis were all used to investigate the same phenomena from different perspectives. This was done to compare findings from these different approaches and see whether the results have coherence and could thus be translated into meaningful theories. Frost (2010) argues that research design triangulation offer a more indepth, multidimensional insight into the complexities of the social world. This ensured that the data was dependable and trustworthy.

- **Methodological triangulation** – Frost (2010) notes that to counter biases that may be brought by one method different data collection methods should be used. The researcher used both unstructured and semi structured interviews, participant observation and critical discourse analysis. These different sources of information assured the researcher that the theories drawn from these methods were credible, dependable and trustworthy.

**Negative cases** – this was when the researcher chose cases to verify views given by other people who were against the equality of sexes. Palys (2008) shows that negative
cases disconfirm the researcher's expectations and tentative explanations. Their views and arguments served as a cross check of the trustworthiness of the problems which participants had pointed out in the research. It was a way of verifying what research participants had said about the hindrances faced in implementing gender sensitive policies.

**Member checks** - Eliot (2004) postulates that member checks involve the researcher returning to the participants and check the accuracy of data collected. This method was used by the researcher to ensure trustworthiness of the research results. During and after the research the researcher continued to engage the research participants to check whether the way she had interpreted her data was consistent with the emerging theory and what the participant had said. Trustworthiness was also attained through the constant comparison process which is itself an integral part of grounded theory.

### 3.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher based her ethical considerations on the contextualized stance. Gonzales-Perez (2007) says that in the contextualized stance the researcher describes and understands events, actions and processes in the natural process they occur. This is in line with the research design used (phenomenology and grounded theory) and the theoretical framework upon which this research is based (feminist post modernism). The following ethical issues were considered throughout the research process:

**Informed consent** – the researcher was faithful and truthful in the conduct of the research. The researcher first sought verbal consent of the research participant. The participants were informed about the purpose of the research and its benefits to them.
The researcher did not in any way misrepresent the intention of this research to participants. The researcher did not in any way again coerce or force participants into giving information.

**Assessment of risk** – Newton (2010) warns that the researcher should be sure that the interviewees are happy and they should not demand too much from the participants. The researcher assessed the risks of the research process to participant. Where the participant asked for secrecy, so that no one knew they were part of the research the researcher arranged for such. Some participants felt that participation in the research would compromise their security in their homes, so strict confidence was assured and pseudonyms were used in all cases.

**Responsibility of researcher to participants** – Newton (2010)'s observations showed that semi-structured and unstructured interviews allow individuals to disclose thoughts and feelings which are private. The researcher ensured strict confidence and anonymity during and after the research process. The researcher also assured those participants who wished to know the results of the research access to the research report.

**Feedback of results** – participants were promised to be given a summary of the research findings on request. These are going to be sent through e-mails for those with e-mails and hard copies for those without e-mails. Alby (2010) reiterates that the researcher had to be clear about what would happen to the data she was collecting. The research is also going to be put in chosen libraries to ensure access to the public. Research findings may also be reported at workshops where the researcher is given permission to do so.
Anxiety and distress – qualitative research aims at an in-depth understanding through exploration of reasons and context. In this research it provoked anxiety and a lot of emotions as some participants relived their social experiences. To minimize this effect the researcher did pre counselling of participants and post counselling where there was need. The researcher also referred cases which needed professional help to appropriate people. Follow up was done to ensure that the participants were comfortable from the stress.

3.12 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed research methodology. A qualitative research paradigm was utilized. The research design used was multi faceted where the researcher used phenomenology, grounded theory and critical discourse analysis. This was done to gain a holistic picture of the problem. Purposive sampling was used to select participants in the research. The types of purposive sampling used were criterion, maximum variation and typical case sampling. The research methods employed to collect the data were unstructured and semi structured interviews, critical discourse analysis and participant observation. Data analysis was done using grounded theory. Based on the research methods discussed in this chapter, the next chapter discusses data presentation, analysis and interpretation.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The data were presented on the basis of the research questions. The focus of this chapter was to explore the findings of the research on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. The chapter is divided into four sections based on the research questions:

• How does the Shona concept of morality affect entrance rate of male and female teachers into education management?

• to what extent does the communitarian philosophy influence career aspirations of male and female teachers?

• How does the Shona social image of females and males as reflected in gendered illusions affect priorities of female teachers and male teachers?

• What are the implications of language and discourse on the perceptions of female and male teachers on education management?

Data was analyzed using grounded theory. It was from the grounded theory that codes, categories which later led to themes were produced. Theories were then derived from the data.
The researcher looked at background information for this research using background questions which formed a basis of the analysis of the impact of socio cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

4.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

If you were given a choice at what age or stage would you consider entering education management?

Answers the researcher got from the male teachers and the female teachers varied widely. Male teachers showed that they were willing to enter education management as soon as they got the chance. This was seen in the general prevalence of younger male education managers than females. Female teachers showed that they were hesitant to enter education management during their child bearing and child rearing years. Reasons cited included:

- obligation to look after the family;
- hesitation to leave husband for fear of losing him to other women;
- obligation to rear children;
- lack of permission from husband to apply for management posts; and
- fear of role conflict between work and home as they cited that education management is too demanding and it tends to take one away from home frequently. Most female teachers said that this was in conflict with the traditional motherly roles.

Parallel questions were asked to education managers.
a) At what stage in your life did you start applying for an education management post?

b) At what age did you enter education management?

From these two questions it was noted that aspirations for education management varied across ages in female teachers but for male teachers, even the youngest interviewed showed a drive towards education management. Most female teachers showed that they started applying when they were through with their reproductive cycle. Some even started applying when they were widowed or divorced. For most female teachers who applied when they were still young it was noted that most were never married and they put the care of their children in the care of their mothers or they found domestic help to help them with the children. However, there were a few married female teachers who showed that their husbands supported their advancement from an early age.

It was also noted that males entered education management at a generally younger age than their female counterparts. This has resulted in an age lag between male entry into education management and female teacher entry. The factors cited for this lag were again:

- obligation to look after the family;
- hesitation to leave husband for fear of losing him to other women;
- obligation to rear children;
- lack of permission from husband to apply for management posts; and
- fear of role conflict between work and home as they cited that education management is too demanding and it tends to take one away from home frequently. Most female teachers said that this was in conflict with the traditional motherly roles.
These sentiments answered the next question which was:

**What factors did you consider before applying for the post?**

Research findings showed that most female teachers who qualified for education management posts had never applied for promotion. A large number of male teachers having the same qualifications and experience had applied for education management. The majority of female teachers showed reservation on being education managers while most male teachers showed high preparedness on being education managers.

There were also questions asked on the challenges faced by male and female education managers (i) when they thought of applying for the post (ii) during the early years as a manager

- **clarify any challenges you faced when you thought of being an education manager**
- **challenges you faced in your early years as a manager within your school system**
- **challenges you faced within your family.**

Responses to these questions again varied across sexes. Males showed that they were supported fully in their endeavour to be education managers. They said their support base came from their wives and their families. Nearly all the males interviewed said that they were motivated to apply because they did not want to be ruled by other men. They wanted to prove their manhood by being in control. On the other hand most female managers said they lacked support from their husbands, friends, colleagues and families to apply. Most even lacked support from their churches as they were discouraged from
applying. Reasons they cited for lack of support were questions they were asked by nearly everyone whom they told that they were applying for a management post.

- Who will you leave your husband with?
- Who will look after your children?
- You want to leave your husband and children with a maid, you are surely selling your husband.
- Who will discipline your children?
- The job may frequently take you away from home, do you think that is proper for a woman?
- Do you think your husband will be happy when you attend far away meetings with males?

From the early years of being an education manager most males showed that they were positively accepted. However a few showed that because of their age, young male managers faced challenges of respect from teachers who were older. On the other hand, female education managers faced a number of challenges. This was demonstrated by one female education manager who recounted her ordeal as a manager.

On one occasion when there was some discord at the education institution she was heading, teachers were divided on what to do. Some took a route that was against the female head’s position while others took a position that seemed to support the female head’s position. For those who took the position against the female head, it seemed very unmanly for those who supported her. One was heard saying, “vamwe varume vakarohwa ne petticort yaMai X,” meaning that some men have been beaten with Mrs. X’s petticoat. This attitude shows a complete disregard of female leadership. It is this
form of attitude that repels most female teachers from education management. For fear of their emotional security they shun leadership in schools which result in gender sensitive policy implementation facing some insurmountable challenges.

The background data showed that there are moral considerations and communitarian considerations one has to make before going into education management. It also showed that education management is marred with gendered illusions on which sex is most suitable for education management. Language and discourse were also seen to reflect gendered perceptions on leadership ability. From this background information the researcher then sought to find answers to the research questions.

4.3 HOW DOES THE SHONA CONCEPT OF MORALITY AFFECT THE ENTRANCE RATE OF MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS INTO EDUCATION MANAGEMENT?

Nel (2008) asserts that morality refers to the moral principles pertaining to a distinction between right and wrong and that which constitutes an absolute reference for character and behavior. It is an authoritative mode of conduct in matters of right and wrong. These modes of conduct are instilled within a person through the socialization process, gender based stereotyping and language and discourse. Morality in the Shona culture was seen as a key principle that ensures the survival of the family. In line with this one participant said, “As Africans we cannot run away from the issue of morality. It is the basis of who we are and ignoring the morality issue can be destroying the very identity we should be proud of.” This assertion shows the importance the Shona people put on morality. The majority of the participants agreed with this assertion especially from the
elderly participants. However it was noted that morality in the Shona culture is gender specific. In line with this Kanyoro in Chitando and Hadebe (2009: 153) says, "women in Africa are custodians of cultural practices. . . many aspects that diminish women continue to be practiced, often making women objects of cultural preservation." It is because of this discrepancy in gender differentiated moral expectations that the researcher has found out that the Shona concept of morality can act as a barrier to gender equity in education management. The younger participants showed some reservations on some moral issues which they think have to be revised. This was shown by one participant who said, “Despite the importance we put on our culture we should know that we have to adapt culture to suit the current global trends.”

The researcher then asked participants the following question to find out their experiences on the morality issue.

**What have been your experience on the issue of morality in your community?**

This question was mainly answered through typical cases which showed the real gendered experiences of both male and female teachers which affected their entrance rate into education management.

**TYPICAL CASE 1 – NYARAI’S STORY**

"I was raised up to be a highly moral girl and my parents were very proud of me. It was our duty as girls in the homestead to wake up early in the morning before anyone else and sweep the yard, wash dishes and prepare breakfast for our brothers before we went to school. I did not realize that my brothers had nothing to do when we were in town. My father did not do any domestic work and for me it was the normal thing because he worked for us as a mechanic. My mother owned a stall at the market place and she
would juggle between the stall and home throughout the day. For my little mind, mother did not work. She was a complete housewife.

During the holidays we went to our rural home. I had to know how to use the plough, how to milk cattle, how to put the cattle in the plough. These, I was forced to know to prepare me to be a good wife who could be self sufficient in her home. When I grew up I managed to be a teacher despite all odds. I got married soon after completing my primary teacher’s certificate. My marriage was hell. I was married into an extremely patriarchal family. A woman had no voice in that family. I had no say over my own finances and my husband decided what to do and what not to do with our money. I had a psychological breakdown. My health deteriorated. I developed stomach ulcers, hypertension and an unexplained disorder in my muscles. No one associated my health problems with my negative experiences and I went through a lot of medications. MY CAREER SUFFERED. I thought little of my career and I just went there not out of pleasure for my work but because I had children to look after. I never thought of advancing because on the domestic sphere I had too much in my hands. Then I realized after ten years of my career that my husband and my male counterparts, with whom I was in college, were flying in their careers. I was left behind and I had nothing to show for the ten years of my career. That’s when I realized that I had to do something. This marked the watershed in my life. Against my husband’s disapproval who said there was no money to sponsor me for my education, I enrolled with an open and distance education university. I struggled with my fees until I completed my first degree. I began to advance in my career but only fifteen years after I completed college. My colleagues with whom I was in the same class were far ahead of me. With their experience in administration, they were qualified to go even further in education management while I was just beginning the process. Through affirmative action I was promoted to substantive deputy head a post I have held for the past five years."

NB* See the full narration of this case on Appendix 5.
From the above story the researcher came up with a number of codes which showed the impact of morality on the advancement of female teachers.

- There are gender based parental expectations for girls and boys which impact on their future careers;
- There are gender based responsibilities in the home (rural versus urban);
- There is a lag in time between female teacher advancement and male teacher advancement;
- There are health connotations of social experiences;
- There are psychological connotations of social experiences;
- There are career impact of social experience;
- role of self will and self confidence in advancement; and
- role of self realization in advancement.

The researcher then looked at the codes to see whether they were typical of female teachers’ experiences. As the researcher advanced in the research there were a number of issues related to the above trends which were seen in the socio-cultural sphere which had different impacts on male and female teachers’ advancement. The following issues came up as the researcher was following on the question:

**What have been your experience on the issue of morality in your community?**

The following responses came up which supported the issues raised in Typical Case 1.
• It is an expectation in the Shona of Masvingo that every member of the extended family has an obligation to look after members of the extended family who need his/her assistance.

• It is imperative that each member of the extended family does his or her duty to fulfil their responsibility towards the family.

• There are differential expectations for women and men i.e. what is moral for a man to do may be amoral for a woman to do.

• Each person also holds a special place in the family as for example a father, a mother, a wife, a big brother, and so on, of the family. Teachers are not excluded from this social order. The respect afforded a person as per his/her position is respected as long as one fulfils the obligations and responsibilities associated with the position. During the research it was noted that teachers have at time to look after orphans, nieces, nephews, sisters, brothers, uncles, cousins and aunties.

• It is not always easy for the female teacher to leave the matrimonial home for promotion. She has to be with the family always to ensure that the children grow up to be acceptable adults within the family. It is the duty of the mother to be the children’s counsellor. If a child under one’s roof misbehaves the fault lies on the mother’s shoulders.

• Despite their efforts most female teachers showed that they lacked support from anyone in their families. Even if they wholeheartedly undertake their duties as family carers, no one seems to care about their own wellbeing and feelings.

• Females have to move from their maiden families to join the husband’s family. This has a great effect on most female teachers.
To balance the above perspective the researcher found a male teacher who gave his story. This was done to compare male teachers and female teachers’ experiences as they grew up in order to come up with a balanced theory on the impact of morality on entrance rate of male and female teachers into education management.

**TYPICAL CASE 2 – SAMUEL**

“I was born in a highly traditional family where gender based treatment was quite evident. I was taught that I was a man and I should not let women play around with me. My sisters waited on me. I ate at the family court (dare) with all the other male members of the family. We were told tales of war. We were told folk tales about weak men and strong men. I was taught to tend the family herd; the symbol of the family wealth, as I was told that a man is the owner of the family herd.

As I grew up I detested women and their advice. I wanted to be a real man who would be respected by his women folk and who could control his women effectively. I did not want to be associated with the weak men. I had to lead women and I detested women leadership.

I enrolled into a teachers’ college and I fell in love with a classmate at college and we got married immediately we completed college. I concentrated on my career advancement to have an upper hand over my wife. I was not comfortable having a wife who earned the same salary as me. I enrolled for a degree immediately I started teaching. My wife also had the ambition to start studying for a degree but she had a lot of domestic duties to fulfil. She had to look after our children and members of the extended family we were staying with. Apart from that there was no money for the two of us to study at the same time. My brother and his wife were dead and we had the responsibility to look after their children. I told her aunts to talk to her and she
understood and I joined a university for my first degree. I went on to do my Masters’
degree. Now as you can see I am a headmaster which is good for my family. My wife
has also now started; the children have grown up and do not require her attention.

NB* See Appendix 6 for a full narration of this case.

Codes that came up from this typical case

- Males are given the position of leadership in the home from a tender age. (my
  mother called me father or grandfather);

- Males grow up being superior to women in the family (my sisters waited on me)

- Males socialized to be owners and to have responsibility over means of
  production (I was taught to tend the family herd; the symbol of our family
  wealth);

- Some men think that women are satisfied with being supporters of their
  husbands and not by their own advancement. This supports De Witt and Boysen
  (1995)’s assertion that women’s roles are seen against the background of their
  domestic duties and her feminine abilities are measured in terms of fulfilment of
  a supportive and constructive role in supporting her husband. Partnow (1993)
  also says, “of all the old prejudices that cling to the hem of a woman’s garment
  none holds faster than this. The idea that she owes service to a man instead of to
  herself. And that it is her highest duty to aid his development rather than her
  own.” (illusion)

- Women’s ambitions are suppressed through well defined structures (I told her
  aunts to talk to her and she understood.); and

- Women lag behind men in career advancement due to suppression of ambition in
  the home.
Having explored these experiences the following question led data analysis for the next section, premised on issues raised in the typical cases.

**What are the major gendered morality issues in your community?**

The researcher found out from interviews that the following were the major morality issues in the Shona culture of Masvingo which affected the implementation of gender sensitive policies in education management.

- the Shona ethic of virtue;
- the Shona ethic of care; and
- the Shona ethic of hospitality.

### 4.3.1 MORALITY AND THE SHONA ETHIC OF VIRTUE

**What are the moral expectation of a virtuous person in the Shona culture?**

It was noted during the research that the ethic of virtue can act as a hindrance to the advancement of women into education management positions. Virtues associated with morality among Shona women were noted as being loyal and submissive to the husband and his kin, being altruistic (considers the happiness and good of others before one’s own), being stoic (having patience and courage in the face of suffering), forgiving, simple, faithful, industrious and unflinchingly hospitable. The following table shows what is expected of a male and a female to do in order for them to be man or women of virtue.
Table 4.1 Domestic Role Distribution Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOMEN’S ROLES</th>
<th>MEN’S ROLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family nutrition (plans and prepares food)</td>
<td>Car maintenance (if the family has one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry (washes and irons clothes)</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood collection (in rural areas but at times in towns due to electricity problems)</td>
<td>Farming (for the rural teacher and at times urban farming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water collection (mainly in rural but also at times in urban due to municipal water problems)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House maintenance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming (mainly for the rural teacher and at times urban farming)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family nurse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family counsellor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above roles have to be fulfilled for one to be considered virtuous. It was noted that from the above table female roles far outnumber male roles. Female roles are obligatory on a daily basis whereas male roles can be suspended if he feels he is too busy to do his duties. The male roles also spill to the females as farming is done by everyone in the family. This adds more burden on the female.

So for the society to consider one as a virtuous woman, a woman has to be self denying for the wellbeing of others. If the person is a professional woman, professional issues
come after social issues. Social compliance has a bigger place because of the need to be accepted. Virtuous women are judged by the way they do their work in their homes and not by their professional achievements. This is in line with what Chiwome in Mutswairo et al (1996:54) says about the Shona society, “unhu is attained through one’s plausible performance of one’s role in society.” The Shona refer to a virtuous woman as ‘mukadzi chaiye’ meaning ‘a real wife’. The woman who lacks virtue is referred to as ‘apa hapana z vemukadzi apa’ meaning to say that ‘this is no wife material’. So for fear of failure in as far as virtue is concerned a lot of sacrifices need to be done. Ridicule for failure in one’s womanly duties does not fall on her shoulders alone but also on the shoulders of her natal family. The marital family would say ‘akabva chembere dzaenda kudoro’ meaning to say that when the woman came for marriage she came when old women had gone for a beer drink, that is, she was not properly admonished on what ‘a real woman’ should do. Some would say ‘akabva ari mudungwe rava rume’. This means she came in a line of men only, that is, no women told her what a woman should do as she came in the company of men. So fear of failure in one’s womanly duties drive most female teachers to put career as a secondary issue to domestic obligations.

The following case highlights issues of virtue faced by female teachers that impact on their career progression.

**TYPICAL CASE 3- SEKAI’S STORY**

"My husband was the only one who was working in his family when we got married. We had to take care of his three brothers and two sisters. He had been educated by his family, so he had to do likewise to his brothers and sisters. They came to live with us at our workplace. *I had no choice* and I had to do it. What *pained me* was that my husband
did not show me his salary. I did not know how he spent his money. I had to use my salary to look after the five relatives, myself and my husband. I could not run away because what would the world say. They would say that I was a cheap woman who could not keep her marriage. Even my parents told me to persevere. They told me that, “usafukura hapwa” i.e. I should not open the armpit. This is a proverb which means that I should not lay bare what was happening in my home. For them it would be a disgrace. I had to persevere in silence not revealing to anyone about my predicament. I had to persevere not for myself but for my children and the name of my natal family. I did all the housework as I could not employ a maid. My in laws did not make things easy for me. They told their brother whatever they wanted about me and he always believed. Life in that house became hell. Still I could not escape. I had to preserve my dignity as a married woman and that of my family. I broke down mentally and emotionally. I suffered from severe depression. I could not concentrate on my work. It meant nothing to me and my performance dropped. The head was always on my heels as all my work lagged behind.

In the meantime my husband was progressing. He registered for a degree and he was accepted. All his money went towards his studies and I had to look after the family. He was promoted to head a school outside our district. I had to transfer also to follow him. Now my husband is dead and he left me with four children and nothing else. My eldest daughter is now in university. I can’t improve myself and any prospect for advancement is a farfetched dream as I am now concentrating on the education of my children. Twenty five years down the line as a teacher I have nothing to show for it. No advancement both professionally and academically. These are the pains of being a woman.”
This typical case shows a number of issues of virtue facing the female teacher. The following are issues of virtue raised in this typical case:

- A virtuous woman has to persevere in the face of problems. Logan (1999) shows that most women are being bartered daily in their marital homes while their parents continue to urge them to bear the pain for the sake of the children.

- A virtuous woman should not lay bare what happens in her home —silenced. The Shona have an adage that, "chakafukidza dzimba matenga" meaning that roofs hide what happens in the houses so one should not lay bare what happens in her home.

- A virtuous woman works for her family whole heartedly.

- A virtuous woman is dignified. Dignified woman in the Shona culture do not divorce their husband.

- A virtuous woman is always there for her husband as supporter and carer—*I had to transfer also to follow him*.

On the first issue it was brought to light that a woman is tied to her marital family regardless of her predicament. It is only in extreme cases that the families can agree to a divorce. Problems like domestic violence, extra marital affairs and ignoring one’s family obligations are in most cases associated with males, so it is the females who are on the receiving end but who cannot run away from their predicament. One female teacher interviewee said, 'I feel like running away but there is a force that seems to be holding me back. I feel I am not in control of my destiny.' Most female teachers clearly showed that this was hindering their progress as they are affected mentally, psychologically, emotionally and physically by social situations they find themselves in.
The second moral issue showed that some women are silenced by culture. Sekai said, ‘I should not lay bare what is happening in my home’. The silencing of women result in mental exclusion where they cannot open up their worries to anyone. The phenomenon of mental exclusion was evident in most female teachers interviewed. They could not divulge their experiences freely. This is also seen in the workplace where most women showed that they were suffering silently. This was seen in critical discourse analysis of female only conversations. Most females during these conversations showed that there were some elements of bitterness in them due to their social experiences. Most would say, ‘aah! Varume vanonetsa vasikana.’ The research saw this as implying that such women although they don’t freely open up on their social experience, are victims of a lot of mental pain at the hands of their husbands. The bitterness and silencing combine to form a mentally secluded person. This affect career progression and impacts on gender sensitive policies.

The third issue in typical case 3 showed that women are overworked in the home. Sekai said, ‘I did all the work in the home.’ She noted that when they came back from work her husband sat down and watched soccer on television or he read the newspaper or he went out for socialization with his friends or to drink beer. The above experiences were echoed not only by Sekai but by the majority of female teachers. In line with what Sekai noted in typical case 3, most female teachers saw that there was nothing wrong as it was their cultural obligation. However it was seen to affect enrichment of female teachers as they are confined to the home after work. Most showed that they did not have any meaningful external contacts with which they could share their work experiences. External socialization circles were seen to mainly be confined to the church gatherings
where their composition is so mixed up that there is no professional enrichment in such circles.

The forth virtue shows self sacrifice. Sekai says, ‘Still I could not escape. I had to preserve my dignity as a married woman and that of my family.’ This brought to light the issue that culture ties a woman more to the marriage than it does a male. Participants, both male and female teachers reiterated this point by showing that any bad thing that befalls a marriage is mostly blamed on the woman. It was interesting to note during observations and analyzing discourses that even if a man is involved in an extra marital affair, the blame is in most cases levelled on the wife. People say, ‘that woman could not keep the husband. He is running away from her because of her behaviour.’ This is said not only by men, but in most cases by other women themselves. Men also have a tendency of shifting the blame for their bad behaviour on their wife. If a man does something anti-social it’s not uncommon to hear people saying, ‘he was influenced by his wife.’ So all the bad things that happen in the family are in most cases blamed on the woman. Despite all this women persevere in their marriages. This has resulted in mental trauma in most women who have had such experiences. As a result this has affected the will to improve in most female teachers as they strive to succeed in their homes first and be referred to as virtuous women.

The fifth virtue shown in typical case 3 is that the female is a supporter and carer of her husband and not the reverse. Sekai said that when her husband had to transfer she had to transfer and follow him. This poses a big threat to the advancement of female teachers as they are always following where their husbands are going.
The Shona say, ‘murume ibhuru’ meaning that a husband is a bull who does not stick to one cow. Another saying is that, ‘murume chimbwanana,’ meaning that a husband is like a puppy which is attracted by anything that comes its way. The implication of this is that wives have to do anything to make sure that their husbands are not tempted to take other wives. It is because of this illusion that most female teachers cannot move away from their matrimonial home to seek promotion. In their conversations, female teachers always advice each other that, ‘ukasiya murume unowana atorwa navakangwara.’ This means that if a woman leaves her husband he will be taken by those who are clever. The implication is that a woman who leaves her husband to fulfil a promotion is foolish. For men nothing is said if they leave their wives behind for career development. Female teachers are thus facing a dilemma between career advancement and keeping their husbands. In the Shona culture to be able to keep one’s husband is a virtue envied by everyone. Most choose their marriages and sacrifice professional advancement. So it remains difficult to close the gap between males and females in education management.

Thus the ethic of virtue has a serious impact on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. Virtues expected from different sexes are different which affect career progression of male and female teachers with males progressing faster than female teachers. The masculine virtues expected of males push them forward towards career progression while feminine virtues expected of females pull them back to the domestic sphere.
4.3.2 MORALITY AND THE SHONA ETHIC OF CARE

What are the major morality issues associated with the Shona Ethic Of Care?

Results from interviews, observations and critical discourse analysis showed that in the Shona culture caring for the needy is an important virtue which everyone must embrace. The interview results showed that as much as the ethic of care is a moral obligation, it is also embraced in the communitarian ethos. A wife married within the family is not one person’s wife but is the wife of the family and the community. In line with this one participant said, ‘If you hear people within the family referring to one’s wife as ‘his wife’ it means there is something wrong with the wife. A good wife is referred to as ‘our wife.’

This has implications on the female teacher’s interaction with the family to gain approval and be the wife of the family. Both male and female teachers noted that being the wife of the family has the following advantages:

- Everyone loves you;
- The husband loves you;
- The family encourages the husband to take good care of you;
- You gain favour from the in-laws especially the mother-in-law;
- The risk that the husband will take another wife is minimal; and
- You will be received with joy when you visit the family during the holiday.

The research also showed that being the wife to one’s husband alone implies:

- Withdrawal of love from the in-laws;
• Withdrawal of love from the husband. It was noted that the extent of most husbands’ love towards the wife is dependent on her acceptability within his family;
• Family may encourage the husband to take another wife;
• Husband may show his disapproval by having extra-marital affairs;
• The wife may be received with contempt when she visits the family home during the holiday;
• During times of difficulties no one will help her; and
• If she has problems with the husband she may not have anyone to turn to.

For a woman good relationships with the husband’s family are very important. Relationships can be kept at the expense of personal development and personal fulfilment. Because of the secondary position the wife occupies in the husband’s family in relation to the original members of the family, rights, privileges, responsibility and autonomy are affected.

**How does the ethic of care affect the male teacher?**

The male due to his traditional role as the family provider has to ensure that the members of the extended family are well cared for. The research findings showed that this is a worthy and noble philosophy. No one would be found wanting within such a
system of care and support. His position as the father head in the family has to be fulfilled through taking care of members of the extended family. Some reasons cited by male respondents of taking in members of the extended family were:

- It is their cultural obligation as males to do so;
- They were paying back what their relatives had done for them as they were growing up;
- There were no schools in the rural areas where their extended families lived;
- They just wanted to live with their relatives;
- To gain a good name in their communities; and
- For future security. When they are in trouble their relatives will also help them.

As a working and learned member of the family, it is his obligation to ensure that every member of the family becomes educated. This entails taking them into his household and ensuring their well being and success. This may be despite his ability to look after the extended family. However it was noted that the role of the male teacher in taking care of the extended family sort of diminishes after he has taken the relatives within his household.

One male teacher said:

I know that the duty of looking after people within the home- especially the day-to-day running of the home is left to my wife who is also a teacher. I see nothing wrong with looking after the extended family as it signifies the spirit of being family in the Shona context. Yes it might be a burden but we must do it.’

Another male teacher said the following,

We take in members of the extended family because we have an obligation to do so. It is important that we maintain relationships with the family by
helping them out. It is a moral responsibility for us to do whether we like it or not.

Most participants showed that the wellbeing of children within a household is not the duty of a man. This frees male teachers of the major challenges encountered in the care of the extended family. The burden is shifted to the woman of the house.

**How does the ethic of care affect the female teacher?**

The female teacher, as shown by both male and female teachers mainly bears the burden of the ethic of care. The woman in a working situation has a greater burden than a man. The male’s traditional roles are left in the rural areas i.e. looking after the animals, farming, and building the homestead. However a woman goes with her traditional roles of homemaker to the working place. Female teachers cited the following reasons for taking in members of the extended family into their households:

- It is a cultural obligation to do so;
- To gain favour from in-laws;
- To show appreciation towards those who helped them as they were growing up;
- To make the husband happy as he will know that I love his relatives; and
- To help those in need.

The womanly duties that she has to fulfil on a daily basis are family nurse, family teacher, family nutritionist, family counsellor, family supporter and motivator, family cook, family organizer, homemaker. One female teacher who has the challenge of looking after a number of relatives said:
I am not saying that this ethic of care is bad, but I think how it is done within the family system is the cause of concern especially to the women. There should be some dialogue through education, so that the burden of the ethic of care does not fall on one person’s shoulders.

This discussion brought forward another issue which was followed up in the research through the question;

**Who has the greatest responsibility of the ethic of care in your extended family?**

Views varied as some respondents said everybody. However on close comparison of findings it was noted that female teachers have the greatest responsibility than females of other professions. The reasons given were:

- Because of their proximity to schools relatives tend to send their children more to families of teachers than to families of persons who pursue other professions; and
- Because of the possibility of going home during the school holidays, teachers have a greater probability of interacting with the family more than members of other professions.

This means teachers’ families generally take the greatest burden of caring for the extended family. The greatest burden rests on the shoulders of the female teacher. So when the family sends their children to live with elder brothers the responsibility of the upkeep of the children rests on the woman teachers’ shoulders. In general the woman is the family worker. On top of her profession the woman teacher has to fulfil her motherly roles for her to qualify as a woman of worth in the family. It has been noted from discussions with female teachers that although they are taught to care for
everyone, they lack support from the very families they take care of. With the coming in of extended family members the burden is increased on the shoulders of the woman teacher.

This was noted to be due to the crowded day of the female teacher as compared to that of the male teacher. The scenario below shows a comparative analysis of a typical day of a rural female and male school teacher which was summarized from different views of both female and male teachers and also from observations.

**Table 4.2 Typical day of a rural female and male school teacher**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0500</td>
<td>-wakes up</td>
<td>-wakes up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sweeps the yard and the house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fetches water from the borehole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-prepares the fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-warms bathing water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0600</td>
<td>-prepar.. for husband’s and children’s bathing</td>
<td>-wakes up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>water</td>
<td>-bathes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Wakes husband and children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Prepares breakfast as husband and children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bathes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-prepares husband and children clothes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-packs children’s snacks for break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0630</td>
<td>-quickly takes a bath</td>
<td>-dresses for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-serves breakfast</td>
<td>-takes breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-takes breakfast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0700</td>
<td>-cleans breakfast utensils</td>
<td>-may grumble that the wife does her things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Activity Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0730  | - quickly dresses up for work too slowly  
- may leave wife behind as he goes to work |                                                                      |
| 0800  | - rushes to work  
- may be late and meet with head’s disapproval and warning  
- chats with other male teachers as they walk to work  
- arrives at work very early |                                                                      |
| 1000  | - may rush home to prepare tea for herself and her husband  
- if tea is served at school takes tea with other teachers at school in the staffroom where there are clear boundaries between the male and female teacher’s sides of the room  
- walks home to have tea  
- if tea is served at school takes tea with other teachers at school in the staffroom where there are clear boundaries between the male and female teacher’s sides of the room. |                                                                  |
| 1030  | Lessons resume  
- walks home for lunch | Lessons resume |
| 1300  | Rushes home to prepare lunch  
- Serves lunch  
- takes lunch  
- clears and cleans lunch utensils | Walks home for lunch  
- takes lunch  
- walks back to work |
| 1330  | - rushes back to work normally late  
- goes to the sports fields  
- coaches netball | - goes to the sports field  
- coaches soccer or volleyball |
| 1630  | - knocks off from work  
- goes home  
- fetches water  
- prepares supper  
- takes supper  
- helps children with homework  
- marks students’ work  
- Prepares for the following day’s lessons  
- knocks off from work  
- goes to refresh at a nearby shopping centre or at the beer hall with friends  
- goes to watch soccer with friends  
- reads the newspaper  
- watches news on the television or listens through the radio  
- takes supper | - goes to refresh at a nearby shopping centre or at the beer hall with friends  
- goes to watch soccer with friends  
- reads the newspaper  
- watches news on the television or listens through the radio  
- takes supper |
| 2230  | Goes to sleep | May go to sleep earlier or later than the female teacher* |
*the male teacher may sleep later than the female teacher because:

- He may not be around as he will be with his friend at the beer hall till late;
- He may be watching soccer; and
- He may be reading.

**What are the implications of the Shona ethic of care on male and female teachers' performance?**

It was noted during the research that there were male teachers who go to work even an hour or more before school starts to conduct morning lessons, to mark or to prepare for the day’s work. Some heads reported that evening lessons are generally conducted by male teachers and rarely by female teachers. Apart from evening classes heads reported that those male teachers who do not go for beer drink or other social interaction activities after work generally remain at school after hours marking or planning for the following day’s work. This has shown that it attracts praise from the community and from the heads themselves. On performance appraisal the teachers who put extra effort in their work are rated higher than those who did not exhibit such commitment. This is despite the gender based discrepancies in social and domestic role distribution. The males are also inclined to study earlier than the female teacher due to the fact that they have more free time and space. They are also the ones who decide who does what in the family, so when resources for further study are available in the home it is the male who mainly decides and most males decide in their own favour. Due to the intellectual implication of the ethic of care on the female teacher, the result is that males develop earlier and faster than females in education management. Due to the lag in time of female entry into education management it means more males than female thus enter education management resulting in the skewed power distribution in favour of the male teachers.
4.3.3 MORALITY AND THE SHONA ETHIC OF HOSPITALITY

What are the major morality issues associated with the Shona Ethic Of Hospitality?

The research highlighted that within the Shona of Masvingo hospitality is a core virtue. It is cultural that people in the Shona culture visit their relatives at will. This is done without making appointment for the visit. The visitors may even come to stay for a week or more. In the Shona culture it is rare to plan for visitors. It is also unethical to be too busy for visitors. A host or hostess should always find time for his/her visitors. In the traditional set up this was not a problem as visitors would always be infused in the activities of the family e.g. agriculture and household chores. The males would go for hunting together and did manly duties within the household they visited. Women would be held in the kitchen by cooking, sweeping, cleaning up, collecting water or firewood. Work was confined within the home and each work done could be done by anyone who comes into the home. One elderly female teacher said, “In the olden days visitors were a joy and they would themselves enjoy their stay as they were completely immersed in the family activities.” However this has changed as work becomes individualized. For a teacher her professional duties cannot be shared with anyone else, and she has to do the duties alone.

How does the ethic of hospitality affect the male teacher?
The ethic of hospitality affects the male to a lesser extent than it affects the female. The traditional role of the father in the home is to provide for the family in the way of food and clothing. With the advent of the modern economy where both the father and the mother become bread winners in the family, the male is relieved of most of his roles. On hospitality the male finds himself with little to do for guests in the home. If the guest is a male, the male may entertain him by taking him out for a beer drink or talking to him about current affairs or if he is from home catching up on current issues in the rural areas. The coming of a visitor in the home may act as an enrichment opportunity for a male. The well being of the visitor lies in the hands of the female.

_How does the ethic of hospitality affect the female teacher?_

As females take up paid employment within the modern economy, they relieve males of their traditional roles of sole bread winner in the family. However their own roles are not relieved from them as most male shun feminine roles. Hence a greater burden is put on the shoulders of the female in the modern economy.

With visitors in her home there are cultural expectations for the woman of the house, namely:

- Ensuring that the visitor is fed properly;
- Ensuring that the visitor is comfortable;
- Ensuring that the visitor is entertained,; and
- If the visitor is a male, washing his clothes.

It was noted that it is taboo in the Shona culture for someone to be too busy to entertain visitors. The visitors who come into teachers’ households vary:
• Those who visit to get medication from nearby clinics or hospitals;
• Those who visit to ask for monetary assistance; and
• Those who just visit to see the family (some being genuine visitors who come out of love for the family. However some come to spy on the family especially on the wife i.e. how they do their things in their home, how they receive visitors, how they treat members of the extended family. This will in turn be reported to members of the extended family in the rural areas.)

Within the Shona culture it is the norm that visitors don’t have to inform their hosts prior to their visit. This is in spite of the day of the week or the time of the year. For the host it is a moral prerogative to fully look after the visitor and suspend all other things in favour of the visitor.

This has professional implications for the teacher whose work follows him/her home. It is at home where the teacher prepares for the next day’s lessons and it is at home where he/she has to do most of the marking of pupils’ books. So the ethic of hospitality can have a negative implication on the part of the female teacher in that it is her labour and effort that is mainly required to ‘receive a visitor well’ in the home. This has been shown even in conversations among female teachers. This was demonstrated by statements like the one which one lady teacher said, “These days I cannot do any school work at home because I have a lot of visitors.” Visitors’ expectations vary with personalities and nature of relationship with the teacher.

4.3.4 INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS
The views noted above were seen to rise from the Shona social system which is patriarchal in nature. Patriarchy is defined by Phiri (2000:12) as, “a father ruled structure where all power and authority rests in the male head of the family.” The results of the patriarchal social system in the Shona society are seen in hierarchical institutions that are male dominated. All the other processes that take place within the Shona society were seen to be an enhancement of the patriarchal system.

It has been shown that morality deprive female teachers more than male teachers the freedom to choose their professional directions hence the prevalence of male leadership at the expense of female leadership in education institutions. This is in line with what Gillian (1992: 3) noted when she asserts that:

> Women's deference is rooted not only in their social subordination but also in the substance of their moral concern. Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgment other points of view.

It was noted that morality mainly affects females in term of the ethic of care. In line with this, Eitzer (1998:402) argues that, “the responsibility of women for domestic maintenance and child care frees men of such duties but limits the capacity of women.” This was shown to be a result of the position of care ascribed to women during the period of socialization and in later life. Care combined with service serves to compromise the ability of females to meet their own needs and to fulfil their own ambitions (Engster, 2007). The ethic of hospitality which is also linked to the ethic of care has a profound effect on the advancement of women.

It was noted during the research that social challenges faced due to the issue of morality always translates to professional challenges. It is therefore important that before
professional challenges faced by teachers in advancing in their career are discussed, social challenges be discussed first. This is because the social challenges affect very much the professional growth of a teacher. It was seen that without most of these social challenges the road to education management would be very smooth. It was noted that the challenges are gender specific, hindering more the development of female teachers than the development of male teachers.

Social impacts - some teachers noted that there are challenges met when living with members of the extended family under one’s roof. If the relatives are from the husband’s side then the wife may face a lot of problems. Some of the problems cited in the research are:

- Disobedience from the members of the extended family;
- Reporting the wife to other relatives at home;
- Reporting the wife to her own husband;
- Complaining that they are mistreated by the wife;
- Refusing to help with household chores; and
- Withdrawal of love by the husband and the relatives.

In some cases some female teachers reported that this has resulted in very sour relations with their husbands and their husbands’ families. This has physical, psychological and emotional implications for the female teacher and can have drastic effects on her performance at work and in the home. However the male reported having good relationships with members of their extended families as they are fully supported by their relatives. One female teacher said it’s an issue of ‘blood is thicker than water’.
This results in both physical and emotional stress and fatigue. Impacts reported by female teachers were:

- Stress which can yield headaches, heartaches, fatigue;
- Being absent minded even at work. One female teacher said, “All I think of are problems waiting for me at home. I can’t concentrate at all in my work because of the trauma I go through at home.”; and
- Some think aloud reliving the things they experience in their homes.

The results showed that most female teachers who experienced gender based social problems in their home can’t think of improving themselves academically and professionally as they will be preoccupied with finding ways of escaping from their dilemma.

Another social problem is role overload. It is common to hear a man saying to his wife, “look at what your child has done. You were too soft on her/him.” All the responsibility of caring for children and ensuring that they grow up into socially acceptable adults is normally left in the hands of the mother. The father at times is too busy with issues external to the home that he does not have time for the children. Culturally it is not men’s role to nurture children. Some female teachers showed that their careers have not been very rosy due to the multiple roles they had to fulfil. Moorosi (2007) postulates that for most women moving into education management brings an additional stress, as they associate educational management with inflexibility and restrictiveness as compared to what teaching in the classroom offers them in terms of meeting the demands of their time. Women’s roles as caregivers were seen to compete with professional commitment. Moorosi (2007) further notes that:
In their attempt to balance their personal and professional lives, some women hesitate to seek promotion into management posts during their careers because they anticipate difficulties in maintaining the balance between the two. This has resulted in psychological, emotional, physical and at times spiritual stress among the female teachers. With the stress and fatigue, seeking for promotion becomes a secondary idea.

**Physical implications** – One female teacher said, “My domestic duties leave me physically, mentally and psychologically tired.” The fatigue suffered by the female teacher is due to the multivariate nature of her domestic roles. She has to work physically for the well being of everyone in the home. She has to listen to everyone’s problems and try to solve them. At times as most female teachers said they become overwhelmed with the expectations leading to mental fatigue. However this scenario differs across social classes and geographical regions. For the female teacher from the economically advantaged families, it was seen that the question of domestic duty overload is minimal. However they still face the challenge of managing most of the domestic issues. This may explain the phenomena that most female administrators are from financially stable families. Also the issue of geographical region compounds the problems of the rural female teacher more than the urban female teacher. It was noted that the rural female teacher faces more challenges, for example, wood collection, water collection which accounts for most of the labor time for women. This has been seen to retard the advancement of rural female school teachers more than urban female school teachers.

The female teacher gets little rest so she goes to work with physical fatigue. This has implications on her performance as most female teachers said the fatigue disables them
from participating fully in some school activities, for example, sports. At times heads complain that females go and sit at sports fields. Some female teachers cited overworking as a factor behind that phenomenon in female school teachers. They rush home to prepare lunch, prepare and serve lunch and rush back to work. This may deplete some female teachers of their energy. The physical implication of the ethic of care can also lead female teachers into shunning education management as they assume that it may cause a greater burden upon their shoulders leaving them with no time to rest.

**Psychological impacts** - Due to the need for love as one of the core needs of a person according to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, withdrawal of love was seen to have a negative effect on aspirations and advancement. Although there were women who reported that they overcame the adverse family environments they came from and achieved in their teaching career, a lot of female teachers said family environment affect their performance. The isolation and the mental exclusion they experience in their families from the members of the extended family under their own roofs affect them psychologically and their need for achievement is watered down. This causes most of the women who come from homes where they experience problems from the extended family to lose focus of career advancement as they concentrate on family issues.

**Emotional implications** – this may affect the female teacher in that with too many expectations upon her she may be emotionally affected. Most female teachers interviewed agreed that because they are expected to be carers, no one thinks of their own needs. Some female teachers said they feel used because they are expected to be workers for everyone and no one works for them. Female teachers at times come to the
workplace disillusioned, depressed, silenced in their homes, dispossessed of their self will, feeling worthless, dejected and frightened. Some interviewed heads say they see that the phenomenon of being absent minded is mainly evident in female teachers and nearly absent in male teachers. Feminist philosopher, Gillian (1992) argues that the ages between twelve and sixteen are crucial to girls’ formation of identity. However it is the time girls are taught to silence their inner moral intuitions. Gillian found out that in adulthood women are encouraged to resolve the crisis of adolescents by excluding themselves. As a result women’s adolescent voices of resistance become silent and they experience a dislocation of self, mind and body which may reflect in low leadership aspirations. The state of someone’s emotional wellbeing has an implication on the extent of motivation towards higher aspirations. Thus female teachers do not seek for promotion because they feel emotionally insecure.

Intellectual implications - With the physical and emotional fatigue the result may be lack of concentration on one’s job and on advancement. Due to lack of concentration, depending on one’s location performance may be affected. Most female teachers reported that they are in most cases too tired to mark or study.

Economic implications- for both the female and the male teacher. However both male and female respondents agreed that it is the women who are affected more. If the financial status of a family is compromised due to caring for the extended family, the male teacher has the freedom to go for further studies leaving the wife at home to look after the family. The female in most cases furthers her education after the husband if their finances cannot enable them to study at the same time. Thus female teachers in most cases always lag behind their male counterparts in advancement. Thus there is an
age lag in female advancement than in male advancement ie male education managers are generally younger than female education managers.

There are also implications on the space of female teachers. By space the researcher refers to physical and temporal space. On physical space, the researcher found out that at times the house of a teacher is too small to house a lot of people. Most teachers both male and female agreed that their houses are at times quite overcrowded that they lack personal space and privacy. This has greater implication for the female teacher than for the male teacher. The male teacher can go outside the home to friends’ houses to study or do other things associated with his profession at night. They can even go and use the classrooms during the evening, a time when the female cannot leave the home due to domestic commitments. When the time comes when she can do something, she may lack the physical space to do so and so she lags behind her work. This can hinder her from progressing in her profession.

On temporal space the researcher is referring to time. The life of the female teacher can become so full with responsibilities that she can fail to find time for herself. Lack of time disables her to do things that can cause her to progress in her career. Marriage frees the male teacher of most of his duties so that he has more time to concentrate on career advancement. All the domestic duties he was doing for himself if he was living alone are shifted to the wife. The responsibility of taking care of children from his extended family he might have taken into his household before marriage is again shifted to the wife. This is an advantage to him as he concentrates on his career. The husband again has little emotional adjustment to make. He does not move out of his
family as the wife does. He still lives with his family who understand and appreciates him and who supports his career advancement.

On the other hand there is a lot of adjustment a female teacher has to go through during her early years of marriage due to the change of family and change of cultural expectations upon her. The research showed the following changes that affect a female teacher more than it affects a male teacher:

**Change in expectations** – cultural expectations for a married woman are very different from the cultural expectation for an unmarried woman. With a husband and in-laws the changes can be quite traumatic. Change in family implies change in rules governing the woman’s life. What she was used to in her natal home can be worlds apart from what is done in the marital family. This can have emotional and psychological implications on the female teacher as there is need for both emotional and psychological adjustment. This was shown by most female teachers to have a great impact on the time of entry into education management as they postpone career advancement to adjust to their new life. Career advancement is also affected during the child bearing and child rearing years which does not affect the male teacher.

On the other hand the male teacher has little to adjust to when he gets married, thus his career is not affected by marriage. But marriage can offer him greater opportunities for advancement. This results in a time lag between the advancement of male and female teachers of the same age. This then causes a skewed power distribution in education management in favour of the male teacher.
The concept of morality cannot be discussed in isolation from the communitarian philosophy in the Shona culture. Community spirit is one of the key virtues which drive the ethic of care. Thus the communitarian philosophy was discussed in depth as the key to the survival and identity of the Shona communities. This was analyzed in the light of its impact on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management. The next section thus links morality with the communitarian philosophy in the Shona culture.

4.4 TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE COMMUNITARIAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE SHONA CULTURE INFLUENCE CAREER ASPIRATIONS OF FEMALE AND MALE TEACHERS?

From CDA the researcher identified some of the proverbs upon which the issue of community is premised in the Shona culture. Some of them are as follows:

- *Munhu vanhu*- a person is other people;
- *Fuma vanhu*- be rich in people;
- *Chara chimwe hachitswanyi ina*- one finger cannot kill a louse; and
- *Rume rimwe harikombi churu*- one man cannot circle an anthill.

These and many other Shona proverbs and idioms indicate the centrality of community in a person’s life. The whole personhood of a person depends upon his/her relations with other people. Findings from this research showed that communitarianism is a core value in the Shona culture. Communality is valued more than autonomy. There are gender differentiated communitarian expectations.
What are the major communitarian expectations in your community?

Responses varied from different participants. However a synopsis of the findings from this question brought up the following issues.

- Egalitarianism;
- Solidarity;
- Individual security;
- Gendered proximity to power bases; and
- Individual rights and autonomy.

4.4.1 Egalitarianism Within The Shona Communitarian Unit

African philosophers claim that African societies are very egalitarian, that is, they place a lot of importance on equality of persons. The researcher went into the field and through observations and information got through interviews produced the following summary:
Table 4.3 Gender Based Activities In The Shona Communitarian Unit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drink together at beer halls. ‘Real’ men do not go with their wives</td>
<td>Chat with each other regardless of status at the water hole or the river. Women of virtue are not allowed at the beer hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hole for it is a women’s place.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help each other with cattle where need be.</td>
<td>Lend kitchen utensils to each other. Have nothing to do with cattle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have nothing to do with kitchen utensils.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can give the other male member maize from the family granary if there</td>
<td>Poor members can ask for mealie-meal or salt from the next door woman and be given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is need in a fellow brother’s family. The granary belongs to the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meets during beer drinking. Also meets at sporting functions</td>
<td>Meets at the gardens, church and at the waterhole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>especially soccer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss social issues at community courts (dare remusha)</td>
<td>Discuss womanly issues at clubs and the church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family issues discussed at family court (dare)</td>
<td>Discuss issues affecting them as they do their work in the kitchen, during firewood collection or water collection. No formal forum for discussing issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After court discussions each husband may tell his wife issues</td>
<td>Told what to do as has been discussed at the courts. No inputs, but just implementers of decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussed for implementation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A strong man is judged by the extent to which he can control his wife and the women of his household

| A virtuous woman judged by the extent she listens to her husband and instils the same spirit in the children. |

It was noted that although there is some form of egalitarianism between members of the same sex there is a definite gender band in equality. There is definitely no egalitarian spirit between the males and the females in the Shona communities studied. Women occupy the area of service provision where they provide their services to make the communitarian unit function. This affects their probability of entering education management as they think more of fulfilling their service roles to the family and to the community.

To show the lack of egalitarianism in Shona societies it was common to hear sentiments as shown by one man who said with a lot of emotion, ‘I don’t want a woman in front of me. I am a man and you should respect me for that.’ A critical look at such a statement shows a number of factors which have gendered connotations:

- *I don’t want a woman before me.* This shows lack of acceptance and respect of female leadership. In interviews some participants said that this attitude is due to the socialization of the boy child. They are socialized to see women as second class citizen and inferior to them. So even if a woman attains a high status, men with such an attitude may give the woman a difficult time. This attitude has led a lot of women to shun education management because they fear that they will go through psychological and emotional trauma as they fail to control the men under them.
• *I am a man.* This shows a self righteous attitude that the man is better than any woman. This again impedes the development of women to education management posts as they are given an inferior status in the society which is reflected in the workplace.

• *You should respect me for that.* This shows that being respected is seen as a birthright by most men. This again puts women on the receiving end as they are expected to show signs of respect to all men. This lowers their self esteem and consequently their aspirations.

Thus egalitarianism in the Shona communitarian unit is gender specific and this has affected the implementation of gender sensitive policies. Women remain on the disadvantaged side of the continuum as the service providers which compromise their ability and propensity to put more demanding tasks on board. Male teachers remain on the advantaged side of the continuum as recipients of services provided by women. This gives them an upper hand, as they have all the time to improve themselves. To highlight the issue of lack of egalitarianism within the Shona communities, a study of gender based solidarity was done. To clarify this issue the next section looks at solidarity.

### 4.4.2 Solidarity Within The Shona Communitarian Unit

It was also concluded that solidarity in the Shona communitarian unit has a gender band. Men mainly act in solidarity with other men where the issue involves a man and a woman. Areas where solidarity of man to man are shown:

• When a man is abusive towards his wife the community mainly put the blame on the woman. They are in solidarity with the man, ignoring the woman’s pains.
• If a woman leaves a husband because of varied factors among them abuse, promiscuity and even negligence of the family, the community blames the wife for being a lose woman who leaves her husband to look for other men. They ignore the man’s mistakes and put the blame on the woman.

These are negative forms of solidarity which were identified through listening to discourses, observing and interviews. One female teacher said, ‘It pains me that whenever there is a problem between me and my husband, the blame is always put on me. It’s not surprising because the whole justice system in our community and families is made up of man. Yes, they have to support each other to protect their authority over us. As women we are toothless.’

Another female teacher reiterated this point by saying, ‘What can we women do when we have male judicial systems in our communities? We should expect no justice as such a system just serves the interests of the ruling class- the male class.’ From the above assertions, it was observed that it is clear that solidarity within the Shona communitarian system is extremely gendered. However it was seen that there are instances where if a woman’s brothers are near, they will fight for the rights of their sister which is rare when someone is married in an area far away from her maiden home.

The implication of this type of solidarity is the isolation of the female within her marital home. This emergent theme on isolation of the female by the marital family due to their solidarity with their son attracted further research. The researcher added another question to the research instrument.

**What are the impacts of isolation by the marital family on a person?**
The responses were varied. The following list represents responses from participants.

- Stress
- Fatigue
- Inadequate sleep
- Depression
- Loneliness
- Suicidal
- Loss of self confidence and self esteem
- Lowered self concept
- Self blame
- Deterioration of work performance
- Deterioration of personal relations at work
- Disempowerment
- Anger
- Irritability
- Loss of concentration
- Uncertainty of self

All these impacts were cited by women who experienced at one time or another social isolation. One female teacher recounted her ordeal which she was still under during the period of research.

**TYPICAL CASE 4 – ANNA’S CASE**
I feel empty. I have encountered a lot of frustrations in my job as teacher. These frustrations are rooted in my social life which has been hell for me. I got married immediately I completed my Diploma in Education. My husband is a devoted Christian. In the face of the world he is blameless. However living with him has not been as rosy as the world sees it. He is a hard nut to crack. He is so possessive I can’t even breathe. He dictates the use of all the money in the home. He abuses me verbally in front of my children and his relatives, he never listens to me. He spends my money on his relatives and leaves me with nothing to meet even my basic needs. I can’t concentrate on my work, let alone think of career advancement. What use is career advancement to me when I can’t enjoy the fruits of my work? I can’t tell anyone because who will ever listen to me when he is such an angel to everyone else except me. He uses my money to gain a name for himself. When I complain to his relative they say I don’t want with my money. They have isolated me and I feel empty. No one seems to understand me and I am all alone. I am on the verge of breaking down.

From the above experience the researcher noted impacts of isolation as:

- social isolation- where the lady has no one to talk to as no one listens and ‘no one seems to understand.’ The emotional isolation has bred a feeling of emptiness and she is on the verge of breaking down. Most female teachers interviewed showed the same sentiments. They said that social isolation is quite prevalent especially in one’s marital home if one does not comply with the rules governing the family. A woman is deprived of all autonomy in her marital home as she has to get permission to do anything where a decision has to be taken. If a woman does her things without consulting, the result is social isolation. They say, ‘anoda kuzviona semunhurume. Regai tione kwaanosvika.’ this means that,
‘she wants to see herself as a man. Let us wait and see where it will take her.’
The extremes of social isolation are that no one in the family feels for the isolated individual even in times of want or happiness. This breeds psychological stress and distress which has an impact on one’s performance in her career and lack of will of self improvement.

- Mental seclusion- the lady has shut herself from those around her- she can’t tell anyone because she thinks no one will ever listen to her. The research revealed that this form of seclusion is widespread among female teachers. The Shona adage, ‘chakafukidza dzimba matenga,’ meaning that roofs cover what is happening in the house affects female teachers’ ability to come out of themselves. This is always said to discourage women from exposing what they experience in their homes. It silences them even if they are under pain and stress. They have to cover up whatever is happening within their homes. This breeds mental seclusion which is further intensified if one is socially isolated. Again this has severe psychological implications which affect work orientations of a person.

- Feels socially rejected- due to social isolation and mental seclusion it was seen that one sees oneself as being socially rejected. This leads to self blame and bitterness. The socially isolated individual feels unwanted and worthless. The research revealed that female teachers who feel socially rejected see no reason for advancement. One female teacher said, ‘when you improve in your career you want to rejoice with people around you. It’s not motivating to rejoice alone. What is the use of career advancement if you do not share the joy with the
people around you?’ Having grown up within communitarian communities, it was clear that most teachers value the support and blessings of the community before, during and after any advancement. A socially rejected person may have no one to support her in her endeavours. This demotivates most female teachers from advancing in their careers.

- Inability to interact with others- a socially rejected and isolated teacher has difficulties in making meaningful social networks at school. Due to psychological trauma, the person may see everyone as an enemy. Lack of social networking at work results in lack of improvement in one’s profession. Self concept is at its lowest when one is socially isolated and rejected. One female teacher said that she saw no reason to live. Lack of a will to live results in seeing any personal development as meaningless.

The above scenario is just a representation of a number of cases women are facing and they cannot confide in anyone which leads to negative impacts on career advancement. The above case depicts someone who has lost all the will to achieve because achievement would bring no personal satisfaction but will be used by the husband as a way of making his own ends meet. For some who has grown up in a system which values communality rather than autonomy being isolated has a greater impact than for someone who grew up in individualistic societies.

On the other hand social isolation and social rejection rarely affect the male teacher. The male teacher does not move from his home and relatives upon marriage. Because he is within his kith and kin (brothers, sisters, mother, father and other relatives) they
are always in solidarity with him. The result was seen in males having few or no psychological barriers to their advancement. So the psychological stresses associated with social rejection were seen to affect female teachers more than male teachers. This was seen to result in lack of motivation to improve which retards development towards education management. Although communitarianism puts importance on solidarity, the solidarity was seen to breed rejection of other people in the community. The people to suffer have been shown to be women who might not have any blood relations in the community to feel for them. This has been shown to breed isolation which in turn results in emotional isolation and seclusion. This affect interaction with people at the workplace, waters down motivation to improve, affects performance and leads to retarded rate of women development in education management.

Linked with egalitarianism and solidarity within the Shona communitarian unit is the need for security within such a system. The next section thus discusses the issues of security within the Shona communitarian system.

4.4.3 Security Within The Shona Communitarian Unit

It was noted that one of the driving forces behind the insignificant advancement of women in education management is the idea of security within the communitarian unit. The African idea of security and its value depends on personal identification with and within the community. The authentic African is known and identified in, by and through his community. The following questions was explored to elaborate the implications of the need for future security.
What implication does non-compliance to the communitarian demands have on a person?

The responses were varied. The responses showed the following:

- social isolation
- rejection
- Ignoring the victim in times of want. One respondent said, “When you meet difficulties you always need your community to help you out. When you face bereavement they will not come to your aid e.g. digging the grave or cooking at the funeral or even consoling you.”
- Stigmatization

For fear of lack of future security within the community, the Shona have to comply and conform to social demands of morality and communitarianism. This entails compromising one’s possibility of career advancement especially for women. This mainly affects women because of the cultural expectations put on them which they have to fulfil. Society tolerates a male who does not fulfil his obligations more than they understand a woman. So women teachers think more of their future security within their matrimonial homes than do male teachers. According to Baumeister and Leary (1995), people have a strong motivation to form and maintain social relationships. One of the central tasks of a person is to obtain social acceptance, and so many people’s functions and activities are geared toward promoting that goal. This was seen to be due to the fact that the woman is a newcomer in the marital home unlike the male who has rights to privileges by birth. The woman has to work to be accepted and this takes a lot of effort which can infringe on career advancement.
4.5.4 Proximity To Power Bases In The Shona Communitarian System

From the research results another theme that came up was that of proximity to power bases. It was noted that proximity to power bases is gendered. It is the social distance from power that determines one’s position in relation to power even in institutions. One education manager said,

Readiness to take up a position of authority requires both psychological and emotional readiness for the post. It’s not just an issue of giving everyone the equal chance of taking up the positions. In the Shona culture women have been and are still far away from the social power bases and drawing them into the circle of power is a long process.”

Most of the participants also echoed the same sentiments both males and females. The effect of proximity to power bases was cited as:

- Psychological- the distance of a person to power bases as he/she grows affects the person’s perceptions about authority. The person has mentally been affected on their readiness to take up positions of authority in later life. According to Phiri (2000) many African men argue that African culture does not allow a woman to have power and authority over men. Through the patriarchal system women have been psychologically and physically kept from power.

- The aspirations of the person are confined around the social space that the person has been confined to during the period of socialization. UNICEF (2000) show that women who challenge the status quo are considered deviant and will be ridiculed, stigmatised, ostracised and victimised by the society. Thus most female teachers choose the easier way of conforming to social expectations.
• Distance from power bases has been seen in one’s readiness to take up a position of authority. The social distance one has to move from his/her prescribed position or the social position the person has been placed since birth affects the rate at which males and females enter education management.

Thus, the nearer one is to bases of power the greater the possibility of an earlier entry into education management as there are fewer hindrances that person faces to authority. On the contrary the further away a person is from power bases the more the hindrances the person faces in entering education management. One female teacher said,

I was born too far away from any source of power that it was difficult for me to accept that I can make it in education management. In my community males occupied the central position in our community and women occupied the periphery. Decision making forum which are the bases of authority for any society were occupied by males in the family and the society. The family and village courts were and are still ruled by males. I grew up being far removed from power.

In line with this view Njoroge and Dube (2001) say that it is easier for a woman to pursue academic study but however the question is whether she can bring change into her own life and in her community. This poses a great challenge for women who aspire for management positions. The following trend was realized during the research which forms part of the theory advanced in this research on the impact of socio-cultural factors on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management;

• Women teacher grew up confined at the periphery of power and decision making while male teachers grew up at the heart of power and decision making.
• It is difficult for most female teachers to embrace leadership readily due to the length of the physical, psychological and emotional distance society and culture has put between them and power bases. On the other hand the male teacher grew up immersed in the authority and decision making sphere, therefore to be a leader for them is just a matter of taking up what they were socialized to do. This was mainly due to the socialisation process which confines women to the domestic sphere while men are allowed to be explorative. Rodgers (1983) shows that men are socialised to tackle jobs, override obstacles, attack problems, overcome difficulties and always take the offensive. However women are socialised to be silent, passive, submissive and receptive of pain. Njoroge and Dube (2001) postulate that, not only is this passivity expected and endorsed, it is also affirmed and reinforced so that most women expect it of themselves. For a female teacher there are boundaries she has to cross towards education management. These include overcoming the self which was created through years of socialization, psychological barriers, emotional barriers and cultural barriers. These can take some time to overcome before the female teacher decides to enter education management. For the male there are no barriers to education management as they were socialized and trained by the society for leadership. So it is just a matter of taking up their culturally prescribed role while the female has to acquire the culturally unprescribed role.

So the movement of female teachers and male teachers towards education management is different due to the impact of socio-cultural factors. This has been seen to affect the implementation of gender sensitive policies as there is a time lag between the advancement of male and female teachers of the same age.
4.4.5 Individual Rights And Autonomy

The research showed that males in the Shona culture have more rights than the females. The notion that the communitarian unit respects egalitarianism as a core value has been noted to apply only to the males in the Shona culture. The male class respects each other and ensures that the male line does not suffer from any injustice. However women are left out of this egalitarian value as they are the objects and men the subjects. The following rights are in most instances denied women but are upheld in men:

What cultural rights do you think promote gender disparities in education management?

Participants highlighted the following rights as the major rights that promote gender disparities in the Shona culture:

- Rights to individual decision making
- Rights over property

Rights to individual decision making

The research showed that these rights tend to empower males more than females. For the male teacher these rights give him freedom even when executing his duties. For the female the denial of these rights draws her back in her profession when trying to decide on advancement. The following scenario was noted through observation:

It was noted during interviews that males are quick at making decisions as most do not require consent from the wife on issues concerning their professions. Most just inform
the wife after they have made their decisions. Women in most instances do not question the husband’s professional decision even if it affects the family. They are expected to accept the husband’s decision. It was observed that female teachers tend to make decisions at a relatively slower pace than male teachers. It was noted that women tend to be reluctant to make binding decisions that affect the family without first seeking the husband’s approval. Most married women teachers said in interviews that they have to first get the husband’s consent before making any binding decision. Thus the assertion by Gyekye (1997) in Famakinwa (2010) holds more water for the male than for the female. He says, “In the light of the autonomous character of its activities, the communitarian self cannot be held as a cramped or shackled self, responding robotically to ways and demands of the communitarian structure.” On the contrary the research showed that women are denied power to make individual and family decisions which has an effect on their autonomy. Njoroge and Dube (2001: 8) rightly note that, "if power is denied to certain groups of people, they are susceptible to manipulation by the powerful."

**What are the gender based responsibilities in the Shona communitarian system?**

The research also showed that the communitarian system tends to tie women more to the system than it does men. Men are left with most of their autonomy because their communitarian responsibilities are fulfilled by the wives in their absence, for example, looking after members of the extended family. The wife’s communal responsibilities cannot be fulfilled by the husband, for example, looking after children, washing clothes, cooking. Most female teachers said that the absence of the wife has in most instances led to promiscuity on the side of the man as they seek for someone to fill in for their
wife in cooking, washing, cleaning the household. The result is that women hesitate to leave the husband alone as they seek promotion. Women teachers noted that they have to protect their marriages more than look for promotion. So in the Shona culture most women follow their husbands wherever they go thus compromising their own chances of getting promoted.

**Right over property**

The research brought to light that in families where both the husband and the wife have the right to own property, women tend to be more empowered to follow their vocations than in families where only the husband has the right to own property. On this issue the following was noted:

- A person is motivated to advance if the advancement gives the person a greater standing in the family and in society. If an advancement does not lead to any social mobility then the motivation to advance decreases. The researcher noted that it is common to hear female teachers saying, “ndichifireiko?” meaning directly ‘why should I die.’ This in Shona language implies ‘why should I spend my effort on things that do not profit me.’ This is mainly said when female teachers are encouraged to apply for management posts. Because the returns from their employment do not benefit most of them directly because they do not have a right over property, they see that overexerting their effort is like sacrificing themselves for nothing.

- A person is motivated to advance if the advancement is proportional to acquisition of property to enhance one’s standing in society.
A person is motivated to advance if the advancement leads to self actualization. If the advancement does the opposite the motivation to advance decreases.

These sentiments were seen to be of critical importance to the advancement of both men and women teachers. In the Shona culture, the tradition fulfils all the above conditions for a male teacher. On being a head of school, college or education district or region, it was found out that a man assumes a higher position in society. He is upheld and exalted by his family, the community and the wife. He is regarded as a man of honour. On the contrary rather than bringing happiness to woman teacher, interviews showed that promotion can be a source of disharmony in the family. A female head at times is looked at with suspicion. Most people still believe that women can only get promoted through having an affair with a big man. Thus promotion for most women may not lead to any vertical social mobility, but rather can add to their marital problems. The following question addressed the effects of the communitarian system on effectiveness of gender sensitive policies.

**How has the communitarian system affected your career aspirations towards education management?**

A number of male teachers interviewed showed that most men are not comfortable with women who seem to challenge their authority by seeking to advance more than them. So some women teachers said their marriages come first, so they avoid anything that threatens the survival of their marriage.
The research showed that most people respect the communitarian philosophy not because they are comfortable with the system but because of the possible implications of non compliance. In most cases research participants showed that they not only act towards others as they are disposed by their view of them and their personality, but they also act towards them on the basis of what they think will happen on a particular occasion as a result of their behaviour.

One lady teacher (whom I will call Jane) confided in the researcher about her friend (whom I will call Susan) who committed suicide. Susan and her husband agreed to have a joint account. The husband kept the bank cards so Susan had no access to her money. The husband initially gave Susan part of her money and he kept the rest. As time went on the husband stopped giving Susan any money and she suffered severely with her children although she was a teacher. Susan had no motivation to improve, because what need was there for her to improve when she could not spend her money. She could not tell anyone and she committed suicide. She wrote a note to her friend, Jane about her unspoken pain but when Jane received the note Susan was dead. Jane recounted this with tears and regret that she could not help her friend.

The above stories tell untold stories of a lot of lady teachers who cannot enter education management for lack of autonomy. Some, from stories recounted during informal discussions, can’t interact with other teachers because of the isolation they experience in their homes. Poor interaction at the workplace was seen to have negative implications upon the advancement of a person. The views of participants showed that females more than male suffer lack of autonomy and lack of basic rights. The communitarian ethos
has been seen to affect teachers differently. The effect was noted to be differentiated along the following lines:

- Economic status of the family of origin
- Size of family
- Education level of family members
- Geographical location of family of origin
- Marital status

**On economic status** of family of origin, the study found out that the nature of family of origin has a profound effect on ability of males and females to enter education management. It was noted that female teachers more than male teachers from poor families are affected by the communitarian philosophy. In such families the advancement of the male means that he will be able to uplift his younger siblings and the standard of living of the family. As the ties of the male are stronger in his family than the female who is married into the family, the family tends to support the advancement of their son than that of the daughter in law. Due to strong psychological ties with the extended family, most female teachers reported that their husbands listen more to the decisions of their families than to their wives. This leaves the female to suffer as most decisions are made for her by the family and she is just told what was said without any input from her.

The family might take the advancement of the female as a waste of money that could be better used to educate the male’s siblings and other family members. This has been noted to be one of the major causes of females lagging behind the males in advancement.
On geographical location it was noted that rural based families have greater communitarian ties than urban based families. Those female teachers married in families who are urban based reported less communitarian hindrances to their professional development. Most teachers from families which are urban based reported that they control their own lives with little or no interference from the extended family. This was reported to be because traditional ties in urban areas are less strict than in the traditional rural communities. It was evident that most of the females who have assumed leadership positions in education are from an urban background where their advancement is not interfered with by family responsibilities. However there are still variations in advancement along gender lines due to factors that have been already mentioned of morality, family care which tend to cut across geographical boundaries.

On family size the study found out that there are greater communitarian responsibilities in larger families than in smaller families. The extent of the large family affects female teachers more than male teachers because of the ethic of care.

The marital status of a female teacher also affects the possibility of advancement. It was noted that single female teachers have a greater possibility for advancement than the attached females. This is unlike the males who do better when they have a wife to take care of their daily needs as they concentrate on advancement. Single women do not have any obligation towards a husband so they advance faster than the attached female. They also are not attached to a marital family. A marital family has more force than a maiden family because of lack of blood attachment, cultural expectations of a daughter in law which are at times very confining and payment of lobola.
How has the communitarian system and the issue of morality affected the age of entry of male and female teachers into education management?

The ethic of virtue has been seen to affect more the younger female in the community than the older female. Interview results as well as results from observations showed that the older female has more freedom and greater independence than the younger, recently married female. Female teachers mainly showed that the early years of marriage can be very stressful so much so that the female teacher may not concentrate on her advancement. On the contrary it was noted that marriage releases the male teacher from moral and communitarian obligations. Eitzer (1998: 403) argues that, "the responsibility of women for domestic maintenance and children frees men from such duties and limits the capacity of all women." One male married to a non professional woman said that his wife took over his obligations so that he could advance more. The teacher in question had siblings to look after and a home to run because he was the elder brother and the parents were dead. Having a wife meant he had someone to leave at home to look after his brothers and sisters as he advanced in his education. He said, "marriage has relieved me of most of my obligations." However most female teachers showed that marriage puts greater burden on their shoulders. Munroe (2001) asserts that although women may be accepted as equals and competitors in the world of work, they still have to fulfil their traditional roles of mother and wife. He further notes that the pace of such a life leaves a woman exhausted and disillusioned. Kazembe (1988) also shows that women have to juggle between career and family obligations. It is these early years of one’s career when a person has the most energy to forge ahead and a great vision for ones’ career. However the disruption by marriage cost most female teachers the
prospects for career development as they tend to advance later in their careers than male teachers. Njoroge and Dube (2001: 30) see a woman's work as "overloaded, undervalued and invisible." In the same vein Munroe (2001) postulates that some men see their women as personal servants whose purpose is to meet the needs of their masters. They do not see that this domestic work competes for time with a woman's career aspirations.

With marriage, expectations and roles change more for a female teacher than a male teacher, for example, more domestic burden as she takes over the well being of a husband. The age lag is also a result of the adjustments females have to go through as they get married. She has moral obligations towards her husband’s family. She has to go to the rural home during the holiday to work in the fields and to help the mother in law with her work. During this time she has to do most of the household duties, for example, cooking, washing, sweeping, fetching water and firewood and more. This clearly disrupts the performance of women in their careers. This may hinder or slow down the pace at which they advance in their careers.

It was noted that as a woman grows in the family into which she was married she attains greater status and more in control of her life than the young recently married wives. The older female attains the role of grandmother and mother-in-law in her marital family. These positions give older women more choices about their lives than the younger female teachers. This explains the phenomenon of older female education managers. There is generally an age lag between male and female education managers, with the youngest female education manager being far older than the youngest male education manager. During this research the youngest male education manager the
researcher came across was 35 years old but the youngest female head was 44 years. The female head had only two children—one in his first year at university and the other in Form 4. The male head had 4 children and he said he was expecting more children. The female head said she prematurely terminated child bearing because of her great ambition to climb the ladder. Her husband pestered her to have more children but she resisted which resulted in a divorce and the husband marrying another woman. This shows that there are greater hindrances facing the younger female than the older females. Research showed the following:

### Table 4.4 Comparative analysis of roles of young and older female teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Younger females</th>
<th>Older females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adapting to new family</td>
<td>Submerged into her marital family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role expectation of the newly married are very high</td>
<td>Acquired new role of being the supervisor of the young females hence freed of most duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband more possessive of the young wife</td>
<td>Husband may be more mature and less possessive or the older woman may be widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still in the child bearing and child rearing years so tied to the home due to child care.</td>
<td>Gone through the child bearing and child rearing stage so is freed from child responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More marital conflicts which affects the young female teacher emotionally and psychologically and retards her career development in her early years as a</td>
<td>May have gone through the stage of marital conflict due to maturity, adaptation, acceptance or widowhood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The husband will be developing himself and the young wife assists the husband to develop at her own expense. The husband may have fully developed in his career and the wife is free to develop herself.

More concerned with how to please the husband than in developing herself. Less concerned with how to please the husband as she has experience in family matters.

Due to the time lag between male entry into education management and female entry into education management inequalities have persisted in the participation of males and females in education management.

In all this the male teacher faces little or no limitations to his aspirations. Culturally males are waited upon by women regardless of economic standing or geographical location. Most male teachers showed that their wives do most of the domestic work in the home. It was surprising to note that most male teachers with wives who are also teachers did not differ in expectations from those male teachers whose wives are not formally employed. They view it as their cultural rights to have their wives wait on them despite the fact that role expectations for men change with change in geographical location and economic status. The roles of farming, tending the animals (which is mainly delegated to children), hunting, fencing the homestead, building the homestead, defending the family from wild animals and enemies were mainly associated with the Shona traditional societies. However in the working communities where teachers find themselves these roles are no longer existent. This leaves the male in the working environment with nothing to do in the domestic sphere. This has seen males ‘riding a glass escalator’ to education management and females encountering ‘a glass ceiling’.
It was noted that although a lot of female teachers have a desire to achieve higher levels in their lives; their desires are suppressed by the need to conform and comply with moral standards set for them. There was more dissent among younger female teachers than among older female teachers. This is explained by the aforementioned reasons of greater freedom and respect in society for the older females than for the young females.

Discussions during interviews with some female education managers highlighted the conflict and resistance they faced before they finally entered education management. They faced both internal, external conflicts and resistance. They cited internal conflict as coming from the way they were socialized. They had to overcome prescribed roles and behaviour by society and culture. The external conflict came from family, communities and the education institutions as they are very patriarchal in their structures i.e. their bureaucratic nature which is not gender sensitive. The following trend generally shows the stages the female teacher has to go through before finally managing to enter education management. This is just a general summary derived from a sample of education managers interviewed:

- First overcoming the prescribed role (internal role conflict) which I call the stage of realization of one’s worth. The stage of realization entails discovering the buried self within oneself. Discovering the abilities and potentials one possesses which she can use for self development. This is to develop a positive self concept, a concept which was stifled by tradition and social forces as she was growing.
- Secondly, resocialising their conscience into accepting that they can do whatever men can do. This entails redefining who they are and where they stand.
in society and institutions. This can be a stage of internal conflict and resistance as the prescribed conscience fights the discovered self.

- Third, the stage of action where they seek to do the unprescribed behaviour. This may include seeking to enter the male domain. Resistance may abound in this stage as the environment seeks to keep the female teacher in her submissive position.

- Fourth, identifying and overcoming external resistance from their environment to take up leadership positions.

This causes a time lag in entering education management of female teachers versus male teachers. It has an implication on how both male and females view themselves, their capabilities, potentials, roles and aspirations. The above trend was affirmed by some female teachers who showed in the interview discussions and in the content of their discourses that they are at a level where they have not really come out of the illusion of being homemakers only. One female teacher said, “We should know the natural order of things and not aspire to be like men. We should accept that men are naturally stronger than us women and they have to occupy that privileged position.” This showed that some women have really accepted their subordinate positions and are doing nothing to change it which affects very much the effort to bridge the gap between males and females in education management.

On the other hand as males grow they want to maintain the status quo of having authority while females have a multivariate mandate. During the time of identity realization by female teachers male teachers will be fulfilling the societal prescribed
roles and behaviour in their profession. Male teacher when asked, “What advantages did you derive from marrying?” outlined the following:

- Clothes are washed by my wife
- I am waited upon by my wife
- Most of the domestic burdens are relieved from my shoulders
- When visitors come into the house I no longer worry much about their well being as my wife has taken over their well being
- I have children from a previous marriage and before I married it was a burden as I could not move freely, but now my wife has taken over and I can move freely

However, one male teacher had a different view, “after I got married it seems I lack freedom to do what I want in the home. My wife thinks she has to do everything for me like choosing for me what to wear, running my bath- some very petty things I can do for myself.” Few men showed this resentment as most showed that they were comfortable with the status quo. These factors encourage males to put their energy more in career advancement than in domestic issues.

As females go through all these stages of realizing themselves their male counterparts will be progressing in their careers leaving them behind the professional lane. Closely tied to the issue of morality is the African communitarian philosophy. Although discussed in this thesis as an issue on itself, morality and communitarianism in the Shona culture are inseparable. Communitarianism and morality and how they bind males differently than females were seen to be intensified by gendered illusions which are so firmly grounded in most people's minds and are difficult to erase. The following
section thus explores the impact of gendered illusions on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies.

4.4.6 INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Linked to morality, it was noted that the communitarian ethos affect women more than men in their career. Issues like proximity to power bases, security, solidarity, egalitarianism, autonomy and rights to property within the communitarian system were explored. This was seen to negatively affect female teachers more than male teachers. The system promotes male autonomy and female submission which leaves females at the mercy of their male counterparts. Due to the issue of submission of the female to the male, the pace of the female teacher’s advancement is determined by males. This was seen to be mainly confined within the marriage frame where the husband has absolute authority over the wife and can determine the pace of her professional development. Wortman and Loftus (1985) assert that most women’s careers are immobilised once they entered marriage. This was seen to be a result of control from the husband and childbearing and rearing.

It was noted that proximity to power bases affect the social, psychological and emotional distance one has to move from present status to aspired status. The nearer a person is to social power bases the faster that person acquires a position of authority. The further away a person is from social power bases the slower that person acquires authority. This was seen to be due to the psychological and emotional readiness of a person due to the distance. It was thus seen that the communitarian system has removed women far away from social power bases and have completely removed them out of the circle of power. Male teachers on the other hand have been within the circle from
childhood. Hence female teachers face more emotional and psychological barrier to education management which crop from the social sphere. They have a greater psychological distance to travel to education management than their male counterparts, hence their insignificant representation. According to Cheater (1985) women are limited conceptually in the social order. Women just as men perform different roles. She explains that each individual as a social person has a social personality which encompasses all of his/her relations with others. This was seen to affect the rate of movement of women into education management.

Solidarity within the Shona communitarian unit was seen to be biased towards the males within their original families. It was seen that the movement of women from their original families to the marital family affects most women’s performance and advancement in their careers. Due to the inferior status of the daughter-in-law in her marital family and the superior role of her husband within his family, most families act in solidarity with the male rather than the female. The adage that ‘blood is thicker than water’ holds firmly in this relationship. Whatever problem a female faces with her husband might be attributed to her which has psychological implications which in turn affect work aspirations as one’s need to achieve is watered down. It was seen also that the issue of solidarity with males at the expense of the daughter-in-law leads to social exclusion and emotional isolation. This was seen to have drastic effects on the female teacher whose performance and aspirations are affected due to the psychological impacts of the exclusion and isolation which include depression. Shepherd and Shepherd (1985) show that depression usually result in negativist attitudes and lose of interest in almost everything. It leads to low self esteem, poor self image and pessimistic attitudes. Such attitudes negatively affect career aspirations.
The issue of security was noted to be pivotal in the communitarian system. It was noted that within the Shona communities studied, the adage ‘one good turn deserves another’ is central. In Shona they say ‘chimwango chinopfumba kunobva chimwe’ which means literary that a good action is reciprocated by a good action i.e. from where a good action comes is where other good actions should go. Ikuonobe (2006) argues that although the spirit of community has the advantage of having the butter of the community and an extended family, there are also strings and responsibilities. So for a person to be assured of security within the community in times of want, that person has to work for it. This might even take the form of a sacrifice towards personal growth. It was noted that the ethic of care and hospitality are generally way of banking good deeds for future security. People say ‘you will need these people one day’. The issue of family security for the future is mainly centred on the women as they are the carers. The male teachers are already in their original families where their security is assured but it is the female teacher who is a late comer to the family and community who has to work to gain approval and acceptance. This results in role overload as the female has to fulfil social and professional demands. This again was seen to have repercussions on female teachers’ advancement, negatively impacting on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

Rights to property were seen to affect motivation to advance. Within the community studied rights to property is centred on the males. Major assets are ascribed to the male head of the family. The female has only right over kitchen utensils. The major items like the cars, the houses, the cattle and the family homestead are generally in the name of the father. This was noted to affect motivation of most females to advance as in most cases they would not have anything to their names. Another constraint cited by quite a
number of female teachers is on the insignificant impact of their advancement to their original families. Whereas the advancement of male teachers benefits their own families, the advancement of a female teacher benefits the marital family. This again was seen to partly affect need for achievement for some female teachers.

Egalitarianism within the Shona communities studied was seen not to be true egalitarianism. The egalitarianism was seen to be gender specific. It was seen that equality is important to members of the same sex but does not cross sexes. Women are the service providers to the communitarian unit while males are the service receivers which flout the core principles and precepts of egalitarianism. Ikuonobe (2006: 297) says, "some people may object to the communal social responsibilities because such responsibilities are seen as external impositions that limit one's freedom and autonomy."

He further goes on to say that some argue that such social responsibilities prevent people from pursuing their life plans and achieving self realisation. This type of system puts pressure on the woman teacher discouraging her from applying for education management posts which are in themselves too demanding for an already overloaded female.

Women are entering education management at the watershed of change in management practice from a dictatorial type of management to a more participatory approach. They are entering into a system where people are still more concerned with the ability of the head to control subordinates than in being collaborative. If one does not exhibit the control attributes one would be seen as a weak head. Ruether (1993) in Chitando and Hadebe (2009: 101) argues that, "women in public roles are allowed success only by being better than men at the game of masculinity. . . in such a system it is not possible
for women to be equal, but only to survive in a token and marginal way at tremendous physical and psychological cost." Thus these expectations for a head do not favour female entry into the male dominated education management domain. Munroe (2001) rightly notes that the prevailing attitudes are the reasons why the social and political advances of women which on the surface seem to be victories can become burdens to women because they are one-sided victories. Thus culture has impacted negatively on the effectiveness of gender sensitive policies in education management.

4.5 HOW DOES THE SHONA SOCIAL IMAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES AS REFLECTED IN GENDERED ILLUSIONS AFFECT PRIORITIES OF MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS?

Gendered illusions are mainly evident in stereotypical language used in the community. De Witt and BooySEN (1995) say that when people are unable to react to a person as an individual, they resort to stereotyping. MOESC (2000) notes that stereotyping is the creation of fixed impressions about roles and relationships between men and women. In most instances these fixed impressions are not true, thus they are just illusions. Language used in the home, in the communities and at times at the workplace is very gender insensitive. It reflected a negative picture of women. The language is so ingrained in the communities that even women and educated people use it unconsciously
There are a lot of misconceptions within the Shona culture about the make-up of both men and women. These misconceptions are going to be dealt with from the following perspectives:

**What illusions are mainly evident in the Shona culture about men and women?**

On this question again varied responses were got from the participants. On analysis the researcher then summarised them into the following themes which then guided data analysis.

- Misconceptions about the physical makeup of men and women
- Misconceptions about the emotional make-up of men and women
- Misconceptions about the intellectual makeup of men and women
- Misconceptions about the psychological makeup of men and women

### 4.5.1 Misconceptions about the physical make-up of women and men.

In the Shona culture there are a lot of illusions surrounding the physical make up of different sexes. The culture mainly respects the physical makeup of men than of women. This is because men are physically stronger than women and culturally they were assigned jobs that required a lot of stamina. The division of domestic roles along
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