MASTERS THESIS:

WOMANISM: EMPOWERMENT OF THE OTHER

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DECLARATION:

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Date: ...15/10/2007...

ABSTRACT

This study explores the experience of success practiced by a variety of women who have attained official positions of leadership in male dominated industries. The qualitative methodology of grounded theory is used to identify, discuss and build a theoretical model of the participant's experience of success while identifying factors, characteristics and the psychosocial context enabling their success. By identifying these characteristics, a blueprint for other people to be successful is created. This paper strives to construct guidelines to empower young men and women with the freedom to pursue the career path of their choice, in order to achieve personal fulfillment.

Hierdie studie belig die ervaring van sukses soos beleef deur 'n aantal vroue wat posisies van leierskap beklee in beroepe wat tradisioneel hoofsaaklik deur mans nagevolg is in industrieë wat as sodanig 'n manlik gedomineerde beeld uitgedra het. Die kwalitatiewe metodologie van Gegronde Teorie, "Grounded Theory" is aangewend as ondersoekmetode om 'n dieper insig te verkry in die unieke persoonlike ervarings, dit te omskryf en saam te vat in aanvulling tot bestaande teorie. Die psigo-sosiale konteks waarbinne hierdie sukseservarings uitkristaliseer word teoreties en prakties toegelig. Die inligting sodaning nagevors kan moontlik as riglyne dien vir jong mans en vroue om met groter vrymoedigheid en selfvertroue beroepe na te volg waar jeens in die hede nog steeds 'n mate van geslagsvooroordele gehuldig word.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my sister, Fayona Meyerovitz, for her unparalleled love, support and encouragement, in every aspect of my life.

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Firstly, I must thank the 24 women who participated in this study. Each one has been an inspiration in one way or another.

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A lady once said to Churchill: "Do you know, Winston, that in the year 2000 women will rule the world?" To which he answered: "What, still? Now that right and left are disappearing in politics, should we let gender gently dissolve as an issue too?" (Dexter, 2005)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Selected women succeed in male dominated industries against considerable pressures and barriers. This paper investigates factors, which lead and sustain such success. The path of women through the ages, with specific focus on their career preferences, is reviewed. Cultures, values and customs together with the creation of norms, which protect and yet restrain individuals, are discussed. Using grounded theory, women who have broken through the shackles of conformity and pursued their ambitions to succeed, will be investigated. This research intends to distinguish success-driving factors in order to create guidance and direction to make the path easier for those who will follow, in time. Thus the positivity of their achievements will be the foundation for future advancement.

The concept of women in business is no longer a new notion. For decades women have gradually been infiltrating sectors of the workforce, which were previously out of bounds. The term "out of bounds" refers to a plethora of justifications, ranging from cultural, society, environmental religious and legal implications through to personal prejudices and perceived glass ceilings in business organisations. Gender equality is a topic reaching clichéd fatigue, as laws have collapsed and gender discrimination, in many sectors, has supposedly vanished. Central to this transformation, however, lie the statistics proving that despite the fall of discrimination in many spheres, the majority of women still do not venture into territory previously considered male dominated industries. The key determinant of the success of little girls having equal opportunities in their career choice in life does not lie in the academic premise that officially, all vocations are available to whomever so desires to enter into them. Rather, the critical solution lies in the mindset of society, which criticizes and judges professions, by preordaining categories, based on previous gender and racial preferences.

This paper analyses the societal basis for the status quo of women in male dominated industries. Within this paper, an industry is classified as being male dominated if it is more than 70% occupied by male employees and workers. An analysis of successful women in male dominated industries strives to determine if their success is dependent on adopting more masculine behaviour, or if women who succeed in male dominated industries utilise other specific tools. The potential advantages which women may bring to business are discussed, the positive or success yielding traits which women who have succeeded in male dominated industries are examined, and finally a training programme will be designed to assist women in making career decisions which will fulfil them.

1.1 General background

The assumption that many women choose their career paths based, not on their fields of interest, but rather based on the impact of what other people will think of them, forms the foundation of this paper. By the term 'other people', society as a whole is implicated, meaning both men and women share preconceived views, of the professional roles which women should employ. Supposing this to be the case, and considering the influence of peer pressure, then the starting point would be to create a shift in the mindset of young women and men, from an early age, and then allow them in time, to gradually alter the thinking process of society as a whole. Research (Statistics South Africa, 2002) indicates clearly that there are many industries, which have significantly larger male participants than female.

1.1.1. Womanism defined.

The concept of womanism is introduced and evolves through this paper. The era of feminism, officially beginning with Mary Wollstonecraft in the late 1700's was a sensation revolutionizing the world. It is a trend, which has gradually engulfed almost every country in the world. Moore (1989, p. 5) defines feminism as "the awareness of women's oppression and exploitation at work, in the home and in society as a whole." Womanism builds itself on the foundations of feminism. The core difference being, that where feminism strove for equality as its raison d` etre, womanism strives for distinctiveness. It lies supported by the assumption that as much as can be done to create official gender equality, in terms of constitutional law, in certain segments of Western society, has been done. The uniqueness, for which it endeavours, is the

embracement of womankind. The underlying conviction is that the more women enjoy, treasure and appreciate their feminine aspects, the more successful they will be in their lives as a whole. In introducing this concept, there is a need to understand how people compartmentalise information, in order to make sense of the world, and the paradigms in which we function.

1.1.2. Schemas.

A schema is a cognitive system, which helps us organize and make sense of information; it is a technical representation of a plan or theory in the form of an outline or model (Psychology glossary, n.d.; Oxford English Dictionary – Schema, 1984). According to Wikipedia online dictionary (Schema, 2006), a schema, in Psychology and cognitive science, is a mental structure that represents some aspect of the world. Bem (1983) states that there are four prominent sex typing theories, which have been particularly influential. These are: psychoanalytic theory; social learning theory; cognitive developmental theory and gender schema theory. Gender schema theory refers to the theory that children learn about what it means to be male and female from the culture in which they live. According to this theory, children adjust their behavior to fit in with the gender norms and expectations of their culture. Bem (1981) states that gender schema theory proposes that sex typing is derived from gender-based schematic processing, particularly from the self-concept itself being assimilated to the gender schema. She further proposes that sex-typed individuals tend to encode and organise incoming information in terms of gender schema, using the traditional bipolar masculinity/femininity dimension as the organising principle. Lobel, Bar-David, Gruber, Lau, and Bar-Tal, (2000) maintain that gender is a major component around which children organize information. They quote Martin (1976) and Martin & Halverson (1981) as saying that gender-related information is organized in the form of a schema, an abstract knowledge structure that serves as implicit theory, and expectations that guide attention, retrieval, behaviour, and social judgment.

People's perceptions that they should perform in a certain way have an impact on their behaviour. Badger (1981) examines evidence for discrepancy in mathematics performance between boys and girls. He discusses arguments, which suggest that spatial ability is a primary genetic factor in mathematical achievement; he also

analyses arguments based on social conditioning. Badger concludes that cultural and social attitudes are the likely factors in girls' mathematical performance. This concept is discussed in greater detail under the heading "Socialization" later in this paper. The influence which one person's belief or attitude can have on another person's decisions, cannot be underestimated.

1.1.3. Pygmalion effect.

Livingston (1988, p.82) described the Pygmalion effect as "The way managers treat their subordinates is subtly influenced by what they expect of them." The original Pygmalion was a prince of Cyprus in Greek mythology who carved an ivory statue of the ideal women. This statue was so perfect that he fell in love with it, and called his ideal woman, Galatea. Aphrodite (the Goddess of love) came to his rescue and brought the statue to life (Loftus, 1995 p.18). The Pygmalion effect enables performance in response to a message indicating capability of success and expectations of success. The Pygmalion effect can also undermine performance when subtle communication conveys the opposite. These cues are often subtle. Loftus makes particular reference to positive Pygmalion and negative Pygmalion. Livingston (p.86) went on to say about the supervisor, "If he is unskilled, he leaves scars on the careers of the young men (and women), cuts deeply into their self-esteem and distorts their image of themselves as human beings. But if he is skilful and has high expectations of his subordinates, their self-confidence will grow, their capabilities will develop and their productivity will be high. More often than he realizes, the manager is Pygmalion."

A study by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) in which children aged six to twelve years, all drawn from the same school, were given an IQ test. Children were then assigned to an experimental or control group. When teachers were told that the children in the experimental group were "high achievers", these children showed significant IQ gains over the course of one year, despite allocation to groups having been in fact random. The words, "self-fulfilling prophecy" applied as per the Galatea effect, mean that the individual's opinion about their own ability and self-expectations about personal performance largely determine personal performance. If an individual thinks they can succeed, they will likely succeed. Consequently, an increase the individual's feelings of positive self-worth, will help the individual's performance improve. In terms of

society in general, the Pygmalion effect is a means of predicting behaviour, rather than directing behaviour. As men and women are conditioned to believe certain behaviours are expected of them, so those specific behaviours will be enacted. The underlying principle of the Pygmalion effect is that "once an expectation is held, an individual tends to act in ways that are consistent with the belief and eventually his or her actions may cause the expectation to become a reality" (Cooper & Good, 1983). In all spheres of society, people have expectations of one another's behaviour. The expectations have a deeper impact, than may originally, be realized. There is a need to consider the subtle and subconscious messages of society, as well as the overt communication, in terms of vocations and roles 'suitable' for women. This may prove to play an important role in the process of unlearning behaviour.

Other theories, such as the Hawthorne effect, which showed that an increase in worker productivity, produced by the psychological stimulus of being singled out and made to feel important (Clark, 1999), and Skinner's Operant Conditioning which states that the behaviour is followed by a consequence, and the nature of the consequence modifies the organisms tendency to repeat the behaviour in the future (Boeree, 2006), will also be considered in their impact on conditioning society to respond and behave in a specific manner.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Women bring a wealth of skills and talents to various disciplines. Through encouraging women to break through the constraints of their upbringing and societies, multitudinous benefits could result. A dominant portion of this study serves to analyse what factors and characteristics have allowed certain women to be successful in male dominated industries. By identifying these characteristics, a blueprint for other people to be successful, is created. The advantages of more female participants in male dominated industries may include the positive impact of more thoughts and varied foci in these industries. Women constitute 53% of the South African population, and 41.3% of the total workforce. According to the Business Women's Association of South Africa's Women in Corporate Leadership (2006) census, women represent 6.2% of South Africa corporate boards; 10.7% of non-executive directors are female and 19.8% of senior executive management are female.

The first step in this change process is to create a culture of unlearning. Through this progression, the unique characteristics encompassed by women will emerge, which will prove their presence in diverse, previously considered "male" industries, to be advantageous. Once this is in place, there is a need to analyse why these gender roles originated. By so doing, the source of existing mindsets is unearthed. One of the critical concerns, leading to the need for this research is to identify if a more feminine touch in the working world will enhance personal contentment. By progressing our thought processes, will it be possible to adopt the values of family, community and homeliness, while creating a new world of workers?

Clearly, the responsibility here lies with women, to unlearn within themselves first and to develop the courage and self awareness to pursue their own happiness. It is essential for women to feel confident with their decisions and to live their life of choice guilt-free. The paper intends to provide women with information to make informed the right occupational choices, which will grant them fulfilment.

1.3 Guiding questions

The research problem is that women who have succeeded in male dominated industries are the exception, rather than the norm.

The guiding questions would then be as follows:
1. What are the characteristics, if any, which have allowed certain women to succeed in male dominated industries?
2. Why is it the case that women who have succeeded in male dominated industries are the exception, rather than the norm?
3. Are women, in general, not interested in areas, which have now been classified as male dominated?
4. Are women, in general, not capable in areas, which have now been classified as male dominated?
5. When making a career choice decision, are women informed of all available industries?
6. When making a career choice decision, are women influenced by society's perceptions?

1.3.1.Subproblems.

These subproblems emerge from the problems and will be explored.

1. Women who would like to enter into male dominated industries may be hesitant to do so, due to the lack of perceived success. (Exercising the same effort as in a female dominated industry).

2. Women, who consider their career options, may not even consider industries which are considered to be male dominated, as these industries may appear 'closed' to them.

3. In order for a woman to succeed in a male dominated industry, she may have to overcome social stigmas.

4. Women who succeed in male dominated industries have, or develop masculine traits.

5. Women who succeed in male dominated industries must have a very strong resilience to society's concepts of what they should be.

6. Professional roles and work performance may be valued and respected based on the gender of the worker.

1.4 Delimitations and limitations

This paper will be limited to the study of women in male dominated industries.

It will not analyse women in female dominated industries, nor will it discuss males in female dominated industries. This paper will focus only on the South African environment.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is intended to create a path of guidance to the mentors, advisors and support groups of women who would like to succeed in their careers. The desired outcome of this study is to provide guidelines which will encourage women to have the capability and emotional freedom to embark on the career of their choice, with know how and confidence. This study does not appear in isolation, it exists within the realm of Industrial Psychology.

1.6 Model of Industrial Psychology

Schreuder and Theron (2001) state that the meaning of work constitutes a multidimensional phenomenon that can include various variables and which differs

from individual to individual. They further articulate the following spheres determining the meaning of work, namely: A sense of belonging in society; values; power structures; status; central life interest; leisure; self-actualisation; and competency. A look at these factors illustrates that the underlying motivation and significance of career choice can have considerable impact on a person's self concept and identity. Encompassed by the umbrella of ethics, the Health Professionals Council of South Africa, maintain that the field of Industrial Psychology encompasses the following: Career Psychology; Organisational Behaviour; Personnel Psychology; Psychometrics; Ergonomics and Consumer Behaviour. Figure 1 on page 9 provides a diagrammatic representation of these sectors of Industrial Psychology. Guidance and encouragement, which leads people to select an occupation, congruent with their aspirations and values, visibly falls within the construct on Career Psychology. Hesketh and Considine (1998) state that career psychology is seen as an integral part of the broader field of organizational psychology resulting in a seamless nexus between the individual and the organization.

Chen (2006) states that career psychology aims to promote positive management and healthy growth in the vocational aspects of individuals' lives. He stresses that in order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to understand and use human potential in making positive changes and implementing constructive actions. Chen maintains that human potential varies from one person to another, presenting a very dynamic, complex, and unique quality that exists within each person. He asserts that the most meaningful aspect of practicing vocational and career psychology is to find ways that will help each individual optimise and maximise this unique human quality, which exists within each person.   He further discusses the notion of human agency in the broad life-career context, highlighting the constructivist philosophy of human intention and action, which constitutes the conceptual foundation of career human agency. Mosher and Danoff-Burg (2005) define agency as as a focus on the self and autonomy, and communion as a focus on other people and relationships. Chen concludes by suggesting the use of agentic functioning in individuals' life-career development. Watson and McMahon (2006) summarise this notion by stating that career psychology is a necessary aspect of Industrial Psychology, as it assists individuals to deal with the constant changes and adjustments in our post-modern and

post-industrial world of work, as various compromises in work-lives and career pursuit are unavoidable.
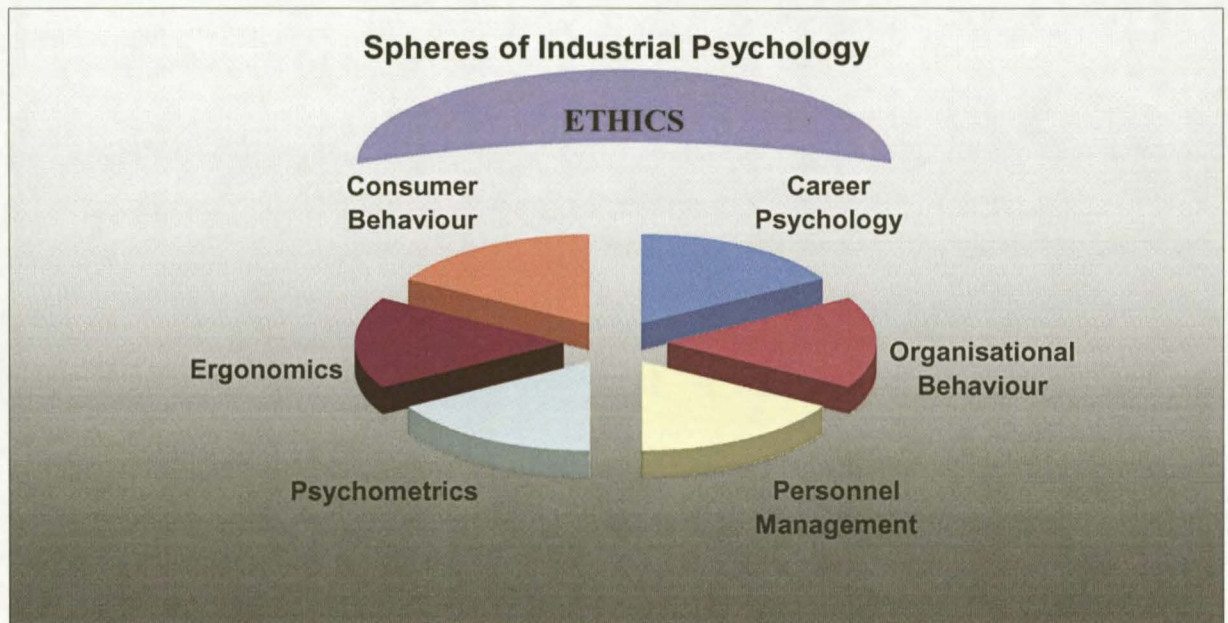
Figure 1. Model of industrial psychology, using the components delineated by the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA, n.d.).

London (1983) discusses the concept of career motivation. He states that career motivation is a multidimensional construct, comprising of individual characteristics, such as career identity, career insight and resilience, corresponding with the relevant career decisions and subsequent behaviours. He further introduces situational characteristics, which include goal setting, career support and opportunities for advancement and change. London explains that the relationship between individuals' characteristics, situational characteristics and career decisions and behaviours are based on prospective and retrospective rationality. Peterson (1993) discusses the integration of career planning and levels of personal self-efficacy with regards to career-based decisions. The impact of career planning and management is a central component to the perception of self worth for each individual. Career planning determines whether an individual advocates him or herself for an available vacancy, a promotional opportunity or to be granted the opportunity to fulfil his or her own paradigm of self-actualisation and achievement.

Schreuder and Coetzee (2006) discuss Hackett and Betz's (1981) theory on social learning, in which they apply self-efficacy to women's career decisions. Hackett and

Betz state that women have low expectations of self-efficacy. This occurs as a consequence of their socialisation, which results in low expectations of success. They argue that this gives rise to internal barriers which block capabilities and talents, which in turn, limit career choices of women. Hackett and Betz highlight four key areas, which they believe, play a significant role in the development of personal efficacy expectations. These are: performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, emotional arousal, and verbal persuasion. Once an understanding of the environment in which this study exists, has been gained, it is then possible to analyse the individuals who are influenced.

1.7 Model of human behaviour

This paper considers the larger environment and factors therein which impact on human behaviour. It then analyses specific individuals within a particular sector of society who have shared a similar experience. This experience, however, may not have been encountered in the same manner. In order to understand the essential principles which guide and impact human behaviour Greenberger and Padesky (1995) provide the following model to illustrate the realm of human behaviour:
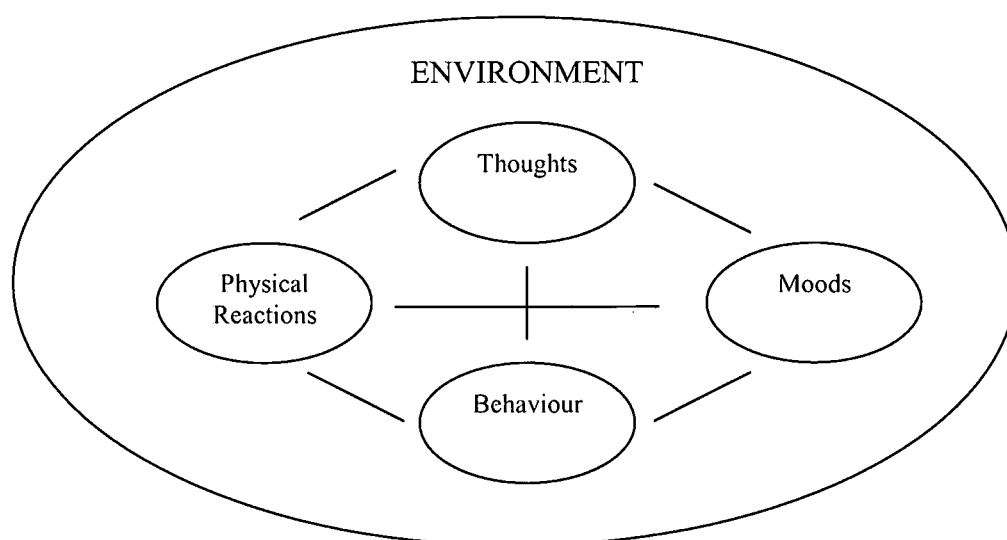
Figure 2. Greenberger, D., & Padesky, C. (1995). Mind over mood: A cognitive therapy treatment for clients. New York: Guilford.

This model in figure 2 illustrates 4 components of an individual, namely their thoughts, moods, behaviours and physical reactions. Each one of these components stands independently on one another, and then is interrelated to the others, as thoughts will impact on behaviour, which will impact on the physical reaction, which in turn

will impact on the individual's moods, and visa versa. Any combination of events would be applicable. All elements of human components exist within the environment. This too will impact on each aspect of human behaviour. Greenberg and Padesky's model may be expanded as follows in figure 3:
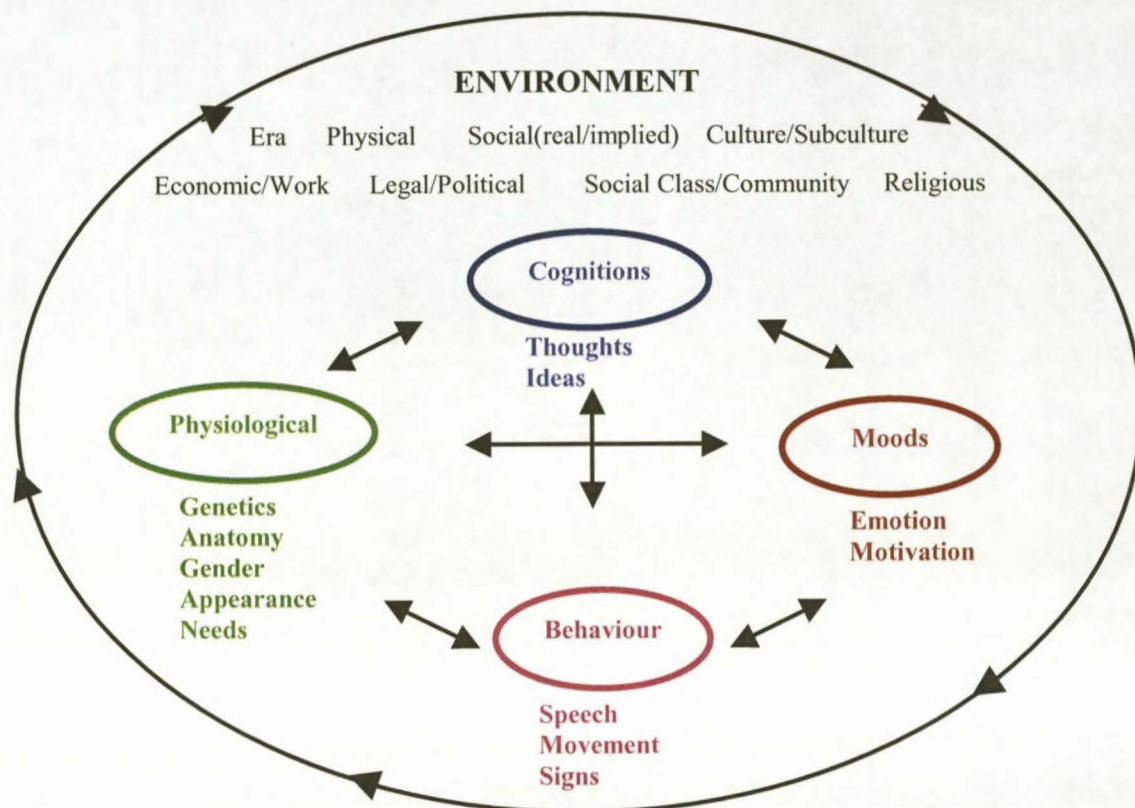
Figure 3. Greenberger, D., & Padesky, C. (1995). Mind over mood: A cognitive therapy treatment for clients. New York: Guilford.

In terms of the above figure, gender appears as a physical entity, partnering genetics, anatomy, appearance and needs. The integration of all these factors must be considered. Young men and women's perceptions and underlying beliefs will be molded and defined by the social influences coming from the environment and internalized (cognitions) by the individual. How he or she feels (moods/affective components) about it will influence their behaviour (conative components). Changes in one component will influence changes in the other. The speed at which it will take to bring about change will differ depending from which angle the specific issue is approached.

Simon (1990) states that the greatest difficulty in examining human behaviour lies in the adaptability of the human being, which results in flexibility of behaviour. The problem solving and learning mechanisms, which constitute intelligence, form the underlying structure of behaviour. Simon filters human intelligence together with the individual differences in people into an information-processing direction. He states that once cognitive and social psychologies are linked, it will be possible to analyse the impact of affect and emotions in human behaviour. Simon stresses that the emotional component of individual differences constitutes the greatest challenge in understanding human behaviour. The factors comprising and shaping a person provide a platform on which this study can evolve.

1.8 Methodology

The central purpose of this study is to explore the experience of success of a variety of women within male dominated industries. Grounded theory is a methodology, which has been utilised in the generation of theory, where little is known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge (Goulding, 1998). It is an interpretivist mode of enquiry, which has its roots in symbolic interactionism and, as such, languages, gestures, expressions and actions are all considered primary to the experience. Glaser (1978) suggests that the grounded theory approach should suggest categories referring to behaviour types, as opposed to people types. The non-restrictive and qualitative nature of the grounded theory paradigm focuses on a search for meaning and understanding to build an innovative theory. Goulding states that that it is a method where close inspection of the data extends theory through 'theoretical sampling'. She continues that the focus, when using this methodology becomes one of how people behave within an individual and social context. It is believed that due to the fact that this study considers various experiences of a similar phenomenon, with no direct theoretical framework, that the advantages provided by the grounded theory approach, through which a theory will emerge, is the best suited for this analysis. The attached flowchart, in figure 4, is a diagrammatic representation of the methodology process.

Data Collection:	**Data Storage:**	**Coding:**		**Memo Writing:**	**Outcomes:**

	Recorded interviews saved to hard drive	Open Coding	Categories are found within the interviews	Categories defined & components created	Categories found;
Interview 24 women	Interviews manually transcribed	Axial Coding	Relationships between the categories are found	Comparisons made	Similarities identified; Differences identified;
	Interviews compiled into timeline format, and CD is cut	Selective Coding	Core categories emerge to explain relationships	Major & Minor categories established	Theory evolves

Figure 4. Diagrammatic representation of the grounded theory methodology approach, as understood by the researcher.

1.9 Anticipated outcomes

The desired outcome of this paper is to identify characteristics and traits embodied by women who have achieved success in male dominated industries. The social conditioning which has led many women into unhappy or unfulfilling careers will be discussed and the varying experiences of successful individuals will be analysed. It is envisaged that this paper could provide guidelines that will enable young men and women the freedom to pursue the career path of their choice, in order to achieve personal fulfilment. The first step in this process is to analyse the gender roles dictated by society and accepted by many, yet rejected by some, in the interplay of humanity's functioning. This step launches the search into the advantages which women may bring into male dominated field, which will then unearth the impact of socialisation on society as a whole. The suggestion that young men and women must shift the paradigms of society's foundations may create discomfort or apprehension., A realistic view of the effect this change may bring will be discussed. This lays the foundation to the results of the wealth of value gained from the participants of this study and the emergence of suggestions for an exciting path forward.

CHAPTER 2: GENDER ROLES

It is not female.
It is not male.
It is not neuter.
Yet, in assuming a body,
The soul takes on such forms.
(The Upanishads. 1989)

In almost every sphere of development, men have advanced and progressed to levels of sophistication, which previous generations of scientists, engineers, physicians and artists could never have conceived. Great names such as Einstein, Gandhi, Jesus, Freud, Martin Luther King, Aristotle, Lincoln, Mozart, Shakespeare, Dickens, da Vinci and Michelangelo are known in vast spheres of society. The most noticeable detail when considering those who have helped create the world we live in today, is that very few of these extraordinary people are female. Why is it that women do not achieve the same level of greatness? The focus of this question lies firstly in the definition of achievement or greatness, and secondly in the natural capabilities which women encompass. Although it is acknowledged that some societies place more emphasis on ordering the sexes than others, it is important to note that none ignores it (Epstein, 1988). As societies in general have denigrated the status of their women, there is a need to consider how often members of any social order have questioned their own status, and if the disruption of the enforced order would not create an instability in the functioning of daily life. Further to this, those who occupy positions at the higher level of status, in this case, men, have very little advantage to themselves to readjust this order of society.

This line of thought has permeated the ages and laid the foundation for modern day science. Voltaire and particularly Rousseau are credited with a huge impetus into the uprising, which led to the French Revolution and ideology of the time (Reddy, 2000). Their ideology promoted of freedom of thought, freedom of expression in particular, human equality and freedom from oppression, which has shaped much of contemporary Western society. Interestingly a core purpose of the French Revolution was to overthrow the monarchy and aristocrats and build a society free of class-

consciousness and class distinctions (Reddy, 2000). Clearly these men could not visualise freedom and equality beyond their own gender. They did not realise the irony of their views.

The generalization that women, through time, are perceived to be lesser than men, is solidly substantiated by statements such as "Women, in all capacities, tend to be inferior to men" (Galton cited in Epstein, 1988); "Women were inferior to men because nature had delegated to women the simple task of bearing and nurturing children" (Darwin, 1859 cited in Tavris, 1992); "The education of women should always be relative to that of men" (Rousseau, 1712-1778 cited in Darling, & van de Pijpekamp, 1994); "Very learned women are to be found, in the same manner as female warriors; but they are seldom or ever inventors" (Voltaire, n.d.); "A similar question may be raised about women and children, whether they too have virtues: ought a woman to be temperate and brave and just?" (Aristotle, 341 B.C., p.1252 as translated by Jowett, 1963); and "As part of the Electra complex, women have unconscious penis envy, the tragic desire to possess the same sexual organ as men" (Freud, 1914 as cited in Zohrab, 2003). The relevance of this evidence of blatant discrimination predominantly lies in the impact and influence these intellectual thinkers have on individuals and society as a whole.

Gender is a concept, which refers to a system of socially defined roles, privileges, attributes and relationships between men and women, which are learned and not biologically determined (Khamati-Nienga, & Clancy, 2005). The article entitled The need for a gendered perspective from the ANC and its cadres (n.d.) states that there is a difference between sex and gender. He explains that sex identifies the biological make up and difference between the male and the female whereas gender is constructed socially and identifies the relationship between men and women in the context of power relations. He states that gender is not a natural phenomenon, but is created by societies to order the roles of men and women, and it is bound up with political and economic objectives. Gender roles are created by society through socialisation using institutions such as the family, religion, education and laws. Gender relations can be changed by the very society that created them. De Beauvoir (1949) concurs with this philosophy, as she states that there is "an absolute difference" between gender and sex and that gender could thus be completely remade.

De Beauvoir (1949) maintains that the definition of gender is defined solely for the purpose of reproduction. She expands her discussion on differentiation by stating that in addition to the primary sexual characteristics, woman has various secondary physical customs, which are more or less consequences of physical distinctions, through hormonal action. She specifies the smaller and weaker physical structure of the woman, together with the childbearing capabilities. De Beauvoir (p 66) continues by saying that "if the body is not a *thing*, it is a situation." She concludes on the same page "It is the instrument of our grasp upon the world, a limiting factor for our projects."

Gender roles shape our identity, determining how we are perceived, how we are expected to think and act as women and men. Gender roles are not universal, they vary in degree from society to society, which reinforces the point that gender roles are not determined by nature but by the social environment in which a person is raised. Given that gender roles are socially constructed, they are subject to change in response to changes in social-economic circumstances. They change with time. The term 'gender norms' is linked to gender roles and are generally used to mean 'socially accepted' gender roles. In other words, society has ideas of what is considered to be acceptable behaviour for men and women. The balance of power between men and women defines the genders (Khamati-Nienga, & Clancy, 2005). Gender roles exist in all spheres of society starting with the division of labour in the family (The need for a gendered perspective from the ANC and its cadres, n.d.). The discussion expands by explaining that, in the family, women are allocated the role of being child-rearers and are given the duties of cleaning and cooking. This work is unseen and not remunerated. It is not recorded as work within the constructs used to analyse the working of the economy such as in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures. For most women in this country, domestic chores are additional to the work that they do outside the house. The description of the duals roles performed by many women is known as the "double bind."

Franz Boas, was one of the first anthropologists to be concerned with gender roles (Wright, 2003). The notions of masculinity and femininity define how men and women behave as well as their physical appearances. Mashal explains that gender and

gender roles define the way women and men behave in society and in relation to each other, the way in which they perceive themselves and their attitudes. Gender relations play a fundamental role in the formation of the ideas, knowledge, values, culture, attitudes, societies' structure and social life.

Marini (1990) states that some gender differences in behaviour, attitudes and work role selection have a biological basis. However, she believes that the existence of traditional and cross-cultural distinctions in gender role differentiation provides strong evidence that social influences play an important role in determining the expression of gender roles. Within gender roles, certain characteristics are expected of men, which reflect what it means to be male or to be masculine while other characteristics are attributed to women as a reflection of their femininity (Mashal, 2006). Gender roles and the stereotypes, which have evolved over time, structure the roles of men and women, and are reinforced in a multitude of sources within society. One of the greatest areas of debate regarding the development of gender roles is whether these are naturally determined, or whether society has coerced and encouraged role segregation.

1.1 The nature/ nurture debate

In order to discuss, in an objective manner, whether human styles of gender behaviour are naturally or socially defined, it is necessary to be cognisant of the fact that biases or inaccuracies in previous research thwart an accurate reflection of women's behaviour and values. A significant quantity of human psychological and behavioural research has been conducted on men only, and then assumed to apply to all people. As Epstein (1988, p.1) put it "when the study of work and behaviour was limited to men, we were given only partial knowledge of the worlds of politics, the economy and religion. With research thus limited in scope, even the family, regarded as "women's sphere", was misrepresented and misevaluated because of inattention to male participation." In more recent years, there has been a shift towards identifying women's needs and motivations as different to men. Epstein sheds some light in this issue when she states that research in gender over the past fifteen years has been oriented toward rectifying the exclusion or misrepresentation of women as subjects in previous research. Epstein (1988, p.26) quotes the literary philosopher Kenneth

Burke (1935) as saying: "A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing – a focus upon object A involves a neglect of object B."

This is corroborated by Wickens (1992, p.75), who compares human attention to a searchlight or flashlight to describe its inherent limitations. He writes "The momentary direction of our attention is a searchlight. Its focus falls on that which is in momentary consciousness. Everything within the beam of light is processed whether wanted…or not…." Wickens goes on to explain that there are two properties of the searchlight that are relevant to human experience. These are the direction of the searchlight and the breadth of the beam. That is, when, what and where it chooses to illuminate and how wide or broad the focus of attention. This explanation of attention is helpful when applied to the perspective put forward by Epstein (1988) firstly because it described the limited scope of attention initially devoted to female samples. Secondly, because it highlights the present difficulty in finding a balance between focusing research on understanding women, placing a focus on correcting an imbalance of past research, understanding women compared to men in terms of both similarities and differences, and creating a sufficiently wide beam to gain a holistic understanding of the psychology of women combined with men.

It is important to realize that the discussion of method encompasses interpretation as well as technique. Epstein (1988, p. 37) emphasises that the assumption that the sex of a person is responsible for behaviour creates a dichotomous perspective that obscures similarities in behaviour that may be characteristic of the majority of a sample. Research, which attempts to incorporate all sects of society, is not referred to as sociology, but rather as "women's studies" (Hirshman, 1995). When discussing the evolution of gender roles two major perspectives dominate. The first model maintains that there are basic biological differences between the sexes, the second, upholds a psychoanalytical approach, which strives to explain the development of gender specific identity.

1.1.1 Physiological discussion.

From Aristotle to Rousseau arguments regarding the difference between men and women have pursued paths of women not being equipped mentally or physically to function in the spheres of society in which men predominate, such as science and the

arts (Epstein, 1988). These intellectual philosophers have strengthened the ideas, which sustain the conventional hierarchy and maintain a power which women have been unable to grasp up to the present. Sociobiology has been defined by Wilson (1978) as the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behaviour. This school of thought regards all human behaviour as being ordained by nature.

As some men choose to become engineers, salesmen or construction workers, so too do women develop in different directions of thought. Epstein (1988) argues that the scientific knowledge regarding gender development needs to be questioned in terms of the general social structures in the world and the distribution of rewards and punishments. She cites the example of clerics who contradicted Galileo with the primary intention of upholding the Church. She maintains that the revolt against offensive differences in society in terms of gender raised grievances within the sciences, indicating that the models used to justify that separation were insufficient or culturally loaded. She concludes that the questioning of these theories came very late in the advancement of the social sciences.

The proponents of the physiological case maintain very firmly that men and women are different, and that although our environments must have an impact on our behaviour, this effect is merely reinforcing the biological structure. The essence of their view is that a brain is not necessarily male or female; rather that it has a degree of maleness or femaleness about it. The female brain according to this approach is more integrated than the male brain, therefore it may be difficult for a woman to separate emotion from reason. Due to physiological brain structure, the female brain has emotional capabilities on both sides, together with a higher capacity for information transmission between the sides. In the female brain, the emotional region is more integrated with the verbal sphere of the brain. Moir and Jessel (1992) explain that the development of the genderised brain occurs in the foetal stages, when the absence or presence of male or female hormones cultivates the brain structure gradually developing it into either a male or female pattern of sexual identity. Dorner, cited in Moir and Jessel states that this development of the brain to be gender specific happens in 3 phases, namely:

1. The 'sex centre', wherein the hormones create typical male or female physical characteristics;

2. The 'mating centres', which controls sexual behaviour in adult life; and

3. Finally the 'gender-role centres', which are the networks within the brain which determine our generalised behaviour, such as levels of acquiescence, openness to new experiences and sociability.

This theory is proven by clinical studies in which pregnant mothers received male hormone therapies resulting in girls who are far more aggressive, competitive and career-oriented than the average woman (Goy, & McEwen, 1980).

There is no doubt that societies, in general, associate certain traits as being more naturally masculine or feminine. For instance, the pursuit of power, which Kaufman (1999) states is overwhelmingly and universally a male trait. One of the arguments to defend this is that the act of childbirth is a nurturing act for which women have been specifically created. In terms of human abilities, the differing structures of the brain provide diverse strengths, such that, girls develop and excel at verbal abilities beyond boys of the same age (Locke, 2002); whereas boys do significantly better than girls in mathematical abilities, spatial abilities and vision (Locke). The male brain is also less susceptible to fatigue (Locke). Women have a more natural social skill, which enables them to manage relationships more effectively than men. By nature, women are more law-abiding and have a greater interest in personal factors and feelings; they spend more energy focusing on the individual than men do (Kerber, 1986). Men are more aggressive, competitive and self-assertive (Kerber). In fact, aggression is the most commonly used trait to describe the difference between male and female behaviour. An illustration of this is one of academics, where a sign of success is the publication of papers. Male academics publish far more papers than females, even those who are unmarried and have no children. When this fact was investigated, it was found that the women placed greater value on the well-being of students, fostering of scholarships and the service towards their institution, than in a personal achievement of publication.

The original question regarding why there are so many more female musicians than composers, or scientists, mathematicians and architects, is now answered from the physiological perspective. Witleson cited in Moir and Jessel (1992) introduces the concept of 'preferred cognitive strategy'. She describes this as "playing to your mental strengths", therefore women may not succeed at the roles, which men do,

because they prefer a different cognitive strategy. For instance, control over movement as opposed to spatial skills. Woman may feel more inclined towards following their strengths than men. In truth physiology is a good explanation, but not the only one. This begs the question whether men are more socialized than women into believing they should enter occupations that offer financial security. Many professional men may also be reared towards desk jobs or technical and medical professions as compared to occupations that allow you to "follow your dreams." This trend could also result from the integral part of mathematics and science to many professions.

When considering the physiological standpoint there is a need to acknowledge that this discussion concerns the typical human being, therefore, there will always be 'outliers' of people who do not fall into these broad categories of generalisation. Moir and Jessel (1992) discuss the critical interplay between male and female hormones and the undeveloped brain of a foetus. They explain that the developing male brain requires specific male hormones to organise the brain and thoughts into a male pattern. Similarly, female hormones for the female brain. Once Moir and Jessel had discovered a correlation between hormones and gender specific behaviour, they sought differences in the structure of the male versus female brain. The results of this study prove that our brains are not gender neutral. These scientists highlight the following specific differences between the structure of the male and female brains:

- The left hemisphere of the brain, which co-ordinates the mechanics of speech, grammar, and language is more diffuse in men and more specific in women;

- The left hemisphere of the brain, which controls the vocabulary and ability to define words, is more specific in men and more diffuse in women;

- The right hemisphere of the brain, which controls the visuo-spatial perception, is more specific in men and more diffuse in women (filters to the left hemisphere for women);

- The right hemisphere of the brain, which involves emotions, is more specific in men and more diffuse in women (filters to the left hemisphere for women).

From these conclusions, factors such as boys learning to speak at a later stage than girls and women being literally unable to separate emotions from reason, is as a direct result of how the brain is organised. Moir and Jessel's (1992) conclusion is that the main source of disparity between men and women sits in the chemical distinctions within the development of brain patterns.

Various experiments attempting to abolish gender roles and create a social reengineering of interchangeable role performances have been conducted. On the Israeli Kibbutzim children are reared communally and tasks are not divided by gender (Agassi, 1989). The expectation was that sexual stereotyping and role-playing would disappear within a few generations. However, this was not the case, as it was seen four generations down the line, the Kibbutz workers are still performing gender specific roles. The women are performing maternal duties and the men run the economic and political aspects of the community (Agassi). It has been stated that women's careers are sabotaged by motherhood. Therein lies an assumption about the priorities and feelings of women towards their careers and towards their families. The implication is that motherhood is a step down from an economically beneficial career.

The sense of achievement and success must be linked into a sense of what is meaningful for an individual. Studies have shown that boys tend to venture into careers, which have mechanical or theoretical focus; however, girls choose careers, which promise some form of human interaction (Kerber, 1986). There is a continual striving for women to be encompassed by what is of value to them. In an analysis of how men and women value and perceive their lives, men chose characteristics such as practical, shrewd, assertive, domineering, competitive and self-controlled. As opposed to this, women chose characteristics such as loving, affectionate, impulsive, sympathetic and generous (Ridley, 1993). Women also value money less than men. Successful women continually allocate themselves lower salaries than their male counterparts within the same professions (Ridley, 1993). Men furthermore value occupational success more than women do (Ridley, 1993). With this fundamental dichotomy of values in mind, the advancements in technology and societies on human behaviour also impact on social behaviour and standards of beliefs. The advent of medication, such as the contraceptive pill or patch, has empowered women with freedom in terms of their sexuality. However, studies find that women still limit their

sexual partners, and insist on an interlace between love and sex. In fact, despite the increased freedom allowing women to engage in casual sex, statistically, women are not acting on this freedom (Ridley, 1993). With this as a premise, the concept of marriage would seem to be against the nature of a man, and therefore the maintenance and upholdment of this tradition throughout centuries of generations, clearly indicates the strength of women (Ridley, 1993).

The different attitudes of men and women are accompanied by varying discriminations towards both men and women. In most societies the physical beauty of women is far more relevant than the physical appearance of men. This can have advantages and disadvantages for both sides. For men, their attractiveness usually resides in their abilities and dexterity, rather a physical trait. Moir and Jessel (1992) site biological data to prove that women's examination results drop by as much as 14% depending on their time of their menstrual cycle. Women's emotionality has often been aligned with their hormones and menstruation cycles (Seeman, 1997; Trickey, 2004; Lee, 1998; Van Goozen, Wiegant, Endert, Helmond, & van de Poll, 1997; and Sanders, Warner, Backstrom, & Bancroft, 1983). Most women would rather accept this inequality than pursue an examination system or working schedule, which would take their cycles into consideration. Such a system may firstly be discriminatory to men, as well as to other women, whose performance does not suffer due to biological restrictions. In fact, the argument could overflow into the entire educational system, which should then be adjusted to suit gender based physiological differences. However, people whose behaviour and/or brain structure does not correlate with the prescribed gender roles delineated for them would then be discriminated against. When women achieve the same levels as men, they are perceived to be superior, whereas the men who achieve those levels are seen to be skilful, but not exceptional (Epstein, 1988).

The physiological discussion seeks to link diverse behaviour to a clear biological difference within the brain structure of men and women. A study conducted by Tsunoda in 1984 discussed how Japanese brains function differently to Caucasians. This functioning supports the biological standpoint that brain functioning impacts on specific behaviour. The hormonal impact during mid-life creates a shift in women, where their androgen-oestrogen ratio no longer increases and many middle aged

women begin to adopt more masculine traits. Similarly men, in midlife usually begin to soften and adopt a more feminine approach (Locke, 2002).

Often researchers have conducted research on animals to support their claims regarding people. Animal research has been proven valuable in predicting human behaviour. A good illustration of this would be the early behaviourists who studied dogs (Pavlov), mice and pigeons (e.g. Watson, Skinner) in forming the definitions of classical and operant conditioning (Boakes, 2003). When analysing brain functionality, Moir and Jessel (1992) illustrate how monkeys showed a definite correlation between plasma testosterone levels and social rank, as well as their degree of aggression. When pregnant monkeys were injected with testosterone, their female offspring also demonstrated highly aggressive behaviour, as opposed to the other female monkeys, whose mothers had not been injected with hormones during pregnancy.

The biological disparities seeks to explain why in the list of the 100 greatest people who shaped the world in 2006, only 7 out of 100 were female. A factor for consideration is that desires, abilities and opportunities are all separate issues. Not everyone who wants to be an Engineer has the ability and not everyone who has the ability has the opportunity or desire.

1.1.2 Criticism of the biological approach.

Although the arguments based on biological data are convincing, there are a few factors for consideration, for instance, as a general rule the group conducting the research do not find their own people to be inferior. Men have conducted the majority of research on human physiology. The debate surrounding the establishment of society's laws to maintain or implement segregation, which flow against nature, is difficult to comprehend, since the division between the sexes has been in existence for centuries. The division of human behaviour definitively by gender is uncomplicated, whereas people are not simplistic and easily measurable. Physiological and societal influences are intertwined. Neither exists in a vacuum. This integration of people within the environment in which they live and to which they must adapt, makes it very difficult to artificially extract physiological data from societal influences for the purposes of studying gender. There is a theory that all people have an element of both

homosexuality and heterosexually within them. Plainly the concept states that all human beings are bisexual, and placed somewhere along a continuum of preference (Brickman, 2006; Young-Bruehl, 2001; Vaknin, 2002). With this in mind, the flow to the ideology that people are not purely male or female, not biologically, but psychologically, emotionally and mentally can be easily made. Some very feminine women may demonstrate traits or preferences, which may be judged to be traditionally masculine, or visa versa for a man. The ultimate concern when classifying behaviour along biological lines is the probability that researchers will be encouraged to think and work along stereotypical paradigms. Immigrants who have not been socialised into a specific pattern of thought, often aspire to perform the same work as they did in their home countries. This may be incongruent with the socialised norm of their new country, yet they are not immediately limited or emancipated by their new society's norms.

Further to this, although one gender may technically have a natural ability earlier on in life, such as speaking, ultimately both sexes are able to master the art of conversation within a matter of years. When considering the biological impact on gender role performance, the other incongruence is the foetal development of the brains of di-zygotic twins, where one is male and the other female, and yet they perform their gender roles according to traditional standards, without their mother being injected with any hormones. Finally, Epstein (1988, p.59) cites animal experiments, which have shown female passivity and nurturance, yet other evidence has emerged indicating female dominance, autonomy and power, as well as promiscuity in both male and females. The statement that a person's gender is responsible for behaviour creates a dichotomous perspective, which obscures similarities in behaviour, which may be characteristic of the majority of a sample (Epstein, 1988). Skinner (Boeree, 2006) stated that biology plays a part in determining human behaviour, yet he maintains that people are extremely pliable to social conditioning. Watson (1930) cited in Littman (1994) stated:

> "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select – doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, even beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants,

tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors. I am going beyond my facts and I admit it, but so have the advocates of the contrary and they have been doing it for many thousands of years."

Therefore, this discussion needs to enter another plane, that which addresses the psychological effect and persuasion of nurture or society on the development of gender roles.

1.1.3 Psychological discussion.

Weisstein (1971) declared that psychology "constructed" the female. She attributes women's status in society to psychological factors such as passiveness, emotionality and submissiveness. Women have been aligned with nature for many years, and their role in society has often been delineated along those lines, for instance, Rousseau (1762) argued the importance of breastfeeding as a critical function of women (Epstein, 1988). Most social scientists offer explanations, which do not rest on biological modes, rather these explanations, are supported by sex-role socialisation and social structural theories. The understanding of woman as a biologically determined being is challenged (some would say overturned) by cultural definitions resulting from human actions (Wright, 2003).

Socialisation begins at infancy where babies receive different messages and treatment, which leads to who they will become. They are dressed in gender-specific clothing and colours and given gender-specific toys to play with. Generally those who rear the children act according to the stereotypical view of how a boy or girl should be treated and should behave (Kerber, 1986). During the 1960's and 1970's many papers were published in scientific journals reporting a linkage between cultural messages and practices, such as the image of women and girls, and desired roles to be performed (Kerber). Therefore a woman's occupational choice has to be influenced by her being given a pink dress or brown overalls to wear, or a doll or truck to play with. Epstein (1988, p. 139) states that whether it is innate or an indoctrinated propensity, whether or not women are in fact more compassionate, empathetic and more interested in people than are men, is yet to be scientifically demonstrated.

Social structure accounts for the way people are identified according to their statuses, by dress, name and place (school, university, place of work). Within all spheres of society cultural norms exist which prescribe behaviour. Within these cultures, gender practices are also formed. These are often very powerful and taken for granted. (Butler, 1990). Sociologists have pointed out that informal controls can come close to physical coercion, but even harsh social pressures, such as ostracism, disapproval or a look, the warning of "what will people think" becomes part of the training and socialisation of individuals to believe and identify with the norms of their society (Butler). Sex typing leads to the segregation of men and women into sections, which are physically or symbolically, separate (Epstein, 1988). Epstein cites Oppenheimer's belief that jobs have become sex labelled in a way, which reflects employer's perceptions that certain jobs require attributes characteristic of one gender or the other. Epstein maintains that sex typing explains the personal selection of occupations. Most social scientists agree that socialisation is a lifelong process, which continues beyond childhood and adolescence. Gerson (1985) indicated that a woman's life decision, including the decision to become a full-time mother, is shaped by adult experiences rather than by childhood conditioning or predispositions.

Demetriou (2001) says that the social construction definition of gender has challenged the use of gender as a static description of a person. Rather, he says, gender is performed. Thus, individuals would be depicted as performing masculinity or femininity, rather than being male or female. In practical terms it means identifying how gender is continuously reconstructed through simple everyday actions. Socialization of gender roles has traditionally been described as a simple process, with influence moving from society to children (Connell, 1995). Connell believes that some sociological research has challenged this model, asserting that children's agency is equally important in the process of acquiring gender. He states that this research builds on the idea of performing gender by considering how children are equally involved in expressing and creating their own gender systems through their interactions. This research reinforces the performative theory of gender, while implying the mutability and flexibility of gender systems, which are continuously reconstructed.

The gender role displayed within society has been categorized into two spheres. The first deals with competencies, and includes, in the male case, traits such as independence, competitiveness, objectivity, dominance, assertiveness, activeness, logicality, self-confidence and ambition. The opposite of these characteristics then apply to women, traits referring to expressive qualities, wherein women as seen as being tactful, gentle, empathetic towards others and expressive of their feelings (Ridley, 1993). Hochschild (1983) conducted a study showing that through the process of anticipatory socialization, women were directed towards feminine feelings, such as concern for others, which they experienced and manifested. Similarly, men felt masculine feelings such as aggression.

Some of the theories of social change consider the consequences for individuals and societies when members occupy different statuses or roles (Connell, 1995). Consensus is that traditional gender-role adjustments may result in conflict, terror or panic. It is widely recognised that the roles which women occupy are usually nurturing, expressive and service-oriented, a modification process would be necessary not only for these women themselves, but for other people who interact these women. People may have an expectation of nurturance or empathy, when interacting with women, and may find it difficult to manage a situation, where the behaviour encountered is different to the expectation.

Human capital theory states that economic behaviour is governed by free choice of individuals to maximise their personal utility (England, 1982). With this as a foundation, it would make sense that many women who expect to leave work when they become mothers may not invest the time and effort in training, which would make them professionals; instead, they choose occupations, which do not punish disrupted employment. These women would therefore avoid factors such as overtime, travel and the inability to leave an office. The human capital approach is based on a woman's assessment of her own earning power, in accordance with social expectations.

Unfortunately most psychoanalytical thinking is untestable. The question why four children raised in the same family and home environment may grow up with diverse beliefs, occupational passions and differing encounters of similar experiences, is

unanswered. This flows into the fundamental flaw in much of the research that implies that all women are basically similar in psyche and behaviour and similarly that all men essentially think and act alike. It is easier for a physical scientist than a social scientist to be value-free and completely objective, however, the role of the social scientist is to describe and identify objective theories regarding human behaviour and interaction.

There is growing consensus that the development of gender specific roles evolves through a process of both biological and social experiences. Debates continue surrounding the stages and timing of development. However, social scientists tend to disagree on the relative weight of early versus later experiences, especially regarding the essential self. Scientists such as Piaget and Erikson have set definite stages of development for both cognitive and emotional functioning. Personality traits are also cited as a source of differing motivation and potential development of career aspirations and interests (Lau, & Shaffer, 1999). As an indication of how personality type affects interests Gilligan (1993, p.35) states that boys identify themselves as "defined through separation" whereas girls see themselves as "delineated through connection." Kohn and Schooler's (1982) study indicated that men are more affected by their jobs than they affect their jobs.

1.2 The development of gender roles

An analysis of the role of women through history, beginning at the start of civilization (2500 B.C.E.) shows that men and women bore equal responsibility for the survival of the group, both in gathering food and fending off attackers (Iberall, & White, 1998). There is evidence that many of these earliest groups were matrilineal (descent of the kinship that is traced through the mother) (Hartung, 1985; Rock, & Moore, 2001). Evidence also suggest that work was divided along traditional gender lines: The men hunted and the women collected edibles such as nuts, berries and roots (Rock & Moore). In time, during 12000 to 7000 B.C.E. people in Southwest Europe, Southeast Asia and the Americas began settling down, planting crops and cultivating seeds, as opposed to roaming freely from place to place. With this stability, many civilizations which we know today, were established, some of these include Southern Mesopotamia, the Nile Valley, India, China, the Americas, and at a later stage, Malaysia, Africa and Northern Europe (Therborn, 2005).

Evidence suggests that male domination within most societies began with the stability of farming. The early division of labour in nomadic tribes led to occupational choices as civilization developed (Bogucki, & Grygiel, 1993). During this time women developed foundations for occupations which are still performed today. Work with roots, plants, organic materials led to midwifery, physicians, nursing, healing, bakers and brewers (Gusfield, 1989). Of the many initial professions, prostitution has played a certain role in most societies, from the beginning of civilization. It was not as prominent in polygamous societies, which were found amoung Celtic and Germanic tribes, where men took multiple partners (Altman, & Ginat, 1996). According to Edlund and Korn (2002), simply stated, prostitution is low-skill, labour intensive, female dominated, and well paid. If most women who work as prostitutes did so out of choice, prostitution would be one of the most powerful and reputable professions available to women (Edlund & Korn). However, since most women are driven to this act out of economic necessity, the power lies with their clients or brothel owners. These authors conclude that an important opportunity cost of prostitution is forgone to marriage market opportunities and that this is a determinant of the compensating wage differential commanded by prostitutes. The most detrimental aspect of this job to these women is the attraction of drugs and the impact of violence, including rape, which have become synonymous with the role of prostitution (Farley, & Barkan, 1998). Harrassment and rape is believed to be an expression of power and control, rather than sexual desire or sexuality on the part of most aggressors (Brodsky, 1976).

When men gave up hunting, they moved towards agriculture and animal husbandry, which had previously been women's tasks. The new division of labour increased authority and responsibility of men. This placed women inside the home for the first time limiting their responibilities to a private arena. The women's roles as mate and mother naturally kept her close to home (Hawkes, 1993). The settling down also provided the opportunity to amass personal property. For the first time, possessions determined a division of class or social stratification (Iberall, & White, 1998). Once men had posessions, there was a need to control and protect them. There was a need to verify children as their own, and, the best way to achieve this, was to control a woman's sexuality, and thereby, the children they bore (Hawkes). The Swedish playwright, August Strindberg (1849-1912) addresses, as a recurrent theme in his

work, the power that married women held over their husbands to produce offspring through extra-marital affairs (Farrell, 1996). Attendant to this was the knowledge that only a mother could hold about the paternity of her children, which could leave her husband wondering or worrying about the true paternity of his children. This resulted in the establishment of the monogomous family, and the beginning of patriarchy (Beechey, 1979).

Patriarchy placed men at the head of the household, giving them authority over all its contents, including women and children (Beechey, 1979). Although it became an aspect of most societies, patriarchy did not happen simultaneously in all cultures, it was a gradual process which evolved over time, impacting differently on various cultures and nations in different ways. This together with the social stratification limited women's capacity to earn a living, control their bodies, run a business, earn an education, participate in politics and religion, and inherit property (Beechey). In many societies the advent of social stratas gave elite women more rights and respect than women of lower social classes (Arnot, & Dillabough, 1999). Marxist theory stated than men control both reproduction and sexuality. By so doing they ensure the paternity of their wife's children. Patriarchal control is concurrent with the economy, political systems and cultural objectives of a society, replicated through laws, ideological apparatuses and private and public institutions.

During the sixteen centuary, the Roman Catholic Church introduced the era of reformation, through which witches were hunted and eradicated (Châtellier, 1989). Witchcraft was decidedly a gender-based practice, although there were some male withces, the majority were women, who were persecuted by men (de Blécourt, 2000). Salem Massachusetts is particularly known for witch trials and witch hysteria around 1692. The grave stones of "witches" still exist in Salem. Women who were suspected to be witches were drowned. If they survived, it was considered to be proof that they were witches. Should they have drowned they would be cleared as witches (Ainsworth, 2002). This is considered to be one of the greatest tragedies of American history. Buchanan (2002) states that although some men were victims of witch hunts, there is no doubt that this was a gender-selective violation, and that the gender dimension was clearly important. He continues that only women who were perceived to be strange or threatening were targeted as witches. Chesney-Lind (1986) places this

phenomenon into perspective when she states that we often overlook the important role of 'outsiders' in maintaining an existing social order; the cruel public punishment provided to a few 'fallen' women as witches and whores has been integral to the enforcement of the boundaries of the 'good' women's place in the patriarchial society. Women's roles began to change gradually, at varying paces in different cultures.

Women who broke ground for others and paved the way for many others, include famous women rulers such as Elizabeth I, Catherine de Medici, Jeanne d'Albret, Catherine the Great, Christina of Sweden, and Judith Leyster (Durant, 2001). They also enabled many women to reach milestones in professions which had been traditionally dominated by men. Mary Wollstonecraft was a pioneer for feminist rights in European and American societies (Wollstonecraft, 1993). Wollstonecraft's pioneering work laid the foundation for the transformation of gender role development.

The current progressions within most societies is one of the greatest arguments for socialisation being a huge impact on gender role development. Epstein (1988, p. 117) states that many feminists have turned from this truncated view of reproduction theory to explore women's direct relations in production (employment). It is suggested by sociologists that social patterns occur naturally and that laws grow from societies' values and customs, and are the embodiment of these forces. Values which are passed down from generation to generation grow from societies' rulers. In the Western world, in general, laws have been created and upheld by middle aged white men. Public policies and laws specify where and how the genders may mingle and intermate interactions between men and women (Joffe as cited in Ferree, 1990). For instance, there have been laws which have forbidden unmarried couples to engage in sexual activities, as well as restrictions to same-sex partners, male-female partners, including certain modes of sexual intercourse (Brown, Emerson, Falk, & Freedman, 1971).

One of the developments in female power in modern society has been the downsizing of families, decline in fertility and women getting married and starting families at a later age (Macken, 2006). There has also been a general decline in the number of infanticides (primarily of girl babies), burning of widows on their husband's funeral

pyres and wife beating (Epstein, 1988). General sociobiologists, who believe that the physical differences between men and women account for social arrangements, often omit to acknowledge the fact that segregation and hierarchies have generally been initiated and maintained through physical coercion by men. Women have not willingly taken a submissive role (Macken, 2006). Violence against women is an important factor creating social control within the family.

1.3 Specific role development

The specific development of gender roles evolved through various means, such as physical characteristics, legal boundaries or a broader vision for a nation. In many environments, physical features determined the division of labour, such as in the mining, construction and building industries. The absence of men from rural communities has forced the women into the position of having to fulfil many of the building tasks historically associated with men. This, effectively, has removed the latter from the processes of the built environment, thus reinforcing the role of women as controllers of "place" as well as "resources."

In many societies gender roles are an accepted norm, yet in many instances the perceived roles are not necessarily natural, and may be detrimental. A gender analysis or perspective analyses the roles society indicates men and women should perform as well as the unequal power relations between men and women (Lerman, Mohun, & Oldenziel, 1997). The analysis examines the needs and responses arising from gender roles. The roles are divided into three categories:

1. Productive role (work which brings in money)

2. Reproductive role (work in the region of the house, food and family)

3. Community role (organising social events and services for the community)

Normally, gender refers to people, dividing everyone as belonging to one group or the other in a strict binary fashion (Butler, 1990). Words, emotions, personal characteristics, organizations, power structures, and social structures can all also be described as gendered. The essentialist argument tries to uphold a strict binary gender division, a system that demands every individual adhere to a standard model of masculinity or femininity (Thorne, 1993). In rejecting this essentialist argument, Thorne states that sociological theory has considered how gender norms are created,

defined, and enforced under varying social contexts. She maintains that research has shown that there are greater differences within the gender category themselves, (i.e. that is between women) than there are between the genders (between men and women). Mueller (1991) states that women differ with each other on factors such as attitudes, values and life priorities far more than men. Women's personal circumstances differ from one another in that they are more likely to be single parents, be marginally employed and be aware of their children's issues. Women exist in many different financial strata's and hold opposing opinions in terms of feminism. Finally, Mueller highlights that women fall into diverse economic categories as they occupy various forms of employment.

1.3.1. The fight for rights.

The nineteenth century stands out as the period when women began to fight for their rights. The first Women's Rights Convention was held 1840 (Farrell, 2003). Resulting from this convention, Stanton based her "Declaration for Sentiments" on the American Declaration for Independence (Farrell). The main purpose of this declaration was to address inequitable legalities in the American judicial system, such as the right to vote, married women's lack of legal power, and occupational closure of many vocations to women (Griffith, 1985). The movement spread throughout the United States. At roughly the same time Caroline Norton, Harriet Martineau and Taylor Mill were fighting for women's rights in England (Weiner, 2000). By the late nineteenth centaury, the Australian women, led by Caroline Chisholm, were protesting their lack of rights (Kiddle, 1969). Australian women were of the first internationally to receive the vote in 1908, before the European and American women. (See Table 1 on page 49 to see, by country, when women were granted the vote.) The struggle for rights existed in the environment of women being continually contrasted and compared to men. In an article focusing on gender bias, Ardiner (1972) cited in Epstein (1988) stated that "those trained in ethnography evidently have a bias toward the kind of model that men are ready to provide (or to concur in), rather than toward any which a woman might provide." She emphasises that most cultures are more confident and trusting of male developed models.

Women have not been considered in studies of power because they did not occupy powerful positions, nor were they considered in studies concerned with social

stratification, despite the fact that they were very much a part of the social system and the working world. Public and private spheres were dichotomous domains for men and women. Laws have continually discriminated and suppressed female progress. Some of the Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and Yemen prohibit women from voting, driving, exposing their faces in public and appearing in certain public areas. Epstein (1988) cites Sachs and Wilson (1978) as stating that British judges wrestled for 60 years, up until the turn of the 20th century, with the issue of whether or not a woman could be considered in law as a 'person'. A series of statutes provided that access to public office, entry to professions and the right to vote should be granted to any 'person'. Law in certain countries legally banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples. In Connecticut USA, this ban was only overturned in 1965 (Griswold v. Connecticut 381 U.S. 479 (1965)).

Male domination has encroached specifically on women's sexuality by means of clitoridectomies or female circumcision, still performed today in Egypt, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Kenya with the direct intention of ensuring that women do not have sexual pleasure and will therefore remain chaste. The restrictions on women's free sexuality reflect men's concern of having illegitimate children and maintain control over land inheritances (Meinzen-Dick, Brown, Feldstein, & Quisumbing, 1997). Abortion has also been illegal in many countries of the world. People wear glasses to assist them, hearing aids to help them, yet a contraceptive pill or abortion, through which women exercise rights over their own bodies and utilize means to assist them have been ordained as illegal, immoral or forbidden by many governments and societies. It is ironic that the prejudiced and inequitable society who deemed a women's role to be purely maternal and reproductive then chooses to interfere with this domain of womanhood.

1.3.2. South African perspective.

The current circumstances in which women exist in South Africa, impacts on the roles, which they perform. Apartheid and the migrant labour system separated many families. 30% of African households and 26% of all South African households are headed by women (Statistics SA 2005). In most families women work outside the home and take full responsibility for housework (Stats SA). Almost half of all African women have grade 7 or less education and many women have no schooling at all. In

high schools there are more girls than boys, however the boys have a much higher matric pass-rate. 60% of all men have post-matric qualifications, while only 40% of women do (ETU 2006). 4 out of every 10 women are unemployed, with the figure regarding African women sitting at 50% and for young African women it is 70%. Many employed women work in the categories of farm and domestic work. In the workplace, women with the same education as men earn about 80% of the wages men get (ETU).

The information, which follows, has been taken from Statistics SA 2001 Census Survey. (Statistics SA, 2001). Please note that all data is relevant for Gauteng only, as this is the province in which all interviewing has occurred. Detailed view of the demographic environment in Gauteng (Annexure A).

This analysis illustrates gender proportions in Gauteng:

- Male legislators, officials and managers outweigh the number of females by more than 100%,
- Male professionals outweigh females by almost 50%,
- Female technicians and associate professionals outweigh males by 3%,
- Female clerks outweigh males by almost 100%,
- Male service workers; shop and market sales workers outweigh females by more than 100%,
- Male skilled agricultural and fishery workers outweigh female by almost 400%,
- Male craft and related trade workers outweigh females by more than 700%,
- Plant and machine operators, males outweigh females by 1000%,
- In the elementary occupations field females outweigh males by almost 100%.

In an industry analysis:

- In agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing males outweigh females by 250%,
- In mining and quarrying males outweigh females by 1800%,
- In manufacturing males outweigh females by almost 300%,

- In electricity, gas and water supply males outweigh females by 400%,
- In construction males outweigh females by 1000%,
- In wholesale and retail trade males outweigh females by 60%,
- In transport; storage and communication males outweigh females by 300%,
- In financial; insurance; real estate and business services males outweigh females by 30%,
- In community; social and personal services females outweigh males by 20%,
- In private households females outweigh males by more than 400%.

From this analysis it is possible to see that the majority of professions in the Gauteng region are male dominated. Further to this, a view of the income disparity between males and females indicates that males on average earn 50% more than females.

The Business Women's Association of South Africa (2006) published the following figures in the annual census:

- Women constitute 53% of the total South African population
- Women comprise 41% of the active workforce
- 6.2% of positions on South African corporate boards are held by women
- 10.7% of non-executive directorships are represented by females
- Women hold 19.8% of executive management positions

These figures provide a clear indication that there is a disparity and disproportionate imbalance between male and female workforce sector participants. Within the South African environment, there has been a phenomenal transformation in terms of gender equality and job opportunities. The political, legal, economic and social environments have impacted on a shift in awareness and thereby created an acceptance of competence and quality ahead of physical attributes. There was a deliberate endeavour to prevent women from obtaining an education and attend universities, and for those who did attend, there was a blatant denial of equal fellowship and research opportunities (Simeone, 1987; Theodore, 1986; Carr, Ash, Friedman, Szalacha, Barnett, Palepu, & Moskowitz, 2000).

Littrell and Nkomo (2005) state that all women in South Africa face the common glass-ceiling phenomenon. She cites Booysen (1999) as stating that South Africa has not only male dominance but also white dominance in management. The above figures taken from the Business Women's Association illustrate this clearly.

Socially, South Africa is faced with many particular issues, such as the rapid spread of AIDS and HIV. An estimated 11.4% of South Africans are infected with the virus (Shisana, & Simbayi, 2002). The impact of this leads to single parents or child-headed homes, and increase in crime, depression, absenteeism, presenteeism, health costs, a decline in economic growth rates, investment and national productivity and finally in a decline in the supply of labour and changes in the structure of the labour force. AIDS affects women uniquely in four specific ways: Firstly men with HIV are three times more likely to be diagnosed than women (Knowles 1993 cited in Ahmed 1996); women have less access to quality care or any means of health care (Smeltzer, 1992 cited in Ahmed, 1996); thirdly there is an ignorance about how the disease affects women differently to men (Mason, 1988 cited in Ahmed, 1996); and finally there are no easy or appropriate prevention methods for women (Ahmed, 1996). The HIV infection is currently moving to younger cohorts and from men to women (Richardson, 1992). There are many distinctive aspects of the South African culture, which enhance the impact, which HIV has on women; amongst these is the acceptance that many men have multiple sexual partners (Varga, 1997).

As South Africa's economy strengthens and grows, women have needed to be versatile and adapt to the demands placed on them based on the environmental situation and the needs of the family. For instance, unemployment and affirmative action for women has led women to seek gainful paid employment. Various factors, such as AIDS or physical relocation to work in remote locations, have led to an absence of men in many communities. This leads to women taking on many of the responsibilities previously considered to be 'male tasks', including that of male role model for the children.

Women and men are regarded differently, with women being seen primarily as domestic workers, and expected to give priority to this work over waged work.

Traditionally, South Africans, over the past 50 years have had stable household assistance in the form of female domestic helpers and male gardeners. This too is an indication of role development as prior to World War I, house assistants, in certain parts of the country were predominantly male. Post WWI, this changed drastically as domestic service became a 'woman's job'. Other typically male South African careers, such as petrol attendants, newspaper sellers and refuse collectors have gradually become free of gender stereotypes. Although women are well represented in public service and government jobs, they work in the lower paid jobs. 15-20% of local government employees are women and very few of them are in management positions (ETU 2006). As per the one-third quota introduced by the ANC in the 1994 elections, 30% of all members of parliament and provincial legislatures are women. Among cabinet ministers 30% are female and 28% of councillors are women (ETU). In Cosatu where women make up 37% of the members, only 14% of shopstewards are women.

There is much literature referring to the time when men earned more than women, for the same work (Blinder, 1973; Kilbourne, Farkas, Beron, Weir, & England, 1994; Miller, 1987; Blau, & Kahn, 1996). South Africa's transformation has progressed from a time when married women earned less than single women. At Wits University, prior to the 1930's, should a female lecturer marry, she would be required to resign her professional position (Murray, 1982). The country has evolved into a period where, in 7 out of 9 provinces, the premier positions are occupied by women. 60% of the employees working in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, are female (N. Newton-King, personal communication 15 September 2006) and the Businesswomen's Association of South Africa (2006) states that the greatest advancement of women in business is at directorship level. The latest census places this figure at 11.5 %. Although the number of women in executive management position has increased, indications are that, in relative terms, women are losing ground in this category. The decline is significant given the substantial increase in the overall number of executive management positions in South Africa (Business Women's Association of South Africa 2006).

1.4 Biological evolution

Throughout history, ideologies regarding women's bodies have been used to reinforce as well as challenge women's social position. At least one in five women have been physically or sexually abused by a man at some time in their lives (Venis, & Horton, 2002). According to the World Bank, gender-based violence accounts for as much death and ill-health in women aged 15-44 years as cancer, and is a greater cause of ill-health than malaria and traffic accidents combined (Venis & Horton). Women's bodies and the possession of their biological development through the ages has been an interesting journey. In 1800 B.C. the Code of Hammurabi, which is the earliest recorded legal system in the western world, defined women's bodies as men's property and, in line with this, defines rape as a property crime (Weitz, 2000). Subsequent to this in the 4th century Aristotle contended that embryos become female only if they have insufficient "heat" to become fully human (Jowett, 1963). In 1769 according to Blackstone, women experienced "civil death" in marriage, wherein their husbands gain complete rights and responsibilities over their wives' bodies and lives (Wolfe, 1981). Consequently, husbands had the legal right to beat or rape their wives, a right that survived for more than two centuries. According to Darwin, in 1872, males continually evolve toward greater "perfection." However, females, on the other hand, need not compete for males. As a result, they have limited sex drive and can never evolve fully (Tavris, 1992). Darwin argues that the stress of reproduction deprives women of the energy needed for either physical or mental development. As a result, women remain subject to their emotions and passions, such as nurturing, altruistic, and child-like, but with little sense of either justice or morality.

Today, the concept of ownership and imperfection seems absurd, as women have evolved to equal standing with men on many different social spheres. However, the obsession with the 'perfect' female body; debates regarding the emotional and intellectual stability of women either because of PMS (if premenopausal) or hormone deficiencies (if postmenopausal); and the undercurrent of sexism which many women report in business circles today, still indicates that inequality and gender discrimination exists.

A South African husband's right to administer "reasonable chastisement" finally disappeared in 1955, while rape within marriage was only criminalised in 1993

(Vetten, 1998). However, women continue to experience marital rape. Another side of the continuum is the recognition of male rape.   South African Law does not yet recognise the crime of male rape, however, it is widely believed that this is a phenomenon, which is widely considered to be under-represented. For the first time in South African history, Deputy President Ms Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka addressed this topic at the "365 Days of Action to End Violence against Women and Children" event at the Kopanong Hotel, Johannesburg, 3 May 2006. As women become increasingly empowered and confident, so too must their sexual freedom and confidence grow, as well as the desire for power.

In various spheres it is clear that women are advancing and progressing towards levels, which equate to and in some instances exceed men's achievements. Business, running marathons, politics and science are some of the areas where women are becoming more visible. South Africa's legal system has assisted with women empowering themselves to achieve in the spheres which are meaningful to them, and to take back control of their bodies, sexuality and reproductive activities. On the 28th November 2006 same sex marriages were legalised. This was a triumph after a long fight for recognition of many gay and lesbian couples (Republic of South Africa: Civil Union Bill, 2006). In November 2004 abortion was legalised giving women freedom of choice, freedom over their bodies, and the right to make the best decision for themselves (Sherk, 2005).

Finally, the contraceptive pill since 1961 provides women with the same sexual emancipation, which men have enjoyed for years. The pill directly lowers the costs of engaging in long-term career investments by giving women far greater certainty regarding the pregnancy consequences of sex (Goldin, & Katz, 2002). The pill gave single women the ability to live freer lives, and married women the control over their family planning and career goals (Goldin and Katz). Technology, such as the invention of the patch allows for a liberated lifestyle continues to aid the advancement of women.

1.5 Social order

Many of the professions which were originally dominated by one gender have in more recent times, been dominated by the opposite gender. Within the teaching profession,

for example, women have replaced men, because women were cheaper labour (McCarthy, 1986). Medicine used to be dominated by women, especially in midwifery, this has been subsequently taken over by men (McCarthy). Labour shortages during WWII created a drastic shift in women entering into professions, which were previously closed, to them. Although today men and women are able to perform similar work, their job titles are different, for instance women are called 'maid', while, men are 'janitors'; and women are 'secretaries' when men are 'office assistants'. In most western societies, women change their surnames once they are married, whereas men do not. Women's prefix changes from 'Miss' to 'Mrs', giving a clear indication of her marital status, whereas a man's title remains 'Mr' whether he is married or not, maintaining his privacy and equal status. The term 'Ms.' has evolved to identify an individual without classifying her marital status.

The fact that women take time to recover from childbirth and then spend about a year nursing the baby has created a framework for judging women along these lines. Many women are happy to be homemakers and feel fulfilled within this role. Epstein (1988) cites research which has proven that creation and existence of professional 'in-groups' which men form with like minded men who are in the same industrial sphere. These groups reinforce membership with simple rituals (such as greetings and drinks) and ensuring that the group remains exclusive. Within the concept of in-groups, Epstein quotes the "Salieri phenomenon" in which a person pretends to be a benefactor to another person, yet in reality keeps their opportunities limited. She states that women are often caught in this trap and find themselves in ancillary roles.

1.5.1 The Other.

Woman is always the other of "man" (Butler, 1990). Even as early as 1949 De Beauvoir introduces the concept of "The Other" (p18) when she states "It is not the Other who, in defining himself as the Other, establishes the One. The Other is posed such by the One in defining himself as the One." Culler (1983) draws attention to the concept of 'reading as a woman'. He discusses (p. 43) the "reader's experience" in terms of the majority of literature being written under the assumption that the reader will be male. He discusses the role of the author cultivating a feeling of identifying with the characters and thought processes of the author, yet he argues the patriarchal society of literature caters for the male reader. Until recently, most authors were male.

In her book, "The Feminine Mystique", Friedan (1963, p. 20) defines women's unhappiness as "the problem that has no name," then she launches into a detailed exploration of what she believes causes this problem. Through her research, which includes many theories, statistics, and first-person accounts, Friedan holds the idealized image of femininity, which she calls the feminine mystique, responsible. According to Friedan, women have been encouraged to confine themselves to the narrow roles of housewife and mother, forsaking education and career aspirations in the process. Friedan attempts to prove that the feminine mystique denies women the opportunity to develop their own identities, which can ultimately have negative consequences for women and their families. Friedan sees the feminine mystique as a failed social experiment created by World War II and the Cold War, and which in turn, contributed to postwar phenomena like the baby boom and the growth of suburbs.

Many mothers experience postpartum depression. Although several sources would place the percentage of mothers affected by this form of depression at 12-15 percent (Gotlib, Whiffen, Mount, & Cordy, 1989), estimates range from 10% (Levy, 2006) to 80% of women experiencing at least mild depression in the year to follow childbirth (Gotlib, Whiffen, Mount & Cordy). Although this depression and anxiety is often attributed to hormonal changes, sleep deprivation and demanding infants as well as media hype creating unrealistic expectations of instant fulfilment in motherhood, which is then contrasted with reality shock, also have received blame for postpartum depression. For practical purposes these factors would exacerbate a situation of unhappiness and a lack of motivation.

De Beauvoir (1949 p. 691) discusses the progress of women through to the age of the independent woman. She states that a man "enjoys the advantage that from his childhood, his vocation as a human being in no way runs counter to his destiny as a male." She believes that although by the middle of last century, it was considerably easier for a woman to assert herself, there were still many society pressures and natural realities, such as maternity, which restrict and encroach on a woman's freedom to achieve. She concludes on page 736 by declaring "woman is the victim of no mysterious fatality; the distinctiveness which identifies her as specifically a

woman get their importance from the significance placed upon them." Within varying cultures and societies, perspectives differ. Traditions, ethnicity and customs determine the interpretation and implementation of role performance, within specific environments. As women's roles shift and gender stereotypes are adjusted, so too does the work environment need to facilitate factors such as flexi-time, on-site nurseries and work-from-home options.

1.5.2. Restructuring the family.

Do we believe in social stereotypes and therefore see it whether it exists or not? As the family has historically been considered the domain of women, so women have traditionally been defined by their roles within the family. Therefore much of the social science studies of women have been focused in family studies. The development of women's roles leads to a new definition of women, femininity and the family. The real role of women within the family leads into an examination of power structures, particularly with the increase in dual-income families, single parent households, female headed households, divorced parents and delayed age of marriage. Epstein (1988) quotes Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako (1982) as saying "the family as we know it is not a natural group created by the claims of blood but a sphere of human relationships shaped by a state that recognised families as units that hold property, provide care and welfare, and attend particularly to the young – a sphere conceptualised as a realm of love and intimacy in opposition to the more "impersonal" norms that dominate modern economics and politics." Epstein (1988) also quotes Rapp (1982) as claiming that one of the greatest achievements of the feminist era has been the achievement of deconstructing the family as a natural unit, and to reconstruct it as a social unit.

Many women may fear the developing structure of the family, as they may feel inadequate to compete in the new environment. Women who are happy in their secure family structures may be opposed to social development. This is explained by Ehrenreich (1990) when she states that many women who were opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, felt this way because they were afraid of their vulnerability to divorce. The opposite viewpoint would be that of the matriarch, who is considered to be an overly aggressive, emasculating, strong, independent, unfeminine woman (Anderson, 1976; Barbee, 1993; Gillum, 2002).

1.6 Segregation

The United Nations released the following statistics in 2003:

- Women perform two thirds of the world's work

- Women earn one tenth of the world's income

- Women comprise two thirds of the world's illiterate

- Women own less than one hundredth of the world's property

In most advanced industrialized countries, in the latter half of the twentieth century, unprecedented progress in narrowing the differences between economic indicators of the lives of women and those of men were witnessed (ILO 2000). However, the prime motivators driving this on-going process, women themselves, are facing a dilemma as their gains in opportunity and freedom come to be seen and experienced in their broader socio-economic, political and relational contexts. Many sacrifices and trade-offs are encountered and many women strive for their perception of equality, achievements and success. In the United States, for example, over 80 percent of the "progress" in male/female wage equalization has been attributed to a decline in men's wages, not an increase in women's (Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 1997, p. 148 cited in ILO). The evolution of gender roles over a period of time is an ongoing process. The impact, advantages and shortcomings, which may result from this transformation remain to be seen. The struggle for equality is a perceptual contest, which can only rest once the sentiment of parity and fairness is felt by the majority of men and women.

Levi-Strauss (1978) claim that the foundation of social structure is the human capacity to build a perception of the world by perceiving opposites or contrasts (McCormack, & Strathern, 1980). As opposed to individual survival, the survival of the human species as a whole is dependant on procreation. This demands the existence and compatibility of opposites, male and female. Research has often focused on the minor distinctions between genders, as opposed to the huge similarities in human behaviour. When discussing the higher levels of achievement regarding men as opposed to women, Epstein (1988) quotes her previous writings from 1974, in which she stated that "to the extent that a profession's work has been male orientated (a matter of

interests, not ability) has been skewed and is therefore wrong; the same would have resulted from work done from a 'female' perspective.

As some early philosophers denigrated women, other perceived equality and value in women. Socrates declared that females would be reared and trained alongside males, receiving the same education and taking on the same political roles (Llyod, 1993). Though he acknowledges that in many respects men and women have different natures, Llyod (1993) believes that in the relevant respect, i.e. the division among appetitive, spirited, and rational people, women fall along the same natural lines as men. Plato concurred with this when he stated "If women are expected to do the same work as men, we must teach them the same things" (Allen, 1975).

Confirming the belief that gender role stereotyping and discrimination is socially developed, Alice Rossi (1970) stated that "where sex is concerned, diversity is a biological fact, while equality is a political, ethical and social precept." Erikson (1984) discussed the concept of pseudo-speciation through which symbols are used as a form of distinction and segregation between races, genders and countries. He maintains that the symbolic segregation clearly defines one sect as being superior and the other as being inferior. Segregation of the genders affects aspects as subtle as body language, gestures and verbal communication. For instance Epstein (1988) gives some of the following examples: women generally smile more than men; men tend to domineer in conversations in mixed gendered groups (despite the common belief that women are more talkative); women's speech is generally more emotionally expressive than men's; women's speech is generally more polite than men's.

For centuries women have been deemed inferior. This statement lays the foundation to the argument of the differences between the genders. This inferiority has been designed by men and perceived by men. Women are different and hold different values, but this does not imply an inferiority. Women value money, status and winning less than men (Dick, & Rallis, 1991). Women need not be anxious to prove themselves superior to men, nor eager to prove all women inferior to men because they fear they themselves are inferior (Buck, 1941). And men need not be anxious to prove themselves superior to all women out of the fear that they are not. It will be

taken for granted that such superiorities and inferiorities are to be found only in individuals and that no one is doomed by sex (Buck).

The sexist society has prevailed for many years; this system cannot be overthrown in a simple revolution. Despite this, there is an increasing amount of women entering into the paid economic sector, in industries, which are still dominated by men, and in higher managerial positions (Greene, Hart, Gatewood, Brush, & Carter, 2003). As women's value systems differ from men, so too do their priorities, interest levels and life choices, therefore the field which are of interest and relevance to men, may not be of relevance to women. Women are not prepared to make the same sacrifices as men are for their careers, as the rewards received are not perceived to be of the same value to women (Punnett, Crocker, & Ann, 1992). For women to achieve in the same manner as men they can either mimic men or they would need to change the concept of success from the traditional financial, status-oriented and publicly acknowledged definition, to a broader nature, covering a spectrum of activities and achievements (Fuchs, 1989). As the characterisation stands at the moment, women would have neither the interest nor the value to pursue the male definition of success. This is one of the underlying foundations of feminism, i.e. that male goals and techniques are the ideal for women. A further discussion claims that a woman's nature is non-competitive and that her attitude towards achievement differs from that of men, not because of her fear of failure, but because of her fear of success. The belief is that many women perceive success to be unfeminine. This denies the basic concept of womanism, which strives for the attainment of self-actualisation for women, utilizing their natural talents and differences to achieve happiness and self-fulfillment in whatever career path they choose.

The discussion of gender roles leads to an interesting examination into the specific gender advantages, which women may bring to the workplace, and particularly to spheres, which are principally dominated by men, with very little female influence or impact. The consideration that women and men differ in various ways is a generally accepted notion, therefore within differentiation, there must be benefits which one gender may offer. The benefits, which women may bring to the workplace, could offer new opportunities, creativities and original approaches to an existing state of affairs.

Table 2. Timeline demonstrating when women received voting rights, by country.
Information from South African Independent Online (Women have the power, 2004).

In some instances, the vote was initially given to a limited group of women (indicated by L). Several years passed before all women in these countries were given full voting rights (indicated by F).

1893: New Zealand

1906: Jamaica

1906:Finland

1907: Norway (L)

1913: Norway (F)

1918: Canada (L), Britain (L), Germany

1919: Netherlands, Sweden

1920: USA, Belgium (L)

1928: Britain (F)

1929: Ecuador (L)

1930: South Africa (L), Turkey

1931: Sri Lanka (then Ceylon)

1932: Thailand, Brazil, Uruguay

1933: Portugal (L)

1935: India (L) Cuba

1941: Indonesia

1944: France,

1945: Italy, Guatemala, Japan

1946: Liberia (L), Albania, Romania (F)

1947: Argentina, Venezuela, Pakistan

1948: Belgium (F)

1949: India (F), China, Chile

1951: Sierra Leone, Barbados

1953: Lebanon, Mexico

1954: Ghana (then Gold Coast), Nigeria (L)

1955: Ethiopia, Nigeria (L), Peru

1958: Tanzania (then Tanganyika), Iraq

1960: Canada (F), Central African Republic

1963: Kenya, Mozambique (L), Iran

1971: Switzerland

1975: Portugal (F), Mozambique (F)

1994: Black women in South Africa

2005: Afghanistan

CHAPTER 3: THE FEMALE ASSET

"There cannot be true democracy unless women's voices are heard. There cannot be true democracy unless women are given the opportunity to take responsibility for their own lives"

Hillary Rodham Clinton (Keynote address at Vital Voices, Austria, July 1997)

Understanding that the difference between men and women plunges deeper than the biological aspects, allows us to investigate what women bring to business. The difference in styles yields advantages, which may produce higher economic productivity. Talents such as enhanced interpersonal skills (Bielby, & Baron, 1986; Rosener, 1991), intuition (Sadler-Smith, 1999, Hayes, Allinson, & Armstrong, 2004; Hall, & Halberstadt, 1994), multitasking (Konig, Buhner, & Murling, 2005), logic (Orina, Wood, & Simpson, 2001; Seiter, 1986; Kondo, 2001), emotional responses (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996; Mesquita, & Frijda, 1992; Thayer, & Johnsen, 2000), and non competitiveness (Dunn, & Godlam, 1966; Vinacke, 1964) are perceived traditional female assets, which may potentially transform the business world as we know it.

Helgeson (1994) in her book "The Female Advantage" celebrates the difference between leadership approaches of men and their militaristic influence and team sports participation, as opposed to styles used by women as they emerge as leaders. She highlights her belief that women's equality does not mean that a woman has to become a man to do a man's job and that women are able to bring uniqueness to getting the job done. This author states that motherhood teaches management, negotiating skills and the ability to balance. Helgeson asserts that women focus on process, while men focus on achievement and closure. She believes that from team sports, men have been taught that the player does not question the coach. She states that men follow a hierarchial system, inclusive of a chain of command filtering information through to appropriate channels. According to Helgeson, women are more flexible, can complete diverse tasks and value cooperation and relationships. She describes the female leadership attributes as a web structure, facilitating direct communication. She quotes Margaret Thatcher, who in her own words has "never set specific goals but seizes opportunities." The final point illustrated by Helgeson is a

comparison drawn between women CEO's whom she interviewed in the eighties and contrasted these interviews with a study published on *How Men Lead* by Mintzberg in 1973. All of these female leaders felt that there should be a balance between one's personal life and one's career. The men leaders in the Mintzberg study spend 12 to 14 hours a day on their career and had little time to be involved with their families. Many of these men regretted this later in life. She writes (pg. 5): "Women are better at seeing the human side, quicker to cut through competitive distinctions of hierarchy and ranking, impatient with cumbersome protocols." She portrays (p. 257) the transformation of management, to include feminine styles as "the end of the warrior age."

Helgeson's (1994) philosophies are echoed by van der Boon (2003), who insists that women's focus on relationships, direct communication and diversity are spheres which enhance working relationships. van der Boon further states that women carry disrespect for hierarchies, resulting in leadership from the middle, instead of from the top, which she maintains to be an attribute required by tomorrow's leaders. She cites research conducted recently by the Hagberg Consulting Group, a California firm of psychologists who specialize in leadership development. This research reveals that women managers are better at keeping people informed, using influence rather than authority and in creating and articulating a vision. From this research, she further praises women for taking charge, being inspirational role models, setting high standards of performance, assuming responsibility and managing a more diverse workforce than their male counterparts. Furthermore, she claims that women are more tolerant of differences and less bound by social traditions. Hagberg (1998)(as cited in van der Boon, 2003) states that what emerged from the survey was the picture of women executives as having a more appropriate style for managing in the new millennium. He concluded that women have a much more team-oriented style.

Carli (2001) states that in most circumstances women hold less power and status than men, therefore she concludes that people expect men to behave more agentically and women more communally. Mosher and Danoff-Burg (2005) define agency as as a focus on the self and autonomy, and communion as a focus on other people and relationships. Carli posits that research clearly demonstrates that women are less influential than men. Although she believes that the gender differences in influence

depends on the context of the interaction and the behaviour displayed by the influence agent. She identifies the following key factors which moderate gender differences in influence, namely: gender composition of the individuals in the interaction; influence agents competence, dominance and communality; and the gender typing of the task. She concludes that the greater constraints on women's influence underscore the power differences between men and women and the persistence of traditional gender stereotyping.

It is important to retain reason and not to become entangled in a trap of one-upmanship. Circumstance, culture and ultimate objectives determine the best leadership or management style for the situation. Therefore, a 'female' team based on an empathetic style does not necessarily override a 'male' hierarchical task oriented style, in terms of effectiveness, productivity and satisfied workers. Consensus amongst management and leadership experts states that there is no correct leadership style, and that circumstance dictates the most appropriate style (Blanchard, & Zigarmi, 1999; Wright, 1995; Miller, & Monge, 1986; Waddell, 1994; Leister, Borden, & Fiedler, 1977). When discussing women and their particular styles, interpersonal skills and relationship building are factors for analysis.

1.1 Interpersonal skills

Kuhn (1995) describes interpersonal competence as comprising the combination of self-awareness, autonomy, confidence, social competence and sense of purpose. The Department of Psychiatry, University of the Witwatersrand, defines interpersonal skills as specific techniques and methods, which facilitate effective and empathetic communication.

Rosener (1991) states that men generally view leadership as a series of transactions with subordinates, and use their position and control of resources to motivate their followers. Contrary to this, women describe themselves as transforming subordinates' self-interest into concern for the whole organisation and as using personal traits such as charisma, work record, and interpersonal skills to motivate others. Rosener sites "interactive leadership" which she describes as positive interactions with co-workers, by encouraging participation, sharing power and information, making people feel important, and energizing them. She states that in past roles, women have been

supportive and cooperative, as opposed to holding a long series of positions with formal authority.

Brush (1992) speaks of an "integrated perspective," when discussing women's approach to leading. She states that this is rooted in psychological and sociological theories, which submit women's social orientations as being more focused on relationships. This perspective proposes that women view their businesses as an interconnected system of relationships instead of as a separate economic unit in a social world. Brush further states that this system of relationships composing the business is "integrated" into the woman business owner's life, with her as the centre of a network of various relationships, which include family, community, and business. To summarise, she says that by starting or acquiring her own business, in a women's view, she is not creating or acquiring a separate economic entity, rather she is integrating a new system of business-related relationships into her life. She concludes by stating: "While the general business management skills of men and women business owners have been reported not to vary significantly (Birley, Moss, & Sanders, 1987), women business owners feel that social adroitness and interpersonal skills are their strongest assets (Smith, McCain, & Warren, 1982; Hisrich, & Brush, 1984)." In general women are professed to have more developed interpersonal skills than men. In addition to this, capacity for empathy and caring are also traditionally viewed as female talents. Schieman and Turner (2001) state that in general, women are more empathetic than men, and therefore feel the pain of other people more easily, in general. Women have traditionally been socialized to perform the caregiver role (Manne, & Zautra, 1990).

Cockburn (1991) concurs that women have more developed interpersonal skills than men, however, Bishop and Soloman (1989) take a different view, when they reason that women build relationships where men focus on achievements. They also state that men work best with numbers and logic whereas women are more people-oriented and process-oriented. Relationships, which are used in the process of self-definition, may serve to illuminate important gender differences in identity status structure, content, developmental change, and the environmental context itself (Kroger, 1997). He continues that relationships styles can be collapsed into interdependent/transitional and dependent groups. Both men and women use relationships in the service of self-

definition as well as for possible gender differences in the identity-defining issues that people themselves generate to describe that which they value most in life. He concludes that relationships are important to women's (and men's) identity and demonstrates how such relationships are important to the process of self-definition.

Emotional intelligence has been related to important human values such as life satisfaction, the quality of interpersonal relationships, and success in occupations including those that involve leadership, creativity, sales and psychotherapy (Goleman, 1985). The converse side of social and interpersonal skills is the awareness and realistic observation of self. Many women allege to utilise a 'knowing' or intuition when interacting with people or when making decisions.

1.2 Intuition

Barker and Young (1994) draw a comparison of the attributes of women, who are constructed knowers, and those of transformational leaders. They include the web of inclusion, caring, moral responsibility, reciprocity and cooperation, integration of voices, intuition, and hierarchic and patriarchal paradigms. It is argued that a new way of leading and new organisational structures are emerging that will provide a favourable environment for female leaders. One of the spheres of perceived female advantage is intuition. However, this is often not considered to be advantageous. In terms of rationality, these theories contend, women are intuitive and rely on their feelings for truth, while men are more concerned with what is real. Baber (1994) states that women are perceived to possess "non linear thinking" which is equally superior to man's thinking, only different. Hayes, Allison and Armstrong (2004) state that gender-centred perspectives of women managers, and women in general, characterise them as being more intuitive than male managers, and men in general. Results of their study indicated that there is no difference between female and male managers in terms of intuitive orientation, that female non-managers are more analytical (less intuitive) than male non-managers and more analytical than female managers. Ickes' (1997) study concurs that women's intuition does not always supercede men's.

Lieberman (2000) states that although it may seem strange, phenomenologically, to discuss intuition in terms of information processing, intuition has a foundation of

logical structure. Lieberman quotes Hall (1984) as stating that women are better encoders and decoders of non-verbal communication.   Lieberman also quotes Jennings, Janowsky and Orwoll's (1998) study showing that higher levels of oestrogen in women correlate with performance speed on a sequential learning task, which may be perceived to be intuition. Intuition has been defined as a disciplined non-rational apprehension of reality (Canda, 1999), yet when discussing performance speed and the ability to perform multiple functions, reality is the concrete focus.

1.3 Multitasking

Multitasking is the ability to perform multiple tasks simultaneously. Kondo (2001) believes that females prefer using externalisation (defined as the tendency to experience internal processes as if they occurred outside oneself (Horwitz, 2001)) and language. He considers that the structure of the female brain is more attuned to multitasking. He draws the conclusion that for women the externalisation process is one series, that they can do, think, hear, and talk simultaneously.

Lieberman and Rosenthal (2001) conducted a study based on their theory that despite personality theories suggesting that extraversion correlates with social skill, most studies have not found a positive correlation between extraversion and nonverbal decoding. They propose that introverts are less able to multitask and thus are poorer at nonverbal decoding, but only when it is a secondary task. Prior research has uniformly extracted the nonverbal decoding from its multitasking context. Nonverbal decoding is one of the many variables that require attention during an interpersonal interaction (or conversation). Other stimuli that require attention include verbal speech, vocal intonations and expression and verbal cues. The mental processes, responses, message formulation, emotional response and expression of the listener also compete for mind space. Therefore a subject's nonverbal decoding ability is directly indicative (or predictive) of their ability to multitask. Extraversion is defined as re-energizing oneself "from the outside world of people, activities and things" (Lenhardt, 2002). Logically, this does not predict the ability to multitask. The only possible basis is higher energy levels than introverts.

Ruuskanen (2004) says that the principal determinant for multitasking seems to be the amount of human capital. She quotes a paper published by Bittman and Wajcman

(1999) who looked at the gender equality implications of the multitasking within households. They argued that there are qualitative differences between the leisure times of males and females. These differences get manifested in two factors. The first is the amount of secondary activities done besides leisure and the second is the length of uninterrupted leisure spouses are able to enjoy. She concludes that there are gender differences in the amount of multitasking. She states that females do multitask more than males. Jackson (2003) states that inadequate time-management skills of women is cited as a cause for many problems, with no recognition for the highly skilled multitasking, which they undertake. Glick, Wilk and Perreault (1995) conducted a study identifying key categories including sex (e.g., man, female); masculine and feminine personality traits (e.g., aggressive, analytical, nurturant, submissive); gender-neutral personality traits (e.g., friendly, enthusiastic, dull); appearance - items concerned with grooming, dress or build (e.g., three-piece suit, strong, mousey); age (e.g., young, middle-aged); social class (e.g., lower-class, wealthy); intelligence, education, and skills (e.g., smart, college-educated, communication skills); marital status (e.g., single, family man); political orientation (e.g., liberal, republican); and race and ethnicity (e.g., black, ethnic). Their finding showed that to test whether the gender-type and prestige/intelligence dimensions are orthogonal or related, an oblimin rotation was performed. The correlation between the first two factors using the oblique rotation was only .03, indicating that these two dimensions are independent of each other (none of the four factors were significantly correlated with each other). The ability to multitask surely indicates a type of intelligence, and an ability to reason through processes.

1.4 Logic

Heilman (2001) clarifies the underlying gender stereotyping premises. She states that men and women are thought to differ in achievement-oriented traits, often referred to as agentic, and service-oriented-traits, often referred to as communal. She identifies two aspects of stereotyping, namely descriptive and prescriptive. She explains that the descriptive aspect of gender bias affects stereotyping due to the discrepancy between the stereotypes conception of women as a group and the level of functioning which is perceived to be necessary. Such predispositions of women's abilities negate their competencies, either through devaluing their accomplishments, or through shifting recognition of achievements. The prescriptive aspect of gender stereotypes dictates

not what women are like, but rather, what women should be like. Biernat and Feugen (2001) claim that gender stereotyping may prompt lower minimum standards yet higher confirmatory standards for women than men. They maintain that men are perceived to be more competent than women, however, they quote research from Linehan and Seifert (1983) proving that assertive women are perceived more favourably than assertive men. Boldry, Wood and Kashy (2001) further discuss the intellectual gender stereotyping by arguing that men are typically believed to make decisions more easily, and to be more independent, self confident, competitive and leader-like than the typical woman, who is perceived to be more helpful, kind, gentle and emotionally expressive. When analysing gender stereotypes, the research of Antal and Izraeli (1993) stated that probably the most important hurdle for women in management in all industrialised countries is the persistent stereotype that associates management with being male (Schein, 2001 p. 63). Heilman (2001) states that gender stereotyping can derail even the most competent woman's ascent to the top. Eagly and Steffen (1986) agree with this declaration, and state that if a women adds home-maker to her employment, she is believed to have less of the selfishness and concern with others that are stereotypically associated with home-makers, but not more of the self-assertiveness and concern with mastery that are associated with full time employed women. Loss of communion is not accompanied by a gain in agency.

Gardner's (1993, p. 241) concept of interpersonal intelligence refers to understanding "the behaviour, thoughts and feelings of others." Bennett (1996) conducted a study analysing self-perceptions of intelligence. His study concluded that men made higher self-estimates of IQ than the women did, and fathers were viewed by the participants as intellectually superior to mothers. In considering interpersonal intelligence, however, as was predicted, men did not self-attribute higher levels of ability than women did, and mothers were perceived to be superior to fathers. Research has shown, however, that there is no significant difference in the intelligence levels between men and women (Borsboom, Mellenbergh, & van Heerden, 2002; Thagard, 2005; Hoover, 1998).

In a study analysing the use of influence in close relationships, Orina, Wood and Simpson (2001) discovered that women seek change more than men do; they use coercion more than men, whereas men use more logic and reasoning than women.

Women are renowned for their emotional expressiveness, sometimes to the extent that feeling overrides logic (Whalley, 2005).

1.5 Emotions

Women and their emotions are a continual source of discussion. Mirowsky and Ross (1995) state that women report greater distress than men, yet their study strives to ascertain if women genuinely experience greater distress, suggesting a heavier burden of hardship and constraint, or whether they merely report the feelings in standard indexes more frequently. Finally they analyse whether women simply discuss their emotions more freely, therefore giving the impression of being more emotional. Their study demonstrated that men keep emotions to themselves more than women do, and that women express emotions more easily than men. Their results contradict the idea that the sex difference in distress would diminish if the indexes of distress contained more items that tap anger. Their study showed that when adjusting for emotional reserve and expressiveness, women genuinely experience anger more often than men, as they do sadness, anxiety, malaise, and aches. Women reported feeling happy as often as men did, yet adjusting for emotional expressiveness revealed a negative correlation of being female and happiness. Overall, the study showed that women experience distress about 30 percent more often than men. This study correlates with that of Heise and Calhan's (1995) study of emotional norms in interpersonal events, which demonstrated that although reactive norms varied by gender in about one-fifth of the events, on the whole, females were more disposed to emote with somewhat more displeasure, arousal, and vulnerability than males.

Montini (1996) conducted a study analysing the belief that women are more emotional than men, with specific reference to legislation regarding informed consent. She states that this social belief shaped the political strategies activists adopted and initially contributed to their effectiveness; however, their opponents claimed that the women activists should be dismissed because their emotionalism made them irrational. The lower rates of schizophrenia and other hinds of psychopathology experienced by premenopausal women may be partially attributable to oestrogen (Seeman, 1997). The constant fluctuations of estrogens in women's bloodstreams, however, may contribute to other types of mental illness. Seeman explains that since one of estradiol's functions is to neutralize the effects of stress hormones, its repeated

absence may predispose women to anxiety disorders. She states that: "It's possible that the cyclic withdrawal of progestins and oestrogen `kindles' nerve tissues, makes them more reactive and susceptible to anxiety states." Research indicates however, that oestrogen replacement therapy can restore to postmenopausal women many of the natural advantages of being born female. The impact of premenstrual syndrome (PMS) within the work environment can range from mild concentration lapses and mood swings, to physical incapacity to perform work related functions and absenteeism (Markens, 1996; Borenstein, & Bonnie, 2004; Robinson, & Swindle, 2000). Therefore physical factors can contribute to the emotional states experienced by woman.

Barrett, Robin, Pietromonaco, and Eyssell, (1998) analysed gender differences regarding emotions and their relationship to the social context. They further addressed differences between global, retrospective, and on-line, momentary self-descriptions of emotional experience and expression. This study concluded that there are specific limitations to the conviction that women are the "more emotional" sex. Contrary to this, McConatha, Leone and Armstrong (1997) state that their research results in evaluating sex differences in emotional control, women scored as more emotionally expressive than men. Further to this, they also suggest that the control of emotions increases with age, which is also consistent with previous research. Wharton and Erickson (1995) conducted a study of female hospital workers, examining the relationship between women's emotions and work. They found that performance of emotional work within the family has negative consequences for women's job-related well-being. However, they discovered that women who perform some emotional labour on the job are more likely than other women to perform family emotional work. They conclude that job-related well-being of women is less influenced by performance of emotional labour at work than it is by women's and their partners' involvement in family emotion work.

1.5.1. Expression of emotion.

Women also seem to have a stronger sense in the interpretation and identification with emotions. In Bonebright, Thompson and Ledger's (1996) study of gender stereotypes of expression and identification of the vocal effect, they found that females identified fear, happiness, and sadness better than males. Male actors' portrayals were identified

better than female actors' portrayals of anger and fear. Female actors received higher identification rates than male actors for portrayals of happiness. They conclude that partial support for the general hypothesis that there is behavioural evidence of stereotypic gender differences for vocal affect was obtained.

Thayer and Johnsen (2000) conducted a study determining recognition errors in affective judgement of facial emotional expressions. The results showed that both males and females emotional displays could be correctly classified, however, females had a higher rate of correct classification where males were more likely to have difficulty distinguishing one emotion from another. In this study, the female participants rated emotions identically regardless of whether the emotion was displayed by a male or female face. Culture has an impact on the identification of emotions. Mesquita and Frijda (1992) analysed the effect of culture on emotional recognition. They conclude that cultural differences in emotions appear to be due to differences in event types or schemas, in culture-specific appraisal propensities, in behaviour repertoires, and in regulation processes. They discover that the differences in classification of emotion words sometimes reflect true emotion differences yet they may also just result from differences in which the emotion-process phase serves as the basis for categorization.

Mental health is the emotional and spiritual resilience, which enables us to enjoy life and to survive pain, disappointment and sadness. It is a positive sense of well-being and an underlying belief in our own and others' dignity and worth." (Health Education Authority 1997 cited in Weisen, 2004). Weisen states that the term emotional health, used in the social sector, is defined as "the part of our overall health concerned with the way we think and feel." It refers to our sense of well-being and our ability to cope with life events. Weisen states that emotional health is about our ability to acknowledge our own emotions as well as those of others. Emotions and emotional health is a factor of considerable consideration as emotions impact productivity, relationships, creativity and achievements (Weisen, 2004).

1.6 Competition between women

Campbell (2004) states that initial research (Gilligan, 1982; Goodwin, 1980; Lever, 1976) found that girls tended to avoid competition in favour of tactics that diffuse

conflict and preserve interpersonal harmony. She continues that women have a preference for indirect strategies as a result of gender role prescription. She claims that women's direct aggression is seen as an aberration from the female stereotype, so women might seek alternative means of expressing competition, which are perceived to be more acceptable. While the term indirect aggression emphasises the indirect nature of the attack and relational aggression highlights the manipulation of social relationships, both functions come together in the activity of "gossiping," or social evaluation about a person who is not present (Eder, & Enke, 1991 cited in Campbell, 2004). Campbell concludes that female competition, once a politically taboo subject, assumes central theoretical importance in evolutionary psychology. She argues that all animals must compete when resources are scarce and that includes women. Women manifestly have the ability to detect rivals and to employ a variety of tactics to place themselves at an advantage over them. She states that the twin questions which vex traditional psychology are how to explain women's lesser aggression relative to men and how to offer an account of the circumstances under which women can and do use aggression.

Kraus and Yonay (2000) argue that within male-dominated occupations the competition between women and men is weaker, and therefore men have a smaller incentive to discriminate against women. Their findings show that the gender gap in authority is larger in female-dominated occupations, where women have the highest chances to have authority when they work in male occupations; men have similar chances, no matter in which type of occupation they are employed. Harris (1997) argues that the negotiation of separation and rapprochement; anxieties about aggression's meanings; and the power of envy in identifications and object connections impact on women's experience of their own aggression. He states that various developmental difficulties, to which girls are more susceptible than boys, leave women more burdened by omnipotence and less able to easily distinguish different forms of aggression. Keller and Moglen (1987) state that the issues of competition between women are a secretive and underlying issue, which is carefully guarded and rarely discussed. In Joseph's (1985) analysis on the matter, he claims that his results indicate that a large number of females are highly critical of other women, particularly attractive ones, and are highly concerned about their own appearance in relation to other women.

Tauer and Harackiewicz (1999) quote previous research as documenting that women are less competitive than men (Gill, Williams, Dowd, & Beaudion, 1996; Spence, & Helmreich, 1983). Their finding contradicts this previous research. They state that the effect of competition on intrinsic motivation is moderated by achievement orientation. They conclude that in their study, females enjoyed and responded more to activities, which entailed competition, than men did. The concern with women embracing the rivalry engaged in competition lies in the possibility of women losing their intrinsic natures and styles of operation, and instead, adopting a contrived approach, which they believe may enhance their achievement, yet reduces their innate manner.

1.7 The masculine woman

Brunner and Costello (2003) state that admired media such as Time, Management Today, and Psychology Today have all featured stories concerning bully pervasiveness. Brunner and Costello site Keashly and Jagatic (2000) and Namie and Namie (2000) research that 21% of workers may have been targeted directly by office bullies. Brunner et al further state that men and women are equally responsible for the bullying behaviour. Namie and Namie, (cited in Brunner and Costello, 2003) note that women bullies target women employees more often than they target males.

Valian (1999) contends that the glass ceiling continues to be held up, in part, by gender schemas: those stereotypes and biases learned in childhood and that perpetuate into adulthood and consequently into the workplace. The gender schema for men includes "being capable of independent, autonomous action…assertive, instrumental, and task-oriented" (Valian, p.13). For women, the schema is different and includes "being nurturant, expressive, communal, and concerned about others" (Valian, p.13.). Although both genders demonstrate all of the behavioural traits to an extent, men present more of the masculine traits and women, more of the feminine (Valian). The norms of organizations are defined in masculine terms, and "feminine attributes are valued only in the most marginal sense" Ely and Meyerson, (cited in Brunner & Costello, 2003). Organizations have established these stereotypical male characteristics such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, and autonomy as the requirement for success. These leadership traits have become legitimized, though tacit acceptance as guides for future leader evaluation. Women who plan advancement up

the corporate ladder may believe in a demonstration of the male leadership traits and show a willingness to use them, rather than embracing the feminine characteristics that could balance the historical male hierarchical model. Feminine traits, skills, qualifications, and accomplishments are undervalued in a masculine system. Certain women may feel a greater need to demean other women in order to protect the little power base they have already achieved (Ely & Meyerson, 2000 cited in Brunner et al, 2003). Through bully methods, women supervisors and managers may provide organizations with the underhanded behaviors that keep competent women from being noticed and promoted based on their merits. Sitterly (2001) states that businesses need the values that women have been socialized to provide. The values of caring, intuition and consideration for the world as a whole are transforming organizations. She refers to John Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene's *Megatrends 2000: Ten Directions for the 1990's research*, in which they stated "to be a leader in business today, it is no longer an advantage to have been socialized as male."

Rosener (1990) in "Ways Women Lead" states that the first female executives, because they were breaking new ground, adhered to many of the "rules" of conduct" that spelled success for men. The second wave of women are making their way into top management, not by adopting the style and habits that have proved successful for men but by drawing on the skills and attitudes they developed from their shared experience as women. These second-generation managerial women are drawing on what is unique to their socialization as women and creating a different path to the top. They are seeking and finding opportunities in fast-changing and growing organizations to show that they can achieve results in a different way. They are succeeding because of, rather than in spite of, certain characteristics generally considered to be feminine and inappropriate in leaders. Rosener states that the women's success shows that a nontraditional leadership style is well suited to the conditions of some work environments and can increase an organization's chances of surviving in an uncertain world. It supports the belief that there is strength in a diversity of leadership styles.

Research into female international managers showed that, in fact, gender was not an issue in host countries. When a woman enters a new country, her colleagues (and/or from headquarters) first see her as "foreign." She is often presented as an "expert",

may be highly respected as "the new boss", and even considered perhaps, "unusual" compared to the host national's view on women. Frequently, these labels appease the minds of host nationals and collectively seem to trump her being "female." Women's experiences in global companies are also significantly affected by their roles in their families. Dual career concerns are assumed to be more common for female managers (and their husbands) than males ones (and their wives). Partner satisfaction and overall family concerns have consistently been documented as some of the key triggers of assignment failure; it's likely that this is especially true for women expatriates.

Copeland and Meckman (2005) state that sociologists have established that people who have long experience in one-down, low-power relationships (for example, company subordinates, racial minorities, children, and…women) tend to hone their skills at reading nonverbal cues and at developing and maintaining harmonious group relations. Psychologists describe women as tending to live "in relation," that is, to value their social networks and personal relationships, and to consider their relation to others as an important component of their identity. In the global business world, the kinds of hubs, or networks, that women build are often more functional than traditional hierarchies. Women who can help build and support these hubs not only are better adjusted themselves, but they also help build the networks in the office and become an invaluable asset to a company. They are better prepared as role models and therefore mentors for those following in their footsteps.

Many factors may preclude entry into male dominated professions, such as the fear of failure; fear of being bullied by men who may feel threatened by women especially in terms of their masculinity in fields like engineering; physical strength constraints in heavy lifting work; practical constraints of being a women in unsafe areas in the South African crime situation and finally the effect of pregnancy on work, maternity leave, and motherhood on the likelihood of employment or promotion, may all play a role in diminishing the female asset in a working environment.

The information regarding gender specific talents and traits leads to the question: Are there industry / gender specific predictors of success?

Dependant on what these predictors, if they exist prove to be, this may lead to the subquestions:

1. Do women necessarily have to emulate men in order to succeed in a male dominated industry or can women herself be celebrated?

2. Are women bringing feminine traits into male dominated industries?

3. Alternatively are the traits these women use inherently traditionally masculine?

4. Are these traits part of the person's character or did they have to learn them?

1.8 Womanism

Ferree and Mueller (2002, p. 3) define feminism "as efforts to challenge and change gender relations that subordinate women to men." Haines and Hemphill (1997 p.123) elaborate that feminism includes the "principle that women should have political, economic and social rights equal to those of men." Ali, Coate and Goro (2002); Barsky (1992); Bryson (2002); Johnson (1995) Ritzer (2000); Segal (1999); and Zaleswki (2000) (as cited by Ngwainmbi 2004, p. 94-95) summarise these definitions by stating that:

> "In its narrowest sense, feminism is a complex set of political ideologies used by the women's movement to advance the cause of women's equality and put an end to sexist theory and the practice of social oppression. In a broader and deeper sense, feminism is defined as a variety of interrelated frameworks used to observe, analyse and interpret the complex ways in which the social reality of gender is constructed, enforced and manifested from the largest institutional settings to the details of people's daily lives which includes feminist scholarship."

Womanism embodies the poise, self-belief and buoyancy, which formulates the exceptionalness which women embody and which makes them distinct.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory has been utilised several times, yielding the same test results that people have a tendency to attribute particular leadership qualities and issue skills based on sex (Hoffman, & Fidell, 1979; Bem, 1974; Powell, & Butterfield, 1979). By utilising interpersonal talents and relationship building abilities, women are

able to create a sense of belonging and ownership within the corporate environment. These skills should also enhance communication and effective information transfer. Intuition assists in problem diagnosis and in relationship development. A sense of empathy and individual attention may enhance personal development and goal attainment. Further to this, a women's ability to identify the expression of emotions more easily and accurately than men, may assist in building people. The ability to multitask enhances productivity and performance. There is the possibility of loss of focus, yet the ability to perform multiple tasks simultaneously, encourages output. Women's intelligence levels and ability to think logically has been proven to be on a par with men. Despite stereotypes, the only potential to disrupt this flow of logic, may be the tendency for women to emote more easily than men. Women's emotions may interfere with their progression and development. Emotions may become a deciding factor in a competitive environment, where women have begun to enjoy and respond to competition. The fact that women used to hide their competitive streaks and compete in a verbal manner, is also a development which may impact on more women entering into business arenas.

The concept of women bringing new value to economic circles does not degrade the role of men. It highlights the fact that women operate differently and will bring new ways of functioning to existing environments. Women are entering many new spheres of society and therefore it can only be beneficial to identify the value, which they may create. Booysen (2001) states that male South African managers focus on performance, competition and winning, domination, control, and directive leadership. She concludes that men practice leadership as a series of social transactions. Contrary to this, her research demonstrated that female South African managers emphasise collaboration, participation, intuition, empowerment, and empathy.

The female asset is not professed to be better or more appropriate than the male asset, rather that women will bring a multitude of different talents and perspectives into a traditionally male dominated milieu. It is acknowledged that the introduction of a new energy will create changes, some of which may not be positive, and some of which may take a substantial amount of time until a new form of normality settles. The endorsement and preparation for change should enhance the excitement experienced, by those who will be most directly affected by it. The implementation of the

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advantages women may bring to existing environments will need to be executed through a shift in socialisation through all levels and generations of society.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIALIZATION

"My definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular."
Adlai E. Stevenson Jr. (Detroit speech, 7 October 1952 (in Martin, 1976, p. 717))

Society functions within certain norms, customs and boundaries, which have developed and progressed over time. In order to understand the existing structure, and prescribed gender roles, in particular, it is necessary to analyse how these structures evolved. Aronson (2004 p. 347) states that by understanding social phenomena, social psychologists may be able to help people understand the processes and consequences involved and possibly refrain from performing a particular behaviour when they themselves decide it is dysfunctional.

The formation of society and its practices including culture (Berger, & Luckmann, 1966; Schein, 1992; Held, 1993; Inglehart, 1989), ideology and values (Rokeach, 1979), religion (Berger, 1967; Pargament, 1997; Wilson 1984), norms (Kandori, 1992; Nadelmann, 1990; Elster, 1989), laws (Suttin, 2001; Turner, 2003) and practices (Jessor, 1968; Castells, 1996) will be discussed.

Luhmann (1997) defines society as a functionally differentiated system that generates social classes as a useless by-product of the selective operations of its function systems. This definition is simplistic when one considers the complexities and intricacies of any given society and the wide variations both within and between societies. It is much more appropriate to define society as a social system consisting of various groups of people representing multiple cultures and belief systems. The Oxford English Dictionary defines society as the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community and a particular community of people living in a country or region, and having shared customs, laws, and organizations (Society, 1984, Oxford English Dictionary).

1.1 Sociology

Sociology is the study of society and human social action. The existence of sociology as a discipline of study bears testimony to the wealth of knowledge and complexity involved in analysing society. Society implements rules and processes to organise

people as individuals as well as members of associations and institutions. There are a multitude of dimensions constructing a society, for instance social stratifictaion, race divisions, gender constructions and inequalities, laws and politics. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was the initiator of sociology and scientific ethics. He founded the Religion of Humanity, a non-theistic religion. In the 19th centuary the work of Auguste Comte, as the father of sociology, was expanded upon and social evolutionism theory, social cycle theory and the Maxist historical materialism theory were developed (Comte, & Lenze, 1974). These classical theories have now been further developed and sociologists now operate through multineal theories of evolution, such as neoevolutionism, sociobiology, theory of modernism, and theory of post-industrial society, or the historical sociology and theory of subjectivity and creation of society (Macionis, 2004). When analysing society's impact on behaviour, factors such as values, thought processes and religion come into play.

Aronson (2004) discusses the concept of conformity. It is important to consider this concept because norms, by nature, represent and therefore define that which is normal or normality, and therefore the largely accepted ways of thinking and behaviour within any given society. They form the rule rather than the exception. The average member of a given society tends not to notice, analyse or question many norms that govern his or her existence. Aronson (p.13) considers society's perspectives of conformity and nonconformity. He argues that society in general, prefers conformists to nonconformists. Nonconformists tend to be praised long after their "rebelious" actions, yet at the time, society tends to criticise and succumb to groupthink tendancies. So, for instance, should it be unusual for a women to partake in a certain working environment, society by nature, will criticise her actions, as dissenting. By considering this social pressure as an influence of behaviour, Aronson discusses the need for compliance and an increase in personal identification as underlying factors driving the need to conform. Many of the motivational needs theories focus on the human need to belong, such as Maslow's hierarchy of needs (social needs), McClelland's need for affiliation; and Adlefer's ERG Theory (Existence, relatedness, growth) where relatedness refers to the need for interpersonal interactions and relationships, including the need for esteem from external sources, outside the self.

Hegemony is the dominance of one group over others (Laclau, & Mouffe, 2001). Very often, cultural perspectives become distorted to favour the dominant group. The cultural control that hegemony asserts affects commonplace patterns of thought (Laclau & Mouffe). Hegemony impacts on how new ideas are rejected or become naturalized in a process that subtly alters notions of common sense and common practice in a given society. Hegemony results in the empowerment of certain cultural beliefs, values, and practices to the submersion and partial exclusion of others (Lears, 1985). Often hegemony influences the perspective of history, for instance, the official history of communism, in terms of re-writing history, erasing people's names and images from official state photos, would fall into the arena of cultural hegemony. In feudal societies, the dominant ideology took religious forms, such as Christianity (Corrigan, 1977). This thought process explained nature and society by means of traditional teachings, formalised authority and faith. In capitalist societies, the dominant ideology took a secular form, using property rights as a foundation of logic (Corrigan). The property rights were extended to rights in general, and other iterations of a fundamental individualism. This may also include representative democracy. The relevance of hegemony lies in the principle that once one group adopts the behaviour and beliefs of domineering over women, dictating that women should perform certain roles and behave in a specific way, this dominant group influences the thought processes and actions of other groups, until the original behaviour becomes the norm.

Lusk and Olivier (1974) define a personal value system as a relatively permanent, perceptual framework, which shapes and influences the general nature of an individual's behaviour. Values are similar to attitudes, but they are more ingrained, permanent and stable in nature. Values steer or guide a person, on the basis of internally chosen options. This implies the conscious prioritising of different behavioural options which are believed to be possible for the individual. Wine and Napier (1992) state that while moral values may be similar across cultures (either in different countries or among people within a single country), their application (or ethics) to specific situations may vary. Ethics is the systematic application of moral principles to concrete problems.

Aronson (2004) illustrates that in order to make sense of the world, it is natural to look for consistency, consensus and/or distinctiveness of other's actions. He

introduces the concept of judgemental heuristics, which he defines as a mental shortcut or a rule that enables us to problem solve quickly. He explains that the representative heuristic is used to form impressions which guide thought and behaviour. Gender stereotypes would fall into this category. In order to assist us in organising information and making decisions, our brains categorise data and create social stereotypes. Aronson emphasises that our stereotypes influence our perceptions and judgements in situations where we try to interpret ambiguous information. The inaccurate stereotypes create a false sense of rationality because they conform to our schemas or ways we understand the world. The stereotypes prevail in these situations even in the absence of solid data. While using the foundational belief that human cognition tends to be conservative, Aronson professes that we try to preserve that which is already established, to thereby maintain our existing knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes. With this is mind, there is a need to understand the difficulty from societies' perspective of changing the mindset of 'male professions' and 'female professions'.

When discussing the action of behaving in a manner, which is incongruent with societies expectations or outlook, there is a need to understand the interplay between the person performing the action, and the observer. Aronson (2004) speaks of the actor-observer bias. He draws on Storm's experiment in which two people, an actor and an observer, stood speaking to one another. After the interaction, the two people watched their interaction. The results showed that the actors explain their behaviour in terms of the situation; however, the observer explained the actor's behaviour in terms of the actor's personality dispositions. This experiment is interesting and relevant because of the potential application where women break through societies' concepts of how they should behave and in what professional directions they should assert themselves. Society would explain these women's behaviour in terms of their personality traits. However, the women would site a circumstance or situation, which lead to their behaviour.

People's behaviour is impacted upon by their beliefs that they should behave in a certain way. Badger (1981) examines evidence for discrepancy in mathematics performance between boys and girls. He discusses arguments, which suggest that spatial ability is a primary genetic factor in mathematical achievement; he also

analyses arguments based on social conditioning. Badger concludes that cultural and social attitudes are the likely factors in girls' mathematical performance. Walkerdine (1998) who created a special study unit for girls to learn mathematics, stated that the question of girls' attainment in mathematics is met with every kind of myth, false 'evidence', and theorizing about the gendered body and the gendered mind. Her mathematical unit for girls has proven repeatedly that the gender stereotyping about female mathematical abilities is unfounded. Walkerdine maintains that the fundamental impact on a girl's self efficacy levels in terms of her mathematical abilities is created by gender stereotyping in nursery school. She follows the path of development through the school years, and includes the impression a mother makes on her daughter. Her analysis demonstrates that there is a certain stage at the start of high school when girls' maths marks start to drop. Abrahams & Ahlbrand (2002), who analyse the concept of gender, gender roles and who define these roles, echo Walkerdine's thinking, when they state that the best defence against stereotypes is to know and like yourself.

The influence which one person's belief or attitude can have on another person's decisions, cannot be underestimated. It is often through the persuasive beliefs of one individual that a movement starts to swirl. A strong vehicle of influence and persuasion in an assemblage capacity is formalised religion and mutual belief systems. The impact of various religions orientations on society and individuals is discussed below.

1.2 Religious beliefs

Religion is a system of social coherence based on a common group of beliefs or attitudes concerning an object, person, unseen being, or system of thought considered to be supernatural, sacred, divine or highest truth, and the moral codes, practices, values, institutions, and rituals associated with such belief or system of thought (Wipikedia online Dictionary). It is sometimes used interchangeably with "faith" or "belief system", but is more socially defined than that of personal convictions (Kass, Friedman, Leserman, Zuttermeister, & Benson, 1991). "Organized religion" generally refers to an organization of people supporting the exercise of a certain religion with a prescribed set of beliefs.

When discussing any aspect of religion, the concept of genderising spiritual deity or supernatural powers, becomes an issue for discussion. As a universal convention 'god' is referred to in the male denomination. The feminist philosopher Mary Daly (1985) stated that "if God is male, then the male is God." This lays the foundation for a perception of the role of women within many Western religious sectors. This being said, it is necessary to observe that in Asian, African, Native American cultures, Egypt, India, Greece, Scandinavia, and in the British Isles many of the myths and ancient traditions encompass various female and male images of worship or reverence. The Abrahamic faiths or "religions of the book" such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, often see women struggling to identify with the traditional role of woman within the modern and post-modern context. For the purposes of this paper, the focus will remain on these three religious because they are the most prominent in South Africa.

In 1971 America saw the first consciousness-raising groups formed (Bargad, & Hyde, 1991). These groups instigated women speaking aloud about their personal thoughts and feelings. They discussed work, motherhood, sexuality, menstruation, lesbianism, childhood, and men (Bargad & Hyde). These discussions encouraged a sharing of insights from which a new vision of power and politics emerged. One of the foundational insight of these groups was that one's own experience should be trusted, so many women began forming small groups to discuss their dreams, intuitions, and spiritual odysseys, believing that these also contained truths (Bargad & Hyde). Various groups studied a variety of female-related topics such as women's ideas of power in ancient civilizations; history of religious traditions; and women-centred religions outside the mainstream. One of the most fundamental outcomes of the consciousness-raising group discussions was the consensus that women are often assigned the role of giving, which is not acknowledged as a authentic activity and is often chastised, devalued, and denied, leaving women feeling useless. The women in these groups not only learned new skills, but also apprehended a possible new self-definition that moved beyond a "woman's proper place." The essence of feminist consciousness is this "apprehension of possibilities" (Bartky, 1977, p.25). Consciousness-raising groups resulted in the origination of the women's spirituality movement commencing from these insights gained.

1.2.1 Religious Analysis.

Most major religions assume a hierarchy configuration. Women's roles within religious sectors and society as a whole have often been prescribed by the cycles of nature, which affect them, such as childbirth and menstruation (Peradotto, & Sullivan, 1984). The monotheistic religions, which dominate our time, all contain texts stipulating rituals, which denigrate women and their bodies. For instance, daily, in their morning prayers, male Jews say thanks "for not making me a woman." In Islamic Shari'a jurisprudence two female witnesses are needed to equal one male witness and the New Testament misogynistic contempt for women is made obvious in Corinthians 14:34-36, which says, "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." As evolution within religious sects is slow, prominent women activists such as the Christian feminist writer Rosemary Radford Reuther, Jewish feminist writer Judith Plaskow and Moroccan Islamic sociologist Fatima Mernissi have initiated phenomenal progressions in terms of a more inclusive and clearer religious understanding of the women's role within each faction.

Official positions, within religious institutions, such as a female priest, imam or rabbi is a debate within denomination. Roman Catholic women may not become priests; Orthodox Jewish women cannot be rabbis; Conservative Jewish women are able to enter the rabbinate. The first recorded female Rabbi was Regina Jonas who was ordained in 1930 in Berlin. Episcopal women have also recently been allowed to practice as priests and bishops. There is controversy among Muslims on the circumstances in which women may act as Imams and lead a congregation in Salat (prayer). Three of the four Sunni schools, as well as many Shia, maintain that a woman may lead a congregation consisting of women alone in prayer, although the Maliki school forbids this (Women led prayer initiative). According to all existing traditional schools of Islam, a woman may not lead a mixed gender congregation in Salat (Women led prayer initiative). There have been several reformations within traditional religious ceremonies, for example women are holding lay masses in Catholicism; women have formed prayer groups in Islam; and Jewish women have

created their own prayer books, based on the traditional texts. The discussion of woman's role within religion begins with an analysis of Judaism.

1.2.1.1. Women's role in Judaism.

Within Judaism, the role of women is delineated by the Hebrew Bible, Talmud (oral law), tradition and by cultural factors. The fifth commandment in Jewish law is to "Honour thy mother and thy father." When looking at the 10 commandments, the first 5 commandments refer to a person's relationship with God, the next 5 refer to a person's relationship with another person. The reason given for the 5th commandment of honouring parents being classed with the laws pertaining to God is that in Jewish law, it is believed that there are 3 equal partners in the creation of each child: man, woman and God. Despite this belief and honouring of the mother, there are many spheres within the halacha (Jewish law) which are very discriminatory towards women.

In Jewish law women cannot inherit the family estate. In the originally observed law, the female members of the family were considered part of the estate and as remote from the legal personality of an heir as the slave. Whereas by Mosaic enactment the daughters were admitted to succession in the event of no male issue remained, the wife was not recognized as heir even in such conditions. The Biblical rules of inheritance are outlined in Numbers 27:1-11. A wife is given no share in her husband's estate, while he is her first heir, even before her sons. A daughter can inherit only if no male heirs exist. A mother is not an heir at all while the father is. Widows and daughters, in case male children remained, were at the mercy of the male heirs for provision. That is why widows and orphan girls were among the most destitute members of the Jewish society. Mothers do not inherit at all from their children while fathers do. The Old Testament does have some injunctions on how to distribute the property of a man among his sons from different wives (Deut. 22:7).

Due to the fact that the Old Testament recognized no inheritance rights to a widow, she were among the most susceptible of the Jewish population. Male relatives who inherited all of her deceased husband's estate were bound to provide for her from that estate. However, she had no means of ensuring this provision was implemented and lived on the compassion of others. Therefore, widows were among the lowest classes

in ancient Israel and widowhood was considered a symbol of great degradation (Isaiah 54:4). According to Genesis 38, a childless widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother, even if he is already married, so that he could produce offspring for his dead brother, thus ensuring his brother's name would not die out. The widow's consent to this marriage was not required. She was treated as part of her deceased husband's property whose main function is to ensure her husband's posterity. If the brother was too young to marry, the widow had to wait until he came of age. Only if the deceased husband's brother refused to marry her, was she free to marry any man of her choice.

Widows and divorced women were so looked down upon in the Biblical tradition that the high priest could not marry a widow, a divorced woman, or a prostitute:
"The woman he (the high priest) marries must be a virgin. He must not marry a widow, a divorced woman, or a woman defiled by prostitution, but only a virgin from his own people, so he will not defile his offspring among his people" (Lev. 21:13-15). In Israel today, a descendant of the Cohen caste (the high priests of the days of the Temple) cannot marry a divorcee, a widow, or a prostitute. According to Jewish law, a woman who has been widowed three times with all the three husbands dying of natural causes is considered 'fatal' and forbidden to marry again.

As far as a women's role within marital laws are concerned, a husband is legally entitled to divorce his wife, should she burn his dinner. However, on the other side, a woman is legally entitled to divorce her husband should he not satisfy her sexually. In Jewish law in order to obtain a divorce, a woman must acquire a 'get' from her husband. Without this 'get' she is not divorced, and may never remarry.

Polygamy is a very ancient practice found in many human societies. The Old Testament and Rabbinic writings frequently indicate the legality of polygamy. For instance, King Solomon is said to have had 700 wives and 300 concubines (Kings 11:3) and King David is also said to have had many wives and concubines (2 Samuel 5:13). The only restriction on polygamy is a ban on taking a wife's sister as a rival wife (Leviticus 18:18). The Talmud advises a maximum of four wives. European Jews continued to practice polygamy until the sixteenth century. Oriental Jews regularly practised polygamy until they arrived in Israel where it is forbidden under

civil law. However, under religious law, which overrides civil law in such cases, it is still permissible.

Married Jewish women cover their heads as a sign of modesty, and to keep their natural beauty for their husbands. Rabbinic law forbids the recitation of blessings or prayers in the presence of a bareheaded married woman since uncovering the woman's hair is considered "nudity." The Jewish woman's failure to cover her head was considered an affront to her modesty. Today, observant married women cover their heads as a sign of modesty. Observant women also uphold a dress code, known as *tzniut* which covers a woman's body, from her angles to her wrists and to her collarbone.

Orthodox Jewish women refrain from contact with their husbands during their menstrual cycles and for a period of 7 clean days after menstruating, and after the birth of a child. This includes indirect contact, so for example, a plate would not be passed directly from woman to man, it would be placed on table first, so that both do not hold on to the object at the same time.

Women are not permitted to serve as witnesses in an Orthodox Court or Beth Din (although they have recently been permitted to serve as *toanot* (advocates) in these courts). There are exceptions to this law and it is under increasing scrutiny. Within the Talmud women are excluded from education, as opposed to men who are specifically commanded to gain an understanding of the laws. Women are required to know the lawful running of a Jewish home.

Jewish women, on the whole, may not feel discriminated against, however, there is always a progressive sect which is continually advancing the standing of women within communities. Although the religious foundations of Judaism and Christianity vary, many of the underlying principles pertaining to the role of women are similar.

1.2.1.2. Women's role in Christianity.

The impression given by the New Testament is almost as if kind treatment of mothers would be an impediment on the way to God. According to the New Testament, a man cannot become a good Christian worthy of becoming a disciple of Christ unless he

distances himself from his mother. It is attributed to Jesus to have said: "If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father and mother, his wife and children, his brothers and sisters - yes, even his own life - he can not be my disciple." The example is given that: "As Jesus was saying these things, a woman in the crowd called out, 'Blessed is the mother who gave you birth and nursed you.' He replied, 'Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and obey it" (Luke 11:27-28).

Both the ecclesiastical and civil laws of Christendom barred daughters from sharing with their brothers in the father's patrimony. Wives were deprived of any inheritance rights. These unjust laws survived till late in the last century.

As far as laws pertaining to polygamy are concerned, the church in Rome banned polygamy in order to conform to the Greco-Roman culture (which prescribed only one legal wife while tolerating concubinage and prostitution). African churches and African Christians often remind their European brothers that the Church's ban on polygamy is a cultural tradition and not an authentic Christian injunction.

Many cultures do not necessarily view polygamy as a sign of women's degradation. Certain African brides, of diverse religious beliefs, would prefer to marry a married man who has already proved himself to be a responsible husband. Some African wives urge their husbands to get a second wife so that they do not feel lonely (Hayase, & Liaw, 1997). A survey of over six thousand women, ranging in age from 15 to 59, conducted in the second largest city in Nigeria showed that 60 percent of these women would be pleased if their husbands took another wife (Qualls, 2006). Only 23% expressed anger at the idea of sharing with another wife. 76% of the women in a survey conducted in Kenya viewed polygamy positively (Hayase & Liaw). In a survey undertaken in rural Kenya, 25 out of 27 women considered polygamy to be better than monogamy (Hayase & Liaw). If the co-wives cooperate with one another, it is often felt that polygamy can be a happy and beneficial experience. Certain priests have concluded that polygamy, as ideally practiced, is more Christian than divorce and remarriage as far as the abandoned wives and children are concerned. Native American Indian tribes used to experience vastly unbalanced gender ratios after wartime losses. Women in these tribes, who in fact enjoyed a fairly high status, accepted polygamy as the best protection against adultery or prostitution. In America,

a few remaining fundamentalist Mormon women practice polygamy as they perceive this to be an ideal way for a woman to have both a career and children since the wives help each other care for the children.

Catholic nuns have been covering their heads for hundreds of years. In the New Testament St Paul made the following statement about the veil:

> "Now I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. Every man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonours his head. And every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonours her head - it is just as though her head were shaved. If a woman does not cover her head, she should have her hair cut off; and if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or shaved off, she should cover her head. A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither was man created for woman, but woman for man. For this reason, and because of the angels, the woman ought to have a sign of authority on her head" (I Corinthians 11:3-10).

According to St. Paul the veil represents a sign of authority of the man, who is the image and glory of God, over the woman who was created from and for man.

Among the laws of the Catholic church, there is a law requiring women to cover their heads in church. Today, in their communities, Amish and the Mennonite women keep themselves veiled. Their church leaders state that "The head covering is a symbol of woman's subjection to the man and to God."

Like Judaism, Christianity places constraints on women, not just physically, but in terms of how they are perceived to be less than men. Consistent with the religious suppression of women, Islam also demonstrates a superiority of men and subordination of women.

1.2.1.3. Women's role in Islam.

In Islam, motherhood is greatly honoured and respected. The Quran places high value on kindness to parents:

"Your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him, And that you be kind to parents. Whether one or both of them attain old age in your life, Say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honour. And out of kindness, lower to them the wing of humility, and say: 'My Lord! bestow on them Your Mercy as they cherished me in childhood (17:23-24)."

Within the Quran there is special reference to the mother's role in giving birth and nursing:

"And We have enjoined on man to be good to his parents: In travail upon travail did his mother bear him and in two years was his weaning. Show gratitude to Me and to your parents (31:14)."

In fact, the Prophet Muhammad illustrates that the mother is respected above the father:

"A man asked the Prophet: 'Whom should I honor most?' The Prophet replied: 'Your mother'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your mother'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your mother!'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your father' (Bukhari and Muslim)."

Women were not, at first (B.C.), discriminated against. The Quran states, "women are the siblings of men" (Dawkins, 2006). As customs evolved, so too did the gender roles and gender role discrimination. Among the Arabs before Islam, inheritance rights were confined exclusively to men. The Quran abolished these customs, giving female relatives inheritance shares: "From what is left by parents and those nearest related there is a share for men and a share for women, whether the property be small or large - a determinate share" (4:7). The division of inheritance is a vast subject with an enormous amount of details (4:7,11,12,176). The general rule is that the female share is half the male's share, except the cases in which the mother receives equal share to that of the father. Islam encourages marriage, discourages divorce, and does not regard celibacy as a virtue. Therefore, in a truly Islamic society, family life is the norm and single life is the rare exception.

The Islamic wedding ceremony is performed without the bride being present. She is represented by a male relative, usually her father or brother. Women from the groom's side do not attend the function and women are considered to have sinned should they attend a wedding reception where there is mixing between men and women (Weddings, n.d., Islam question and answers).

Similar to Jewish traditions, the Arabs before Islam had similar practices. The widow was considered a part of her husband's property to be inherited by his male heirs and she was, usually, given in marriage to the deceased man's eldest son from another wife. Widows and divorcees have the freedom to marry whomever they choose. There is no stigma attached to divorce or widowhood in the Quran:

"When you divorce women and they fulfil their terms (three menstruation periods) either take them back on equitable terms or set them free on equitable terms; But do not take them back to injure them or to take undue advantage, If anyone does that, he wrongs his own soul. Do not treat Allah's signs as a jest (2:231)."

"If any of you die and leave widows behind, they shall wait four months and ten days. When they have fulfilled their term, there is no blame on you if they dispose of themselves in a just manner (2:234)."

"Those of you who die and leave widows should bequeath for their widows a year's maintenance and residence. But if they (the widows) leave (the residence) there is no blame on you for what they justly do with themselves (2:240)."

The Quran, too, allows polygamy, but not without restrictions:

"If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two or three or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one (4:3)." The Quran, as opposed to the Bible, limited the maximum number of wives to four, with a specification that the wives be treated equally and justly. In Islam a woman has the right to decline marriage and in terms of polygamy, the first wife has the right to specify that her husband must not marry any other woman as a second wife.

Muslim women who do not register their marriage are subject to the local interpretation of the Islamic divorce procedure. A husband may terminate the

marriage by stating: "I divorce thee" three times. Women in these situations, as well as Hindu marriages which are not registered, may sue only for seduction and expenses incurred for the wedding.

In Islamic law, a husband is completely responsible for all financial responsibilities. This is an area of contention amongst many Islamic women as many of these women want to be successful in a life on their own (Dawkins, 2006). A woman needs to receive an education before she can obtain a job. In order to do this, women must be allowed out of their homes (Goodwin, 1994 as quoted in Dawkins). Dawkins states that women need freedom from their husbands in order to become self-sufficient. Since Islamic women are married at birth, their husbands never allow them an education or self-sufficiency. Marital decisions, which are made on the birth of a daughter, however, are against Islamic law, which states that a woman can reject any potential husband. Urban women usually marry cousins to keep the land in the family's name (Simon, Goldstein, & Wasserstein, 1993 as cited in Dawkins). Women in the country, however, are protected less by their husbands, as they endure so much work. Darwin concludes that due to traditions and family pride, sons are generally preferred to daughters.

The Quran encourages the belief that men and women should lower their gaze and guard their modesty. Women cover their heads, necks and chests "Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty......And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what ordinarily appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms.... (24:30,31)." The veil worn by Islamic women is a source of great controversy amongst Muslim women as well as in the Western world. To many it is seen as a sign of great subservience and subjugation. The Quran states that the veil is fundamental for modesty:
"O Prophet, tell your wives and daughters and the believing women that they should cast their outer garments over their bodies (when abroad) so that they should be known and not molested."

Today, in the Middle East, women are permitted to be educated and receive a degree. This is a significant footstep to the liberation of women in this region. Now women

can accept jobs, proving that husbands are not needed to rely upon. Islamic women are also beginning to enlist in the army.

Religion provides a guideline of ethical and moral behaviour to many societies. However, the practice of spirituality may be a separate issue for some societies, or for religiously focused individuals.

1.2.2 Spirituality

In many cultures females have been denigrated as evil or irrelevant. During the 1960's the image of the witch emerged as a metaphor for a powerful, self-reliant woman, someone willing to rebel and to challenge the dominant culture's ideology. Over time this image has transformed into a negative representation of female evil. In the pamphlet (later compiled into a book) "Witches, Midwives and Nurses: History of Women Healers" written by English and Ehrenreich in 1970, the persecution of women and witches was linked with the rise of the medical profession. The image of a witch often evokes the image of a woman defined by herself, not by men. Briggs (1996) highlights two aspects of early modern witch-hunts. Firstly, that the typical witch was actually a benevolent healer who was condemned by the Church for her activities, and secondly, that the accusers of witchcraft utilized the phenomenon as a punishment to women who challenged and defied 'gender norms', by laying charges against them. Brauner and Brown's (1996) work echoes the sentiment that allegations of witchcraft were designed to send a message about a woman's proper place being in the home. The practice of religion and spirituality has many advantages, in particular, the feeling of belonging and community, which is greatly meaningful to many people.

1.2.3. The benefits of religion.

In South Africa, religion, in particular Christianity, has played a dominant role in bringing women together (Gaitskell, 2002). The more progressive denominations also succeeded in bringing about racial integration. The Christian Women's Movement formed in 1982 under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches was overtly anti-apartheid and faintly feminist in outlook. On the feminist level it asserts: "We are concerned about the church's reluctance to allow women to participate fully in the life of the church. We are recognised as fund-raisers and tea-makers but the

gifts and skills we can bring to policy-making bodies of the church are seldom recognised (Gaitskell)."

The church also embraced the most prolific African women's organisation, the *Manyano*. The Manyano bonded African women in the urban areas drawn from a diversity of tribes giving them an identity manifested in the distinctive uniforms of members, self-confidence and security (Gaitskell, 2002). In the depressed townships where men as the main bread-winners often neither had the means nor the will to take action to aid women's needs, the Manyano served as a welfare pool. It organised stokvels or saving clubs, rotating among members the benefit of the capital accumulated each month to help with such emergencies as payment of school and university fees, down payments and demands from creditors (Gaitskell). Manyanos defended women's right to brew beer in the 1940s, resisted the extension of passes to women in 1913, agitated against the expropriation of African-owned property in the 1950s, and forced removals in 1954, including defending against statutory inferiorisation of African education in 1955 (Gaitskell). The African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) was modelled on the Manyano and were supported by it. The success of the 1956 Pretoria pass demonstration likewise was largely due to Manyano networks.

Where Manyano represented the relatively uneducated, unskilled worker, largely in domestic employment, the Young Women's Christian Association represented the moderately educated and economically more affluent African churchwomen (Gaitskell 2002). Hinduism and Islam have also have inspiring women's groups. Many of these group's interests range from the purely ritualistic and theological (studying of the scriptures), to education and welfare. The Women's Cultural Group, primarily Indian and Muslim in membership, organises lectures, raises funds for welfare services for all races, and has established an educational foundation which provides bursaries for young black women.

The better known, non-church linked, white dominated women's bodies in South Africa include: the National Council of Women, the Housewives League, the Business and Professional Women, the Women's Institute and the Toast Mistresses (Gaitskell, 2002). Most of these groups are affiliates of international organisations.

Society has stereotypes for all sects, which comprise it. Gender stereotypes and discriminations are very relevant in the South African society today. Gender oppression is expressed in socio-cultural traditions and attitudes, many of which are supported and maintained by an ideology which subordinates women. In South Africa, gender discrimination was institutionalised in the laws as well as in many of the tribal customs. The manoeuvring of gender relations has been a fundamental feature of South Africa's transformation.

1.3 Women and the law

In South Africa's history, the mobility of African women had been rigidly controlled. This, together with the plight of women in the rural areas, confounded the migrant labour system. With the creation of the bantustans large numbers of African women were confined to deteriorating rural environments. Many were the sole minders of the elderly, the disabled and the children. Women carried the main load of responsibility for survival and generational reproduction. Nationally, women have the lowest levels of health, education and skills (Stats SA). Women still make up the majority of the unemployed, while those in waged work are channelled into the worst-paid lowest status jobs, either employed as domestic workers or in agricultural work.

1.3.1. Property rights for women.

The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998 with regard to the personal and property rights of married women was a significant breakthrough in women's rights in South Africa. In traditional customary law women were not able to 'own' capital assets, namely, the land and cattle, instead they were the preserve of men. In fact, in tribal traditions, women had the legal capacity of minors. The Act seeks to remedy this situation, however, it is important to understand that a significant adjustment needs to be made in the minds of women who live in tribal traditions, as they still perceive themselves as minors who are incapable of owning property.

1.3.2. Wage equality.

Many of the equality laws that workers accept and presume today were landmark decisions in their time. Schultz and Mwabu (1998) state that South Africa has seen wage inequalities between men and women for a long time. It was a commonly

accepted norm for married women to be paid less than unmarried women and at Wits University, if a female lecturer got married, she was asked to resign her lecturing post (Murray, 1982). Waldfogel (1998) introduces the concept of the family gap. He states that although the gender discrimination in wage differences narrowed consistently between 1980 and 1990, the family gap refers to the wage differential between women with and without children. Despite the fact that education and experience may be contributing factors, Waldfogel states that issues such as maternity leave, mother having to care for children and working hours may have a considerable impact in the wage discrepancy. Although the general perception may be that gender differentiation in terms of wages is outdated, the September 2006 edition of The Economist published an article which cited a study, conducted 7 years ago by a group of female scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, illustrating that senior women professors in the institute's school of science had lower salaries and received fewer resources for research than their male counterparts. They also refer to a recent study conducted in Sweden, indicating that female medical-research scientists had to be twice as good as men to win research grants.

1.3.3. Abortion bill.

The Termination of Pregnancy Bill is one of the most important pieces of health legislation to come before Parliament and one of the most vital laws for female empowerment. The Bill enforced the constitutional right of persons to make decisions concerning reproduction and security in, and control over, their bodies. According to the Bill, the termination of pregnancy can only take place once the woman has given her informed consent. Furthermore, no consent other than hers is needed, unless she is so mentally ill that she can not comprehend what an abortion is, or the results of an abortion, or she is continuously unconscious and therefore unable to consent. A woman is entitled to counselling prior to and post an abortion. The counsellor may not compel her, nor advise or encourage her in terms of her abortion decision. When this Bill was passed, it was emphasised that this Bill did not introduce abortion into South Africa. Abortions were already being carried out, either unlawfully, or lawfully under the 1975 Abortion and Sterilization Act (ANC Government website, n.d.). The Bill instead sought to regulate the existing situation under which in 1996:

- 200,000 abortions took place every year - 2,500 of which were lawful

- 45,000 women were hospitalised with incomplete abortions – 99% of them were black
- 425 women died in hospital every year from septic abortions – 100% of them were black
- 7,000 women became moderately sick, and 6,000 became severely ill because of back-street abortions or inadequate services.

The health service was already bearing a cost of over R18.5m a year to treat women made ill through incomplete abortions. The government decided that the money should be used to fund 88,000 safe abortions instead. The legalising of abortions is one of the greatest achievements for women in terms of South African law.

1.3.4 The South African constitution.

The Constitution expresses the social values of the country, and sets out the configuration of government, the powers and authority of government and rights of the citizens. The Founding Provisions of the 1996 Constitution set out the principles of democracy in South Africa. As the highest law in the land, the Constitution stops each new government from passing contradictory laws which oppose the Constitution. It is the most difficult law to change. For instance, if there is a customary law saying that women can not inherit land from their deceased husbands, and the widow feels this is unfair, the court would examine the customary law and the Constitution. If the court believes that the customary law is in opposition to the right to equality and non-discrimination then it will over-rule the law, and state that it is invalid.

Section 12 of the constitution protects women from abuse. This includes the following rights:

- Not to be put in prison without good reason
- Not to be detained without trial
- To be free from all kinds of violence in both public and private areas
- Not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhuman or degrading way.
- To make decisions about reproduction (having children)
- To have control over our own bodies
- Not to be forced to have medical or scientific experiments done on people

Section 12 also addresses the issue of violence and abuse in the home, it states that everyone has the right to be free from all forms of violence in the home. This right ensures that the government and the police must take measures to prevent domestic violence, for example, abuse of women and children in the home.

The law lays the foundation for acceptable behaviour. In order for the law to be adhered to, it must appeal to a personal sense of right or wrong. This awareness of proper behaviour is reinforced by an individual and community understanding of personal value systems.

1.4 Ideologies and value systems

The Mapp online glossary defines values as the fundamental principles and beliefs that guide a community-driven process (Values, n.d.). These are the central concepts that define how community members aspire to interact. The values provide a basis for action and communicate expectations for community participation. Values build the foundation on which ideologies are constructed. An ideology is an organized collection of ideas (Arnold, Silvester, Patterson, Cooper, Burnes, & Robinson, 2004). The word *ideology* was coined by Count Destutt de Tracy in the late 18th century to define a "science of ideas" (Ideology, n.d. Britannica Online Encyclopaedia). The main purpose behind an ideology is to offer change in society through a normative thought process (what the world *ought* to be). Ideologies tend to be abstract thoughts applied to reality, which have a significant impact on the thoughts and behaviours of a society as a whole. An example of an ideology would be the concept that certain professions are 'men's work' or 'women's work'. Confucianism, literally translated as "The School of the Scholars" or "The Teachings of Confucius" is a Chinese ethical and philosophical system originally developed from the teachings of the early Chinese sage Confucius (Zhang, 2000). It is a cintricate system of moral, social, political, and religious concepts which has had an enormous influence on the Chinese civilization up to the 21st century. Certain Western cultures have considered it to have been the "state religion" of imperial China because of the Chinese government's promotion of Confucist values. The Confucian structure of society delineates that women at every level were to occupy a position lower than men (Gates, 1989). Most Confucians agreed to the subservience of women to men as being natural and proper (Gates).

Simultaneous with this subordination was the observance of honouring a women's position and power as mother and mother-in-law within the family.

Confucianism as observed during the 19th and 20th centuries derives predominantly from the school of the Zhu Xi led Neo-Confucians. Zhu Xi gave Confucianism great passion in the Song and later dynasties (Zhang, 2000). Neo-Confucianism merged Taoist and Buddhist philosophies with existing Confucian ideas to develop a more complete metaphysics than had ever existed (Zhang). Confucian teachings have influenced the thought and behaviour of peoples in China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam for 2,500 years. Female Asian scholars have focused significantly on the examination of Confucian ideology on their history and current status. Scholar Xiao Ma has said: "Women always have been fighting for a way out of the Confucian shadows (Brislin, Wang, Williams, Chao, & Wang, 2000)."

During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.) Confucianism was adopted as the government's state doctrine, with his philosophies becoming part of the official education system (Gates, 1989). It was during this period that the discrimination and subordination of women began to be enacted. The dynasties that followed served to further implement Neoconfucian elucidations and reinforced male authority and patrilineal customs.

An entire body of literature was written, educating women on self-discipline, etiquette, relationships with in-laws, household management, humility, and chastity (Gates, 1989). Female role models were established as women who were unselfish, loyal and self-sacrificing in their willingness to do anything to assist their husband and his family. Understanding that an ideology is not necessarily the reality of the lives of women, it is important to acknowledge that the basic beliefs about the nature and role of women had an extensive impact. The traditional sayings listed are based on interpretations of Confucian beliefs. They highlight the implications of Confucianism on women's historic participation and status in Chinese societies.

Neo-Confucian Inspired Sayings:

" A woman's duty is not to control or take charge."
"Woman's greatest duty is to produce a son."

"A woman ruler is like a hen crowing."

"A husband can marry twice, but his wife must never remarry."

"We should not be too familiar with the lower orders or with women."

"The woman with no talent is the one who has merit."

" It will be women's neither to do wrong nor to do good. Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think."

"Disorder is not sent down by Heaven, it is produced by women."

"There are three unfilial acts: the greatest of these is the failure to produce sons."

"Women are to be led and to follow others."

"Women's nature is passive."

"A woman should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself, and never weary of thinking how she may yield to him."

Another significant communistic system, which impacted on society's concepts regarding women, was Marxism. Marxism followed Chinese submission from within their culture. This is ironic considering that Marxism strove to awaken a "class consciousness" to enable the liberation of the oppressed class. This is summarized poetically in the novel Animal Farm, written by George Orwell in 1945 aimed at exposing the unfortunate transition of Russia from a Monarchy to a Communist country. Orwell used animal characters to depict the human beings who were active in the Russian Revolution. He writes that post the revolution "All animals are equal, but some are more equal than others!"

Marxism refers to the philosophy and social theory based on Karl Marx's work on one hand, and to the political practice based on Marxist theory (Plamenatz, 1975). Marxism is a theoretical outlook based on the works of Marx and Engels. Marx was a staunch socialist who strongly criticized capitalism. He described the destructive and alienating impact of the market with unequalled lucidity and force (Sayers, 1992). He did not merely condemn these phenomena, or regard them as pure evils, he emphasized their contradictory character (Sayers). According to Sayers, Marx insisted they also have a positive, progressive and even `revolutionary' side. The economic development to which capitalism gives rise and which, Marx believed, created the necessary material conditions for a higher historical stage of socialism. He even talks

of this as 'one of the civilizing aspects of capital' (Marx, 1971, p. 819 as cited in Sayers). As a result of the market development, the social position of women was transformed. Economic necessity forced women to seek employment on the market, and this often came on top of an undiminished share of housework. Sayers highlights that the employment of women has led to their emancipation from the confines of the home, and their entry into public life. He continues that for all the alienation and stultifying narrowness of so many jobs, employment has provided women with opportunities to develop and exercise their talents and abilities in much fuller and wider ways than are usually possible in the private, non-market sphere of the home. Indeed, the market has been perhaps the greatest single force in the modern world leading to the liberation of women.

The dominant ideology as defined by Marxism is to reflect or benefit the interests of the dominant class in that society. Marx believed that if the dominant ideology conflicted with the legitimacy of the dominant class's rule, then society would have to be in a state of war with itself, with the dominant class appearing as an illegitimate occupation force (Sayers, 1992). This theory is summarized in the slogan: *The dominant ideology is the ideology of the dominant class.* To Marx the ruling class is illegitimate and there is a need to overthrow the dominant class of capitalism, known as the bourgeoisie. Marx's ideology was to achieve supremacy of the working classes, so that they would dominate society. There are two models offered by Marxists to illustrate his dominant ideology (Wacquant, 1985). In the first model, ideology is constructed in a deliberate manner by bourgeois intellectuals. Since this class owns the media, it chooses which ideas are represented, and selects those ideas which serve its own interests (Wacquant). The working class is exposed to these ideas and since it lacks its own media, it adopts a bourgeois outlook and loses its independence of thought. In the second model, ideology emerges spontaneously at each level of society, and articulates the existing structure of that society (Wacquant).

Propaganda moves people towards terrible actions as it did in the Russian Revolution and Nazi Germany. When discussing the power of the media, Aronson (2004) speaks of emotional contagion, whereby emotion displayed in a public forum, is personally felt, by those who are exposed to it. He continues that the two major routes to persuasion include the central route, whereby arguments are considered and weighed

out intelligently. In the peripheral route people respond to simple 'right or wrong' cues. In all propaganda, the attitudes and beliefs of the audience have a direct correlation to the effectiveness of the propaganda. Within the realm of general media communication, expected roles of women are formed, and clear and pervasive ideologies are formed. South Africa is not unique to propaganda and social influences, however the diversity within the population leads to a unique perspective of gender equality and role performance.

1.4.1 South African perspective

South Africa's women often accept their roles within the framework of male domination in society in general. Coloured and white women share a common cultural system, which appears to be less repressive of women than the Indian and African ones (Meer, 2006). Coloured women, generally, are not as liberated as white women in their relations with men. Meer credits economics as the factor for differentiation. She states that white women attain a very much higher standard of education and are able to reach out to a far more varied and relaxed life. She concludes that the "patriarch" plays his role in moderation and even if overbearing at times, compensates by his effective role as "provider" and "protector." However, as opposed to this, Coloured and African women generally experience male domination without its compensating and complementary services.

According to Meer (2006), traditional African society accepted women as equal producers in the self-subsistent economy as they possessed land and livestock and controlled the products of their labour. She claims that although they were subordinate to men, they were no more dependent on them than men were on women. Prior to post-apartheid reformations, South African law defined women as subordinate to men. This definition was institutionalised with the 1891 Bantu Code, which was operative throughout the Natal province until it was replaced by the KwaZulu code.

1.4.2. Conflict of law and custom.

South African law, based on pre-Napoleonic Roman-Dutch law and significantly influenced by English law, has substantially modified African and Indian definitions of the rights of women (Wadsley, 1968). Up to 1983, all marriages in South Africa,

excluding customary unions, were in community of property, unless preceded by an ante-nuptial contract. This implied that whilst becoming joint owners of the estate, administration was vested in the husband and the wife's status was reduced to that of a minor. The new law accords equal status to the husband and wife but it does not apply to African women who are bound by tribal laws.

Women, particularly the poor, uneducated and unskilled, fall victim to a range of sexual abuses. The law protects men in both paternity and rape claims, while women endure humiliating cross-examinations in court and are often required to establish unattainable evidence to achieve justice. Although in South African women cannot sue their husbands for assault, they are able to sue for rape. Polygamy is customary in both Indian and African societies. South African law recognises only one legal marriage, and neither the second non-legal marriage nor the children of a non-legal marriage have any legal status. This creates severe problems for the women who have been taken as second wives when their husbands cannot cope with additional responsibilities and abandon them (ANC Government official website n.d.). Unmarried African women are further injured financially, socially and prospectively through the high incidence of pregnancy. In November 2006 the ANC submitted a proposal to implement maternity leave for scholars. Buthelezi, leader of the opposing Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) criticized the suggestion and stated " the suggestion encourages children to be promiscuous and is sending conflicting messages to the youth. One cannot speak credibly about moral regeneration and in the same breath speak of maternity leave for scholars. Women can play a leading role in moral regeneration because they have the most influence on children (SABC News 18 November 2006)." It is common for school girls to fall pregnant and to have their babies, and quite rare for the fathers to maintain them.

Pregnancies of unmarried women were matters of abject disgrace in the traditional African society, imposing cleansing ceremonies on peer groups (Quinn, 2005). In the urban environment, however, African women have been deprived of their traditional protection, which forced fathers to accept the consequential responsibility. Within the African circles it has become customary not to sue for maintenance. The State will order maintenance for the child to be paid if the mother can establish paternity, which

is difficult under existing law as alleged fathers cannot, by law, be required to submit to paternity tests.

1.4.3. Subjugation of African women.

Women were isolated in reserves where they became conditioned to bearing and raising children and caring for the aged and ill. They were abandoned by industry and forced back into the homeland by law (Adams, Cousins, & Manona, 1999). The main disparity in the South African economy yielding high profits, which are essential to attract capital, foreign and local, which in turn sustained apartheid, was the uninterrupted flow of cheap labour. This kind of labour is in the final analysis reliant on the continued subjugation of women, not only through law, but through the manipulation of traditional attitudes of sexual dominance and subservience (Marais, 2001).

In Natal, many African women were subjected to the 1891 Bantu Code, which made them perpetual minors and lifelong wards of men. According to this law the women were not permitted to marry, continue in employment, defend, nor bring any action in court without male authority (Bennett, & Vermeulen, 1980). Their male guardians claimed their earnings and control their property. On marriage, the wife's assets automatically revert to her husband, however, she did not acquire any rights over his property. On his death, the family estate, inclusive of her contributions, routinely went to the closest surviving male relative, and she became his ward (Bennett & Vermeulen). Sharp and Spiegel (1990) emphasise that men's domination and women's responses need to be analysed in the context of local historical and other factors as well as in terms of the macro-level processes of capitalist expansion.

African women throughout the country were more harshly limited from entering urban areas than African men. Laws dating back to the 1930s made such entering dependent on the qualifications of their "guardians" or husbands (Marais, 2001). Men who qualified for urban rights either through 10 years of continual service for a single employer or for remaining in one area for 15 years, were allowed to live in locations outside the homelands. Their wives and children under 16, benefited equally in terms of these rights, however, women never acquired these rights on their own and therefore many of them were forced to send their children to the homelands to be

cared for by others (generally grandparents), while the women worked (Marais). The consequence of severe controls over the urbanisation of women resulted in an imbalance in the male/female ratio in both urban and rural areas - women exceeding men in the reserves and men exceeding women urbanely. This imbalance is now equalising.

African, Indian and Coloured women worked as farm hands and domestics until the Second World War (Adams, Cousins, & Manona, 1999). Indian women were imported as indentured field labourers, and paid 5 shillings a month, half the wage paid to indentured men. Non-slave African women were often paid in kind alone; they were given rations and the right to live on farms (Adams, Cousins & Manona). The trend has been for both men and women of all races to move away from agricultural and domestic work to production, and then to commercial and professional work. Internationally, this trend began with the Industrial Revolution that occurred first in England and then America between roughly 1750 and 1830. Industrialization and urbanization only came to fruition to a significant extent with the discovery of gold in South Africa and the advent of the gold mines (Marais, 2001). As industries, which originally supported the gold mining industry, flourished of their own accord, the trend towards urbanisation became more intense.

1.5 Self justification

Aronson (2004) states that making a decision produces dissonance. He explains (p.155) that cognitions about any negative aspects of the preferred object are dissonant with having chosen it, and cognitions about the positive aspects of the unchosen object are dissonant with not having chosen it. Individuals and societies as a whole justify their behaviours and decisions. For instance, should a women not receive the same educational advantages as her brothers did, her parents would justify this action by commenting on what a good mother she was, or by finding fault with women who juggled dual career-family roles. Aronson draws a distinction between external and internal justification: External justification applies when the justification is situation-determined. Internal justification refers to a circumstance when individuals change their attitudes to align with their statements. Aronson speaks of the justification of cruel activities. He insists that humans have a need to convince themselves that they are good and decent people. He highlights (p.182) several

situations where cruelty becomes easy, for example when the perpetrator believes he has done no harm; if the individual was not the direct cause of the harm; personal judgements against others; the victim being deserving of the evil done to him; and the inability for a victim to retaliate. It is important to note that social psychologists have learnt that people do not perform acts of cruelty and come out unscathed. Justification of actions preventing women to achieve self actualisation personally or within their careers may seem to be lighter than some of the elements discussed above. The principle remains equivalent, in terms of personal harm and self-efficacy damage. Society as a whole may justify its restrictions on segments of humanity, however, it is the responsibility of individuals and civilization as a whole to unlearn stereotypical mindsets and enforced limitations on other people.

Factors such as culture and prejudices impact hugely on the population's need and desire to conform and belong within a community. By indication members of an 'outgroup', an 'ingroup' of homogeneous people who feel comfortable and safe in one another's company, is established. For one individual to destroy the fibre of an 'ingroup' by breaking the norms and concepts on which that group in founded, is an extremely daunting task. All factions of society experience intolerance and discrimination, which sometimes offend a person's sense of self and self worth. In a energetic and fast-moving environment, this type of ideology could also suppress or suffocate pioneers of thought and complicate modifications and personal growth. Conventionality and traditions are positive aspects, which give many lives a sense of meaning, it is the overwhelming groupthink behaviour which becomes destructive when it suffocates the creativity and freedom of personal goal attainment.

CHAPTER 5: THE IMPACT OF CHANGE

The time is always right to do what is right.

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1965)

The general trend towards empowered women taking control of their own lives is a worldwide phenomenon. Cultures, laws and varying societies enable this transformation to ensue at different rates. An important factor for consideration, are the potential consequences, which this change may bring. Ideally the impact on society must be positive and the potential of 'over-equalising' gender roles, resulting in empowered women and disempowered or prejudiced resentful men must be avoided. The concept of womanism embodies equality, whilst accepting and appreciating the differences between men and women. Womanism has been defined in this paper as the drive for distinctiveness. It embraces the individuality and uniqueness of femininity, which encompasses the essential belief that the more women enjoy, treasure and appreciate their feminine aspects, the more satisfied they will be in their lives as a whole.

Gender change highlights issues, which are often unnoticed, and therefore may be difficult to deal with (Connell, 2003). Hence progression towards a gender-equal society would be a complex mission, requiring intense institutional modifications as well as minor particulars of everyday life. In order to understand change, it is important to be cognisant of the deeply rooted nature of stereotypes and gender role segmentation. Adler, Kless & Adler (1992) draw on data gathered via observation of preadolescent children in and outside school to focus on the role of popularity in gender socialisation. Within their gendered groups, boys and girls created ideal descriptions of masculinity and femininity on which they modelled their behaviour. The results showed that boys revered athletic ability, coolness, toughness, social skills, and success in cross-gender relationships. Girls respected their parents' socio-economic status, their own physical appearance, social skills, and academic success. The boys' gender images exemplify more energetic and accomplished characteristics than those of the girls, which are relatively inactive and attributed. Adler, Kless & Adler's research demonstrates slight adjustments in children's, especially girls', gender roles images, resulting from structural changes in society.

By suggesting that society should review their thought processes and thereby their behaviour, multiple implications may follow. Adjustments in family situations (Oppenheimer, 1994), traditional role adjustments (Thorton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983), dual income households (Bielby, & Bielby, 1989), juggling family and work (Pleck, 1977) and domesticated fathers (Vavrus, 2002), are amongst these issues. The concern regarding the cost implications for society will also be considered.

A common, but not necessarily valid, assumption when discussing gender equality is that women by nature desire this social change. The drive for gender equality lays the foundation for women to achieve self actualisation within their chosen career and life path. Self actualisation does not imply a need for women to operate or succeed in male dominated industries, it entails the freedom of a holistic knowledge and opportunity within any field, be it female dominated, centered around the home or male dominated environment. Many women may feel threatened or pressurised by the daunting prospect of having to 'compete' on equal footing, and possibly may fight to maintain a safer and a more comfortable lifestyle. Certain women may hold very traditional beliefs, even some which may be viewed as 'chauvinistic'. They may consider female empowerment to be unnatural or inappropriate for women to conduct 'men's work'.

The perception regarding an increasing number of women entering into the economic sector has two foundations. The first is that certain women are happy with the status quo and therefore see no need to alter their current happy environment. The second approach is called the Stockholm syndrome, which is defined as a situation where the oppressed identify with the oppressor to increase their probability of survival (Auebach, Kiesler, Strentz, Schmidt, & Devany Serio, 1994). Freire (1974) states that despite the fact that oppression dehumanises both parties and suppresses their humanity, the oppressed has to lead the struggle for a fuller humanity for both. The oppressor is dehumanized because he dehumanizes others. He continues that it is not possible to eradicate oppression just by adjusting roles in which the oppressor becomes the oppressed and vice-versa. In this transformation it is not that one person liberates himself, rather that people in communion liberate each other (Freire). Sills (2005) refers to Homi Bhabha's postcolonial theory defining a progression of

negotiations wherein the oppressed victim subconsciously identifies with the oppressor/victimizer as a first step to accepting the oppressor's power. She explains that the shift from victim to victimizer is not necessarily a single, unidirectional adjustment. Instead it can be manifested as a cycle of submission and aggression as the individual acclimatises to altered perceptions or circumstances. Finally, a victim who becomes a victimizer in one circumstance may simultaneously be a victim in another circumstance and, additionally, individuals may reposition themselves several times.

1.1 Changing gender role perceptions

One of the important issues in accepting gender role adjustments is culture and background. Blee and Tickamyer (1995) state that the beliefs and feelings that men and women have regarding appropriate gender roles have a considerable impact on various aspects of marital and family interactions. These attitudes also propagate gender-differentiated prospects in employment, education, politics, and social spheres. These authors believe that the formation of gender role attitudes in women and girls and the transmission of attitudes across generations is especially transferred from their mothers. There is the suggestion that male attitudes toward gender roles are more complicated than previously assumed. The reason for this is that there is not a single benchmark of masculinity to which all men and boys are educated to aspire. Definitions of manhood range differently across racial, ethnic, class, sexual, and regional boundaries (Connell, 1993; Franklin, 1994; Segal, 1993 as cited in Blee and Tickamyer). By the same token, Blee and Tickamyer suggest men's attitudes toward feminine gender roles will also vary. They reiterate that gender role attitudes, like other attitudes, are formed by development both in childhood and in adulthood. This does not imply that girls strive for the same definition of womanhood. Rather that certain facets of womanhood, such as bearing children, are intercultural and universal. However, this similarity may terminate with the biological process. Cultural effects of the role definition of a female would vary in almost every aspect of womanhood from the childbirth environment, child rearing, family roles through to female sexuality.

In concerning ourselves with the impact of change, the ideal of creating and initiating change in thoughts and beliefs needs to be understood. It is important to understand how gender role definitions are created and to acknowledge a need for sensitivity

towards diverse perceptions. It is also important to recognise that a change in gender role discernment, may be racially divided. Walker (1995) identifies the two dominant themes in the literature concerning the political significance of motherhood. These are the `collusion with patriarchy' and `difference' in black and white women's constructions of motherhood. In the first instance, Walker believes that collusion with patriarchy prioritises politics above an examination of women's personal traditions and social identity as mothers. In the second instance, namely the difference in black and white women's constructions of motherhood, there is a disregard for historical substantiation of linked associations and mutual cultural influences among black and white women. He stresses that men cannot simplify motherhood as a role imposed on women, but rather as requiring intricate definition and more consideration to the past. Walker states that although the values of harmony and nurturing associated with motherhood may be traditionally and culturally specific, this does not negate their appeal to South African women and hence the political relevance.

When examining the racial differences in the behaviour of the managers in her sample, Booysen (2001) discovered that the manner of white managers was congruent with Western or Eurocentric management, as opposed to the culture of black managers, which was vastly different. The Black managers displayed a far more Afro-centric leadership approach. This style is centred in the African concept of Ubuntu. With Hofstede's national culture model, as a foundation, Booysen identified higher scores for black people on collectiveness, humane orientation, and gender egalitarianism as compared to their white managerial counterparts. Finally, Booysen declares that white people are far more results-driven as black people are. White people are far more profit driven in their cultural orientation as opposed to black people who focused significantly more on their belief in Ubuntu. In conclusion, Booysen's research maintains that perceptions of leader behaviour should and will fluctuate across race and gender.

Blee and Tickamyer (1995) conducted studies, which have found racial differences in the definition of appropriate feminine gender roles. In America, African American women are more likely than their White equivalents to view paid employment as compatible with maternal and familial responsibilities (Collins, 1987, 1990 as cited in Blee and Tickamyer). The authors maintain that the process through which mothers

socialise daughters into gender roles attitudes is racially distinctive. The approach of White daughters is influenced considerably by their mothers' beliefs but not by mothers' employment history; however, for African American daughters, it is maternal employment rather than attitude which affects gender role attitudes (Blee, & Tickamyer, 1986 cited in Blee and Tickamyer).

Rollins and White (1982) establish that mothers and young adolescent daughters in traditional, dual-work, and dual-career family environments held matching attitudes regarding marriage, children, and careers. In a follow-up study, 40 mother-daughter couples of the original 75 were interviewed. No significant disparities between the attitudes of these mothers and daughters concerning the 3 variables existed. However, both the mothers' and daughters' attitudes had altered from the first to the second survey. The findings support the notion of mothers as primary socializing agents for daughters and for the self-in-relation model regarding mothers and daughters. Concurring with this, Kulik's (2004) study of Israeli mothers and daughters found a very close correlation between gender role perceptions of mothers and their daughters, focusing on issues such as marriage, religion and education.

Weitzman (1979) cited in Blee and Tickamyer (1995), maintains that children sculpt their feelings and behaviours on those of significant others. Generally a female is the primary figure for many children, and therefore the mother figure will wield a huge influence on the future attitudes of their children. It is important to note that despite the fact that there is significant data indicating the mothers as socializing agents for sons, it is unclear precisely how mothers shape the future attitudes of their sons. Weitzman concludes that maternal employment during a boy's preschool years (yet not subsequent maternal employment) has an impact on the son's attitude toward employment for wives and women, controlling for the son's own personality features. Opposing this information, Kiecolt and Acock (1988) analysed General Social Survey (GSS) data from 1972 to 1986 and concluded that it is the maternal employment throughout her son's adolescence, as opposed to childhood years, which impacts on his adult gender attitudes. Finally, beliefs regarding women's gender roles, in that attitudes about gender roles change across time, and that individual status and life course processes influence gender role attitudes.

Extensive research on gender roles in child development and education has been conducted. Although more knowledge is known about the gender development of girls, there is enough research on boys to supply a general image of the process, in developed countries. Connell (2003) alludes to the following facts: Both boys and girls actively seek cultural material about gender and process it. This process evolves through various personal stages, depending on the cognitive, social abilities and circumstances for each child. Gender development is multi-dimensional, entailing intellectual development, emotional learning, physical growth, social skills, and cultivation of personal identities. Physical actions such as sport, fighting and sexuality are critical in forming perceptions in young people regarding masculinities, particularly in creating hierarchies of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities. Various settings, such as home and school have diverse gender regimes. Connell suggests that because men in many societies are comparatively absent from early childcare, boys' maturity is often initiated in a female controlled environment. She states that certain theories imply that this establishes an emotional pressure, later, for boys to differentiate themselves from women and the feminine. It is important to note that in the creation of gender development, boys face conflicts and contradictory demands, and responses from adults and other children.

Many of the factors discussed will apply in broad circumstances, however, cultural and economic circumstances of developing countries will shape gender learning for boys in specific ways. External factors, such as mass marketing will also have a significant impact on gender role perceptions and the change thereof. Gender equality issues including domestic violence, rape, and HIV/AIDS prevention have been addressed by mass media campaigns.

After the initial proactive change agents, society adjusts its perceptions gradually. Nursing is, and has traditionally been, a female dominated industry. The emergence of male nurses in South Africa and the affiliated discussions regarding tuition, employment and policy with reference to male nurses, particularly black male nurses, has been an ongoing issue. Burns (1998) believes that the disregard of the existence of male nurses in South Africa was produced by public beliefs concerning suitable masculine roles and careers, as well as by the association of `professional nursing'. War as well as specific industries, such as mining, produced opportunities for the

recognition of men as nurses. Burn states that originally in 1928, as well as post-Second World War period, the opportunity arose in South Africa to restructure both the racially-based exclusions of male nurses, as well as the prevailing definitions of masculinity which constrained the profession. It is believed that still today, despite the growing popularity of nursing as a male profession, that there are still divisions within certain sects between the male and female nurses. Doctors refer to both male and female nurses as "sister."

Diverse social movements attempt to either reform or restore traditional masculinity (Connell, 2003). Connell sites Hurrelmann & Kolip (2002) as noting there has been increasing discussion regarding men's health and sickness from a gender perspective, specifically in relationships, sexuality and identity, as popularity of healing associations grow, which addresses these problems. Supplementing this is an extraordinary increase in research regarding men's gender identities and customs, masculinities, boys' education, images of men, and related matters. Complementing this is the conscious shift towards more equal sharing of housework and childcare. Extensive discussions have surrounded the "new fatherhood" and increase in men's participation in families.

Rude (2000) conducted a study focusing on the impact, which a father has on the gender role perceptions of a child. Her results show that father's gender role attitudes have an effect on the gender role attitudes of their children, even after controlling for the effects of mothers' attitudes. Fathers with more traditional attitudes are likely to have offspring with more traditional attitudes. However, her study indicated that a fathers' performance of housework has no impact on offspring's attitudes. This indicates that fathers' attitudes are more significant in the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes than are fathers' behaviours. Her results also demonstrate that the effect of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes is not conditioned on amount of time fathers spend with offspring or the closeness of the father-child relationship. Finally, it is also shown that fathers' attitudes affect adult female offspring's attitudes more so than adult male offspring's attitudes.

1.2 Mr mom

A growing trend of men staying at home to rear children and take care of household needs brings its own bearings on the transition of society. Vavrus's (2002) study of stay-at-home dads (Mr. Moms) during the late 1990s argues that a challenge to more traditional masculine identities depicted in media is represented. He states that these depictions reinforce important aspects of patriarchal opportunities within the home. Vavrus believes that via the integration of unorthodox approaches, many men function effectively to legitimate domesticity and nurturance as being suitably masculine. Traditional concepts about men are challenged while often encouraging an association between these men and heterosexuality. Vavrus reiterates that the process of encouraging nurturance and domesticity in men, reverses the gender roles which have been articulated for centuries, in society.

Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly and Robinson (2002) conducted a study, which indicates that cultural expectations regarding fathers' participation in childrearing may have transformed more swiftly than fathers' behaviours. This adjustment has created inconsistencies between parenting ideals and realities. This study focused on five parenting domains, namely: discipline, emotional support, play, monitoring, and care-giving. Financial support was also discussed. In a sample of 234 married parents, both mothers and fathers articulated unrestricted beliefs that fathers should be equally involved in child-rearing. In reality, mothers perceived far smaller actual father involvement in parenting than the fathers perceived, in particular in the areas of disciplining and providing emotional support for their children. Milkie et al. state that these discrepancies were related to well-being. If the mothers perceived the fathers minimally involved in nurturant parenting, more stress was reported. Fathers who perceived a great maternal involvement in financial support were more prone to declare the division of household labour was unfair to the mother. This study highlighted some other factors for consideration, for instance, the authors state that less than ideal father interest in disciplining children was linked with mothers' stress levels, and the difference in expectations of father contribution in play and child monitoring, was related with mothers' feelings of injustice in household division of labour. Conversely, fathers who perceived an ideal–actual gap in disciplining children often believed they were too involved in discipline and therefore felt no unequal division of household labour.

Gender, in terms of the division of household labour, correlates with personal identity, in terms of marital and family roles (Greenstein, 1995). Greenstein emphasises that gender ideologies are merely a component of domestic transformations. He believes that there is a need to examine the interaction between the beliefs of husbands and the beliefs of wives to gain an understanding of how the division of household labour materialised. Greenstein draws a distinction between male gender ideology being related to the division of household labour for men with egalitarian wives and those married to traditional women. He states that in general, men do comparatively little domestic labour unless both they and their wives are rather equal in their beliefs about gender and marital roles. Shaw (1998) states that women define their household chores more often as work than do men. Further to this, he discovered that employment status of females had little impact on the description and perception of household labour.

Ferber & Birnbaum (1977) argue that rationality in the allocation of time, the appropriateness of the family as the relevant unit, and the importance of life-cycle changes are often distorted when analysing the economics of a household. These factors need to be considered when examining the economics of any household.

Bird (1999) discusses the impact of the quantities of household labour executed and its division within the household on men's and women's depression levels. In his research he tests two explanations of the contributions of household labour and the division of household labour to gender differences in depression, namely: differential exposure and differential vulnerability. His results signify that men's lack of assistance in household labour explains a portion of women having higher depression levels than men. He further maintains that the inequity in the division of household labour has a greater impact on women's suffering than the actual amount of household labour. However, a woman's employment status decreases the effect of the division of labour on depression. Bird's statistics show that depression was lowest for those who performed 79.8% of housework; opposing this, full-time employed people showed the minimum level of depression occurs at 45.8% of the household labour. His study shows that men conduct 42.3% of the housework in their homes compared to 68.1% completed by women. Bird concludes that the only gender difference in

impact occurred among married participants, for whom social support was linked with lower levels of depression for women than men.

Edley & Wetherell (1999) draw upon the ideas of Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton. & Radley. (1988), when they discuss the ideological dilemma, which many men face. This dilemma lies between the traditional image of masculinity and the developing role of domestic assistant and child-rearer. They believe that this has important implications for their identities as men. These men deal with this predicament used and attuned the available resources in order to justify their ideal futures. They emphasise that they do not insinuate these men create a false reality to help themselves cope. Rather, they maintain that the discursive work of these men is significant for gender relations and is concurrent with social power issues. Connell (1995) states that, despite inequalities in gendered relations, the legitimating of patriarchy is disintegrating in most countries. Edley & Wetherell argue that this discussion is multi-layered, situational and paradoxical by nature. They believe that although there have been tremendous developments in gender equality in society, they do not believe this will be a new era of sexual equality. Kotter (1997) quotes a portion of a speech made by Konosuke Matsushita, the developer of the Matsushita Institute of Government and Management (a graduate school for those who have ambitions within the public service) who shared his vision to assist Japanese politics become less corrupt and more visionary. When a sceptical reporter asked how long this would take, he answered, "In my judgment, about 400 years - which is why it's so important that we start today." The impact, if any, which a predominantly male directed upbringing will have on the children of Mr Mom, will remain to be seen in the coming years.

1.2.1. The role of men in gender equality transformation.

Generally speaking, there is a definite cultural swing in masculinity politics towards a consciousness concerning gender, an awareness that gender customs came into existence at specific moments in time and can therefore be transformed by social action. The question is whether a revolution in masculinity is necessary, in order to achieve gender equality. Connell (2003) insists that men and boys are unavoidably involved in gender issues. She states that the most pragmatic reason for this is that reform requires resources, and men have the dominant control of economic assets and

political power. From an alternate perspective, gender inequalities are entrenched in a complex set of relationships, on every level of human experience. The four prominent issues Connell raises regarding male involvement in gender equality are: (a) Gender relations are an interactive arrangement of relations and dissimilarities amoung individuals and groups. An impact on one aspect of this system will affect all other areas; (b) Gender relations are deeply rooted in routines, religions, laws and daily norms of people's lives; (c) Gender relations are multi-dimensional intermingled correlations of power, based on structures of communication and meaning; (d) Gender systems are distinctive and evolve, since they initiate in different geographic locations. A shift towards a gender-equal society would entail men and boys believing and acting differently, to re-evaluate customary metaphors of manhood, in order to restructure their relationships with women and girls (Connell, 2003).

European research has shown no consensus among men either in favour of or in opposition to gender equality (Connell, 2003). Substantial differences of opinion exist, usually a three-way model materialises, with one-third of men supporting equality shifts, about one-third opposing it, and one-third undecided. Surveys from Germany, Japan and the United States show a long-term tendency of growth in support of transforming traditional gender roles, particularly amongst the younger generation (Connell). Young men and adolescents are acting innovatively to altering social situations. Among these are the more democratic and less hostile types of masculinity, and more involved models of fatherhood (O'Donnell, & Sharpe, 2000 as cited in Connell, 2003).

Change is imminent, yet reactions and responses to change evolve as a process. Connell (2003) cites Cormanet's 1993 industrial research demonstrating men's involvement in changing workplace relations. In Canada, male steelworkers were initially resistant and then gradually supportive of women in heavy industrial employment. Connell (2003) quotes Holter (p. 126) when he stated: "The Nordic 'experiment' has shown that a majority of men can change their practice when circumstances are favourable. When reforms or support policies are well-designed and targeted towards an ongoing cultural process of change, men's active support for gender-equal status increases." He continues that the task for gender equality policy is to identify and grow existing bases of support for gender equality, found among men

and boys, and to cultivate valuable methods of utilising the existing experience among men for such work.

1.2.2. Men supporting change.

Connell (2003) delineates four main groups of substantial reasons why boys and men may support change. These are:

Relational interests: Males live in social relationships, often with females, in the form of wives, partners, mothers, daughters, friends, professional colleagues, and so forth. To a large extent, these relationships determine the quality of man's life. A system of gender inequality, restricting women, impacts on the lives of the men. The example Connell gives is that roughly fifty percent of children are girls. Their fathers, some of whom are sole parents, are then deeply involved in care giving. It is important to a fair number of these men that their daughters function in a world which offers young women safety, freedom, and opportunities to realise their abilities. This is a prevailing motivation for many men to support gender equality.

Personal well-being: Connell documents particular problems for men, such as premature death from accidents; suicides; occupational injuries (particularly in industries such as mining, construction and heavy manufacturing, all of which are directly correlated with gender segregated workforces); drug abuse; alcohol abuse; and various stress related effects. These physical injuries are derived from the prevalent model of the male as "breadwinner." Connell believes that social and financial stress on men to compete in the workplace, increased paid work hours, and possibly working a second job, are among the most powerful motivation for gender reform.

Collective interests: An enhancement of the general happiness of a community or society as a whole may be a third motivation for men supporting gender equality. In particular, in developing countries where there is growing poverty, unemployment and disease, flexibility in terms of gender in the division of labour may be vital to households requiring women's earnings in addition to men's.

Security benefits may be an influencing factor for men. Connell states that civil and international violence is strongly related to dominating patterns of masculinity and gender inequality. He maintains that a shift towards gender equality encourages men to implement a more "feminine" style of non-violent conciliation. Finally, gender equality is encompassed in political or ethical principles, which are meaningful to many people.

There seems to be a correlation between fertility desires and the expectations in terms of childcare from men (NIEPS, 2000). Men with 'liberated' attitudes towards family and gender roles, seem to be more undecided towards entering fatherhood than men with traditional values. In the Netherlands, studies have found that these men support male contribution to household labour and childcare.

1.3 Movements of change

The discussion of the impact of the specific change of women's self concepts and career ambitions is placed within a broader context of general change. Society transforms through various phases as a gradual progression through the ages. The transformation of economy, global market economies and the technological revolution has destabilized traditional gender divisions of labour in urban and rural societies. South African families have become dependent on women's earnings and therefore men have to amend to altered power balances within their families. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) gives the South African example of men recruited into gold mines, where they were often separated from their families for months or years at a time, housed in bare barracks at the mines, where practically a new way of life had to be constructed in an all-male environment. Similarly, women constructed lives for themselves in an all-female environment. Society has been forced to create new gender schemes.

1.3.1. Globalisation.

The escalating amalgamation of economies, markets, societies and business over the past two decades has engulfed a whirlwind of controversy. Proponents consider globalisation to be the answer to social, political, and economic problems afflicting developing countries. Critics argue that globalisation creates inequalities, unfair competitive environments, job losses, and environmental degradation. Local SME's

(Small and medium sized enterprises) struggle to compete with the power, resources and infrastructure of global corporations. From the individual perspective, globalisation enables freedom of commercial activity and an array of options which can suit personal lifestyles. International and local travel, together with the advent of technological advancements, such as the internet and video conferencing, enable working parents to employ flexi-time or work from home options, easing the dual-role juggling act. The transnational corporation is probably the most dominant economic institution of the 21st century. Therefore, it emerges as the scene of an intense work/home split in the lives of its most powerful employees, who are currently, predominantly men. These organisations have discovered that the new technologies, such as e-mail, have extended work hours, instead of reducing them.

1.3.1.1. South Africa's change.

The political arena in South Africa assists significantly with easing the impact of gender role adjustment and in promoting gender equity. This is done not only by promoting competent women into powerful political positions, but in a legal sphere where a general promotion of free choice and liberal activity exists. The legalising of gay marriages, as of November 2006, is an indication of the general environment of acceptance of diversity and respect for personal choice (International Herald Tribune, November 30, 2006). From an economic perspective, the South African economy has been in an upward phase of the business cycle since September 1999. From the period of 1999 through to June 2005, the annual economic growth rate averaged 3.5% (South Africa: Economy overview, n.d.). Gross domestic product (GDP) growth was running at an annualised 4.8% in the second quarter of 2005 (compared to 3.7% in 2004 and 2.8% in 2003)(South Africa: Economy overview, n.d.). These financial growth affects consumer spending and may be directly correlated, to the increase in women participants in economic and productive sectors of the economy.

Socially, the awareness of HIV/AIDS has created a minor shift in womens' empowerment over their own sexuality and bodies. Health authorities perceive that the increase in awareness and education surrounding these topics, will give women a greater sanction over their bodies. Another adjustment which impacts on the feeling specific to embracing change are organisations such as People Opposed to Women Abuse (POWA) which have men represented on their governing body and as

counsellors and which embrace the role of both men and women in eradicating violence against women. Nurse (2002) cited in Connell (2003) believes that for men with few economic prospects, violence against women may develop as a means of masculine assertion. Connell maintains that the spread of HIV and AIDS is significantly related to the situation of men in gender relations, particularly when men have principal control or initiative in sexuality. Men who assume their rights to women's bodies, increase women's vulnerability, as do the sexual practices which custom may allow or encourage. However, men's safety may also be threatened by the same forces. Connell assets that power is often associated with a hegemonic masculinity, which respects risk-taking, or perceives "virility" as the measure of a man's worth. Men who are persuaded by models of masculinity emphasising toughness, proficiency and control may create an illusion of invincibility. Violence is a strong means through which gender inequalities are maintained. A culture of violence subordinates women, and many men. Often crime is a tool for developing masculinity. It is a means for many men to acquire status and affirm their dominance.

Kritzinger & Vorster (1998) investigate the role played by two women organisations in empowering women on South African farms. The study analysed foundation beliefs regarding women's mutual interests directing differing approaches from a feminist perspective, as well as identifying issues which could limit women's empowerment. Both the Cape Women's Forum and the the Women on Farms Project suggest that both liberal and socialist/Marxist feminist paradigms are beneficial when interpreting the empowerment strategies employed by these two women's groups. The paper concludes that, despite the progress made into the empowerment of these women, developments within the general South African agricultural sector together with politics may impede future empowerment efforts.

1.3.1.2. *Change adjustment.*

Some of the society changes, which have occurred as a result of more women entering into the workforce, include role conflicts (van Sell, Brief, & Schuler, 1981; Voydanoff, 1988; Floyd, & Lane, 2000) and various adjustment styles. (Kim, & Mauborgne, 1997; Dent, & Goldberg, 1999). When discussing overcoming resistance to change, Jansen (2000) states that change is frequently characterized as fast or slow, enthusiastically endorsed or adamantly opposed, or as "on a roll" or "dead in the

water." These characterizations highlight three distinct change dynamics currently receiving research attention: resistance to change, readiness for change, and building and maintaining momentum. She concludes that managing the social energy of change is fast becoming a necessary tool for change leaders. Sauser and Sauser (2002) emphasize that change is a process, which takes time to settle. They believe that change must be reconceptualized as a continuing process, not as a discrete project, to be managed with an eye toward establishing a steady state of equilibrium. There is a need to analyse the effects of hours worked, marriages varying in categories of children present, family income, and husband's attitudes toward his wife's employment, their social lives and personal priorities.

South Africa has a limited number of 'traditional' homes comprising of a male and female adult who are married with children. The number of officially recorded divorces was lower in 2002 (31 370) as compared to 2001 (34 045) (Stats SA 2004). Overall, the modified divorce rate (divorce rate for married couples) was lower in 2002 (526 per 100 000 married couples) than in 2001 (582 per 100 000 married couples). This rate indicates many single parent households and specific to the South African environment (particularly as a result of immense poverty and the rapid spread of HIV) are the number of child-headed households. Children Count (Children living in childheaded households, 2007) define a child-headed household as a household where everyone who lives there is younger than 18 years old. This is a significant transformation in South Africa. An analysis of the *General Household Survey (GHS) 2005* specifies approximately 118,500 children living in a total of 66,500 child-headed households within South Africa at the time of the survey. This equates to approximately 0.7% of all children (0 – 17-year olds) and to 0.6% of all households in the country. Therefore the proportion of children living in child-headed households relative to those living in households where adults are resident is proportionally small. This illustration of the South African milieu provides a clear indication that gender role adjustments and other equalities are more complex and far more advantageous to exceptional households. Single parent and child-headed homes are dependant on every opportunity and benefit which they are able to gain. The transformation towards greater equality has been perceived to be positive, however, there are notable unconstructive bearings which the change will bring.

1.4 The negative impact of change

As society transforms, both positive and negative effects will materialise. Some of the negative effects have already begun to surface. Family's are being affected not just in terms of spouses and marital difficulties, but family units and children are being affected.

1.4.1. Work-family role conflict.

Lambert (1990) analyses the theoretical frameworks used to link work and family, i.e., segmentation, compensation, and spill over. Lambert argues that proof and reason advocate that all three operate to connect work and family, despite the literature in which these processes are seen as competing explanations. He maintains that employees may reduce their participation in work, or in family life, so that they can better accommodate the demands of the other. Lambert maintains that an understanding of the systems linking work and family life is necessary to sufficiently assess the success of family support policies in organisations, as well as to recognise approaches to assist people to find satisfaction in both their work and personal roles.

Work-family conflict exists when, firstly, time devoted to the requirements of one role makes it difficult to fulfil requirements of another; or secondly, when strain from participation on one role makes it difficult to fulfil requirements of another; or finally, when specific behaviours required by one role make it difficult to fulfil requirements of another (Greenhaus, & Beutell, 1985). Greenhaus and Beutell cite Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal's (1964) research, in which they identified such inter-role conflict as a powerful source of stress for a third of the men in their national sample. They also identify three sources of work role conflict, namely: intrasender, intersender, and person-role conflict. In each form of conflict, one role pressure is incompatible with other sets of role pressures. The authors further suggest three main types of work-family conflict, these are: time-based conflict; strain-based conflict; and behaviour-based conflict. One of the significant overspills of work-family conflict lies with preoccupation with work at home. Greenhaus and Beutell state that self-perceptions of role requirements are significant sources within a specific area. Role salience restrains the relationship between externally produced role pressures and work-family conflict. Career stage and support from significant others are both related to the level of work-family conflict.

Greenstein (1995) discusses the course through which gender principles moderate the effects of wives' employment on marital stability. He explains that one school of thought believes that by offending traditional marriage norms or by reducing the husband's marital satisfaction, the marriage becomes unstable. Therefore, followers of this thought process maintain that there is something intrinsic in the employment of married women which leads to undermine the marriage. Another philosophy debates that the employment of married women together with the expectation of continuing employment external to marriage assists in making divorce more likely. Greenstein emphasises that this perspective places the employment of wives as a facilitating factor in divorce, as opposed to creating marital conflict, rather highlighting divorce as probable for marriages in which conflict already exists. He explains that the "absence effect" refers to employment outside the home removing wives from traditional homemaking responsibilities, with the feasible impact of increased marital stress and conflict.

Mott and Moore (1979) cited in Greenstein (1995) report a positive relationship between number of hours of paid employment and probability of divorce for White women but not for Black women. They expand that White women who are employed 35 hours per week or more have a 60% greater risk of marital disruption over a 5-year period. Greene and Quester (1982) cited in Greenstein state that women who have high wages and work long hours are high risk for divorce. Greenstein believes that nontraditional women experience the most stress in their attempts to resolve the employment and household conflict. For women carrying traditional gender attitudes, Greenstein maintains that this "second shift," although stressful, may not destabilize the marriage, as unequal allotment of responsibility for household work are consistent with a traditional gender ideology; therefore, he concludes that traditionally oriented women would not necessarily perceive these inequalities as inequitable. It is important to note that the majority of the research on marital disorder either implicitly or explicitly adopts the functionalist position that marital instability is undesirable. For economically stable women, marital permanence may not be so desirable. Greenstein upholds the view that there is no effect of gender ideology on marital stability. Nontraditional or egalitarian women experience marital trouble at almost the same rate as traditional women.

Adams, King & King (1996) created a model of the relationship between work and family integrating variables from both the work-family conflict and social support spheres. This model interrelates bi-directional work-family clashes, family and emotional social support, as well as work and family interests to job and life satisfaction. Results show that relationships between work and family can have a vital effect on job and life satisfaction together with the level of commitment the individual assigns to work and family roles. Adams, King & King's results also propose that the work-family relationship may be simultaneously considered by conflict and support. More strenuous levels of work interfering with family predicted lower levels of family emotional and active support. Higher levels of family emotional and instrumental support were related to lesser levels of family involvement with work.

Perry-Jenkins, Repetti and Crouter (2000) highlight four themes emerging from the work and family literature of the 1990s. The first theme evolves from the chronological legacy of maternal employment with an emphasis on children's well-being. The second theme, work socialization, is based on the principle that occupational circumstances, such as independence and intricacy, shape the values of workers who in turn implement these lessons off the job. The third theme is research on work stress, which explores how experiences of short and long-term stress at work imprint peoples' behaviour and welfare off the job. Finally, the multiple roles writings discuss how individuals balance roles, such as parent, spouse, and worker, and the consequences for wellbeing and family relationships. A continuing premise in the work-family studies has been the complication of administering various roles of worker, spouse, and parent. Perry-Jenkins, Repetti and Crouter state that considering men's deteriorating wages, women's increased employment has often allowed families to maintain their standard of living.

Perry-Jenkins, Repetti and Crouter (2000) cite research conducted by O'Neil & Greenberger, (1994) revealing that the strain of multiple roles has the potential to raise stress levels and demoralize well-being, including physical health. They emphasize the "expansion hypothesis" introduced by Barnett & Baruch (1985), which states that multiple roles carry benefits such as monetary revenue, enhanced self esteem, the ability to delegate burdensome obligations, increased social relationships,

and challenges. They quote Barnett (1999, p.152) as saying that they have an energizing effect on people. Therefore, circumstantially, specific role quality and the role combinations may enhance well-being. Further to this, the authors state that a supportive marital relationship may shield the negative effects of job stressors, however, fulfilment with a parental role does not serve as a buffer for the stress of juggling multiple roles and psychological anguish.

Marks and MacDermid (1996) assert that the multiple roles literature has diverted from the theoretical underpinnings of role theory, which holds that there is a need to examine a total role system as opposed to treating individual roles as separate entities distinct from the whole. One of the assumptions of some role theorists is that role systems are intrinsically hierarchical, and therefore there is a need to prioritise one role over another. Conversely, Marks and MacDermid propose that while roles may be organized for some, "role balance," where roles are given comparatively equal consideration and credence, may be most favourable for many. They maintain that the lack of attention to the relationship between role and role responsibility is a serious limitation in most research. Quoting Ferree (1990), Marks and MacDermid emphasise that it is the meaning that is attached to roles which holds consequences for individual and family functioning. They conclude that research on the significance of the provider role has constantly established that employment status alone reveals little about the meaning and value of that role for the individual. It is important to realise that for each individual the meaning men and women assign to their roles as parents, workers, and marital partners will be completely different.

Work-family relationships are bi-directional (Marks, & MacDermid, 1996). They expand by providing three levels of meaning. Firstly, people are inclined to select their work on the basis of goals, interests, skills, training, and experience. Secondly, people negotiate certain work issues, such as schedules, working hours, and overtime with their marital partner, creating another layer of selection effects. Finally, the workplace plays a role in selection, hiring, firing, providing opportunities for some workers and discriminating against others. Marks and MacDermid cite research conducted by Frone, Yardley, & Market (1997) stating that family-to-work conflict was found to be negatively related to work performance and that MacEwen & Barling's (1994) research states that it is positively related to work withdrawal.

Support has emerged for the hypothesis that stressful or disruptive family relationships negatively impact workplace productivity and absenteeism (Marks, & MacDermid, 1995). Marks and MacDermid cite Rogers' (1999) discovery that, as marital discord is amplified, so too does wives' income increase, as increases in marital discord increases the likelihood that unemployed wives would enter the labour force. Strategically, Marks and MacDermid suggest understanding the complexity of work and family dynamics by focusing on an archetype occupation. Once the processes of awareness in a specific, hypothetically relevant occupation, has been achieved, there is a need to widen the occupational sample to stipulate the conditions under which the linkages of attention are evident. Occupational complexity in combination with family situations moulds the quality of the home atmosphere which parents present to their children. Children have an impact on their parents' contributions to work and family. The question arises about how much parents make work assessment based on their children's likes or needs and if these effects function in identical manners for mothers and fathers.

Barnett & Hyde (2001) state that the relationships that women and men establish in their lives, as well as their work has changed dramatically in the past 50 years, and yet the prevailing theories motivating research in this field have not. These authors argue that the evidence underlying the hypothesis of the traditional theories of gender and multiple roles have transformed fundamentally to make the theories obsolete. Further to this, they state that a significant portion of empirical information does not prove the forecasts that these theories provide. There fails to be new creation of theories for directing research and clinical practice. The authors have developed an expansionist theory integrating four empirically derived and tested principles of gender, work, and family, which are harmonized to modern day realities.

1.4.2. Emasculation of men.

A key factor in creating an environment of equality, is recognising that equal does not insinuate identical. Physical, natural and preference differences enable men and women to excel in spheres for which they naturally have an aptitude. In this paper, there has been discussion of men needing to feel strong, competent and in control. As more women become empowered, they may begin to threaten men in terms of their

basic personal identity and self esteem. Fetterley (1978, p.20), in her feminist writings mutes this point by stating "the cultural reality is not the emasculation of men by women, but the immasculation of women by men. As readers and teachers and scholars, women are taught to think as men, to identify with a male point of view and to accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values, one whose central principle is misogyny."

In a study conducted by Nelson, Shanahan and Olivetti (1997), in an attempt to discover the motive of feminism, they state that both feminists and antifeminists declare they do not seek to dominate others, and accuse their ideological challengers of a menacing craving for power. Their study results demonstrated that antifeminist men emphasised their own power more than other men; however antifeminist, nonfeminist, and feminist women did not fluctuate in emphasis placed on power. Among both men and women, antifeminists placed little importance on equality. Feminist women placed more importance on equality than nonfeminist women, who placed more importance on equality than did antifeminist women.

Another factor for consideration is the neglecting of boys, in an effort to support girls. By promoting self-confidence and personal education to female scholars, males are forfeiting a percentage of time, which was previously spent with them. Further to this, an emphasis on girls, by implication means a lack of attention focused on boys. "What About the Boys?" campaign, mounted by people who believe boys, not girls, are the disadvantaged group in education, and that special programmes for boys are needed. Perhaps in the years to come, society will be striving for equality for men, who are dominated by women.

1.4.3. Affect on children.

Children who are brought up in an environment, which experiences working parents, or role conflicts, may grow to dislike the system, and try to revert to the patriarchal society, in which children receive attention and feel significant. Sons, who had been neglected emotionally, may desire to promote their wives staying at home to care for children. Daughters may try not to make the same mistakes as their mothers.

Contrary to this, Bianchi (2000) feels that the reallocation of mothers' time to market work outside the home appears to have been achieved with minimal impact on children's well-being. She maintains that the effect to marital stability is far more widespread and severe. She quotes Cherlin (1999) who argues that family demographers believe that the lack of two parent families is increasing: Either they are not formed, or, because once formed, partnerships are unsound, which may be problematic for children Bianchi emphasised that the most compelling evidence of a father's absence is the lack of financial assistant towards children (in terms of maintenance payments etc.). She maintains that family disruption, has removed fathers, far more than mothers. Bianchi suggests that the increase in female employment has transpired with less restructuring of time away from child rearing than would first appear. She gives four reasons for this: Firstly, she believes in the tendency to overestimate maternal time with children in the past. She explains that because we know comparatively little about women's non-market activities, we are inclined to inflate the amount of a mother's time in the home, which is accessible for benefiting children. Secondly she claims it is possible that we may have not been fully aware of how much working mothers do give to their children once they enter the paid labour force. Thirdly, childhood is not unchanging and stagnant: Parents are having fewer children. Smaller families lessen the number of years with very young children, and more preschool children spend time outside the home in crèches or pre-schools regardless of their mother's employment status. Finally, the allocation of women's time must have an impact on men, by facilitating an increase in men's involvement in child rearing.

Quoting several studies of the time mothers spend with their children comparing various dates ranging from 1920 through to 1988, Bianchi (2000) finds that there are no significant differences in time span over that period. Some of the reasons for this may be that children are not always available to be "invested in" when parents are working; parents would have to spend most of the hours when they were not working, with their children; working parents would need to create work schedules to facilitate their children, in order that they maximize their coverage of hours when children are in the home.

Studies vary in their estimates of how time spent working in the labour market hours reduces maternal time with children. In tobit regressions, controlling for child's age, which Bianchi (2000) states is the most significant determinant of childcare time, Bianchi cites Zick and Bryant's (1996) estimation that the effect of each additional hour of maternal employment is as small as a three-minute decline in direct childcare per day. Bianchi provides larger estimates provided by Nock and Kingston (1988), who examine total time with children and show the significance of the time of day when mothers commit hours to the paid workforce. They state that maternal hours of market work between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. reduce time with children twice as much as hours of employment between 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m.: This totals an estimated 42-minute reduction in time with children, compared with a 22-minute reduction. However, it is important to note that even the more "costly" time period does not result in an hour-for-hour reduction in time with children for each hour of market work. However, Bianchi stresses that with respect to housework, the evidence is ambiguous: Housework hours decreased drastically for working mothers between 1965 and 1995. If more women employed into the economy was the only change in that 30 year period, children should be spending significantly less time with parents. It is important to note, however, that this line of reasoning is based on the assumption that parents have not made other modifications to assist this transformation. Bianchi concludes that increasing substantiation demonstrates that mothers, on average, have not reduced their time with children and that married fathers have considerably increased the time they spend with children. Despite the fact that Bianchi maintains that women have managed the work-family balance, she insists that both husbands and wives have had a difficult adjustment period. Further to this, she believes that many women experience self-doubt about their chosen paths considering whether they have done the best thing for themselves and/or their children, and that these feelings continue to give women pause and to slow change both in the marketplace and at home.

1.4.4. Unfulfilled lives.

A component of creating opportunities and awareness to girls and women needs to entail a holistic view of their desired life. The ambition to succeed in a career field may result in the exclusion of other spheres of life, such a physical fitness, romantic relationships or bearing children. Blossfeld and Huinink (1991) discuss the "new

home economics" implication that women's growing economic independence largely accounts for the rise in delayed marriage and motherhood in many societies. They discover that women's extensive participation in formalised educational institutions delays their transition to adulthood, an effect aligned with normative assumptions that women who are still in school are "not ready" for marriage and motherhood. They conclude that the growing options and availability of career resources, lead women to postpone or avoid having children. Many women may realise their loss of various life experiences untimely or the focus of a career may be detrimental to personal relationships and support groups. The effect of a wife or mother's career on a spouse and/or children can lead to bitterness or frustration.

Another perspective is offered by Olakulein & Olugbenga (2006) who state that married working women with children tend to live unfulfilled lives, having their dreams aborted prematurely. After a college degree, a workingwoman finds herself in marriage and the demand of childbirth makes fulfilling a career dream very difficult.

1.5 The benefit of change

The benefits to creating this change must outweigh the difficulties experienced. The benefits will tie in with the components addressed in the female asset discussed above. It is assumed that it will take time to recognise the benefits of this change process. One of the most obvious advantages of gender equality adjustments, will be the equalisation of household tasks.

1.5.1. Emancipated men.

The vocational and financial empowerment of women liberates many men from carrying the full or significant portion of the financial burden. It also leads to a greater personal freedom in terms of men's career choices, not only in more traditionally termed 'female dominated industries', but also, should they aspire to be house husbands and rear children (Gerson, & Peiss, 1985). Earlier in this paper, the physical implication of men carrying full financial burden, as well as performing stressful physical labour, was mentioned. Many men would be freed of their concept of how society may perceive them, should gender roles reach a state of equality (Bielby, & Bielby, 1989).

The freedom felt by men who are not trapped by traditional gender role performance, is balanced by a significant number of men who feel insecure at the advancement of women, not only in terms of women entering into traditionally male dominated realms, but also in terms of personal boundaries and identity (Ross, 1982). Previous concepts and behaviour, which defined men, are no longer valid, and even socially desirable, in certain factions. This may lead to identity crises and diffidence in men who have a need to feel masculine and secure within their realm of 'how men behave'.

The transformation of society has lead to an increased acceptance and embracement of diversity (Bielby, & Bielby, 1989). This has allowed more feminine men and homosexual men to accept themselves and be accepted in society, far more easily than in previous times. For a man to be gay, he is male physically, while having same-sex preferences, which often translates to exhibiting behaviours, attitudes, and ideas, interests or preferences more commonly associated with women (Samons, 2001). However, this does not necessarily mean being effeminate. Being male is being heterosexual fundamentally, and exhibiting mostly interests and behaviours associated with masculinity. This distinction is founded on the basis that male and female attributes, interests and performed behaviours are different and definable. For many gay men, although society is increasingly accepting of them, for the definition of gay to be clearer than that of male, female attributes must be more clearly defined than male (Samons, 2001). The combination of male and female attributes that make up the definition of gay must be clearer than that of male alone. This is not so. The complexity of not only masculinity and femininity, but gay and lesbianism, confounds the issue. Many gay men appear to be traditionally masculine. Further to this, within many homosexual relationships, there is still the existence of the 'male' and 'female' roles.

The intricacy of being male in a changing society, where being a man is no longer an advantage, is a process through which several generations will need to adjust. The perception that being gay may be easier or less complicated that being heterosexual is not conclusive, considering that in many instances homosexuality does not simply refer to sexual preferences as opposed to being male, which refers to an entire gamut of concepts.

1.5.2. Benefit to society.

As a broad generalisation, as more women enter into the economy, so new paradigms will be created and a new enlightenment of creativity and ideas may evolve. There is an ethical component which emphasises that equality and equal opportunities to live a fulfilling life is 'the right' path for society to follow. Benefits may be small and unrecognised, despite the fact that society may begin to reap advantages. For instance, as household loads gradually become more shared, this will evolve into common practice.

1.5.3. Personal satisfaction.

The most significant direct benefit of this change will be the opportunity for more people to achieve actualisation, in terms of their careers, and chosen life path. Maslow"s notion of self-actualization is guided by the construction of the personal indices of self-democraticness, support, tolerance, and trust (Cares, & Blackburn, 1978). Braun, Scott & Alwin (1994) state that the input of women's labour-force participation to attitudes about the family has been the focus of much research, however, they argue that the relationships between gender, work, and attitudes are not a focus for consideration, and that these will differ dramatically in economic conditions. The authors maintain that the higher level of acceptance of female labour-force participation is a result of economic hardship and poverty. With this is mind, it follows that the children and families of dual income families will benefit materialistically, as well as, in terms of life opportunities, such as education and travel. Becker (1995) maintains that parents do spend more on children when their incomes and education increase, and Hamel (2000) stated that the average American parents today, spend up to three times as much on their children, as was spent on themselves, as children.

1.6 How change will be effected

The surfacing of "family friendly" or "flexible" employment policies and general practices signifies the recognition by employers and organisations of the importance of work/home relationships. There is a belief, in South Africa, that these policies are paradoxical, as they have mainly been applied to women. Hence the introduction of

paternal leave, in South Africa, since 1997, is an attempt to strive towards general equality.

South Africa's Basic Conditions of Employment Act delineates simple environmental factors, which organisations need to implement to ensure fairness and ethics within the work environment. As the South African working environment evolves, so organisations are compelled to assist in this change by accepting that employees are coping with diverse roles and by implementing organisational policies which assist with child care, flexible working hours and off site working options. Thomas & Ganster (1995) analysed the direct and indirect impacts of organisational policies and practices, which support family responsibilities on work-family conflict and psychological, physical, and behavioural measures of stress. They discovered that compassionate assistance, in particular flexible scheduling and supportive supervisors, has a positive outcome on employee perceptions of control over work and family issues. Consequently, beliefs about control are associated with lower levels of work-family conflict, job dissatisfaction, depression, somatic complaints, and blood cholesterol. Therefore organisations are able to increase employees' manageability of family responsibilities and conflicting demands of work and family life.

Although its popularity is slow, many corporate enterprises, such as Sasol, Absa, the Development Bank of South Africa and Edcon have attempted to implement these policies. One of the difficulties, however, lies in the number of employees who are reliant on public transport. This limits the freedom of many workers, to work the hours which would suit them and their family lives.

Brewster and Padavic (2000) examine the processes underlying the dramatic shift in viewpoints regarding women's work and family roles in the United States over the last twenty years. They state this transformation is a result of actual change in individual opinions, as well as adjustments in population membership that result from births and deaths. They explain that although demographic structures and micro-level attitude shifts are important in considering attitude tendencies, the involvement of cohort sequence is considerably larger now than in previous periods. They conclude that multivariate analyses demonstrate that firstly the gender difference in attitudes is greater among recent cohorts, and secondly, the strong association between education

and attitudes, which characterized earlier cohorts, is significantly weaker among cohorts born after 1945.

The South African Government makes encouraging change and progression of procedures a national priority. However, Seidman (1999) highlights the fact that the propensity for conceptual theorists of democratisation to neglect gender dynamics is possibly aggravated in the South African case, where racial inequality was obviously a key factor. He states, however, that awareness of the processes through which South African activists inserted gender issues into negotiations regarding the construction of new establishments provides an extraordinary prism through which to explore the gendered character of citizenship. He argues that during the democratic transition, South African activists, often influenced by international feminist discussions, created a collective definition of gender welfare and built these concerns into the structure of democratic institutions, in ways which will affect politics and the definition of "women's interests" in the future.

Mainstream policies often define men and boys unreservedly thereby pressurising some people's circumstance. Certain policies, such as financial and social, could be utilised to create an equitable society. There are other factors which would aid an equitable society, such as: career incentives for childcare input; disincentives for employees to work overtime; and incentives for men to accept flexi-time positions which will enable them to assist with childcare and domestic work (Barker, 2000). Public pressure opposing gendered violence, including sexual harassment and organisational abuse, in a manner, which defines men as partners in change and co-beneficiaries thereof, could further societal equity (Barker). Education is a key component in creating a socialised change. Gender role equality in school education, as well as young adult education programmes, combining health, child development and relationship issues, may assist in the generations to come (Bailey, 1993). Community based education and socialisation would also be necessary to effect change (Bailey).

It's difficult to identify the true impact that a shift in societies' values, beliefs and behaviour will arouse. The visible developments, such as increased school after-care options, child lifting services, ready made meals and adjustable work hours are all

elements which will probably increase, however, it is the non observable factors which are far more tricky to define and monitor. Society evolves continually and therefore, the impression which change makes will progressively develop over a period of time. Although the element of time can imply a gradual adjustment, the effect of working women, dual income homes, marital dissention and organisational policy adjustments are being experienced in every sector of society (Hartman, 1981). Women who have achieved success in male dominated industries have broken the shackles of their societies and established opportunities for many other women to pursue similar careers. The focus of creating a change in society and analysing the impact thereof is a continual process. There is a need to facilitate the prospect for men and women to actualise their potential and live the life of their choice, in whatever sector of the career spectrum.

It has been said that the only constant in the world is change. As we witness globalisation, greater diversification, technological advancements and increased speed in every sect of our lives, the cognition that a shift in traditional societies will have an impact on each individual's life needs to be realized. Perspectives regarding the potential advantages and disadvantages of change contradict one another as authors' intentions vary. The fact remains, undisputed, that society is evolving through a process of gender equality. This development, although terrifying for some, provides opportunity and growth for most individuals. The key to unlock positive consequences for the majority of the population is to recognise the personal and community enrichment which society's revolution may bring.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY

If you want to be happy, be.

Leo Tolstoy (1828 - 1910)

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the factors and characteristics, which have enabled certain women to succeed in industries predominantly occupied by men. Beyond the features and distinctiveness of each person, there are deemed to be underlying qualities and internal interactions, which enhance the personal process of achieving success. Socialisation as a process of enforcing norms and acceptable behaviour has been discussed as an influence formulating gender categories of employment. Social cognitive theory, self-efficacy and resilience are all dynamic aspects, which augment coping and encourage the attainment of aspirations.

The social cognitive theory has its origins in the discipline of psychology and learning theory, with its early foundation being laid by behavioural and social psychologists. The social learning theory evolved under the umbrella of behaviourism. The focus of behaviourism was on learning. The two main streams of thought, which initiated behaviourism, in the first decades of the twentieth century, were classical and operant conditioning. Classical conditioning was founded by the Russian Ivan Pavlov, who in studying the digestive processes of dogs, realized the dogs would salivate in response to stimuli that were paired with food, when such stimuli were afterwards presented without food (Klein, & Mowrer, 1989). Thus the principle of conditioned stimuli and responses was founded. Rilling (2000) explains that operant conditioning, founded by Watson in 1914 and furthered by Skinner in 1938, also focused on observable behaviour in contrast to Freud and psychoanalytical study of introspection aimed at uncovering the unconscious mind. Operant conditioning theorists believed that learning was based on attempts to "operate" within an environment (Makin, & Cox, 2004). Behaviour was understood in terms of responses to external stimuli. An organism would attempt to gain positive outcomes through trial and error. The power of rewards (positive reinforcement), punishment (negative reinforcement) and no reinforcement in learning or extinguishing a given response were demonstrated.

The spotlight of behaviourism was initially on survival, instincts, adaptation to the environment, reflexes and physiology. It excluded the thought processes of the brain or freedom of choice in decision making. Cognitive behaviourism evolved only later in the twentieth century, in direct response to this omission. This form of learning theory places emphasis on the psychological workings of the brain whilst retaining the knowledge gleaned from behaviourism. The focus is on understanding the cognitions in between a stimulus and response.

Social psychology is the study of the effect of social environments on the individual. Miller and Dollard (1941) officially introduced the social learning theory (SLT), with their publication of "Social Learning and Imitation" (Pajares, 2002). This theory rejected behaviourist notions of association and instead, proposed a theory of social learning and imitation based on principles of drive reduction. They incorporated the principles of learning: reinforcement, punishment, extinction, and imitation of models. This theory is significant because it introduced the concept of vicarious learning, which encompasses learning from the experiences of others. Imitation requires observing and copying others. Importantly, it integrated social psychology with learning theory. It was a theory of learning, however, which failed to take into account the creation of novel responses or the processes of delayed and non-reinforced imitations (Pajares, 2002). "Social Learning and Personality Development", written in 1963 by Bandura and Walters, unlocked the frontiers of social learning theory by introducing observational learning and vicarious reinforcement i.e., learning indirectly by watching the consequences of the behaviour of others within society. By the 1970s, Bandura realised that a key factor was missing, not only from the prevalent learning theories of the day, but also from his own social learning theory. In 1977, the publication of "Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioural change," the important piece of that missing element was identified - self-beliefs. This was significant because it contributed towards a more holistic understanding of learning by incorporating self perceptions. According to Bandura, behaviour is acquired and regulated through the person's sense of self-efficacy (Leyser, 2002).

Bandura (1986) advanced the view of human functioning by viewing people as self-organizing, proactive, self-reflecting and self-regulating rather than as reactive

organisms shaped and shepherded by environmental forces or driven by concealed inner impulses (Pajares, 2002). Bandura viewed human functioning as the product of a dynamic interplay of personal, behavioural, and environmental influences. This is the foundation of Bandura's conception of "reciprocal determinism", the view that (a) personal factors in the form of cognition, affect, and biological events, (b) behaviour, and (c) environmental influences create interactions that result in a triadic reciprocality. Bandura altered the label of his theory from social learning to social "cognitive" both to distance it from prevalent social learning theories of the day and to emphasize that cognition plays a critical role in people's capability to construct reality, self-regulate, encode information, and perform behaviours (Pajares).

This philosophy ties in with McGregor's motivational theories X and Y. McGregor (1960) explained Theory X as employees disliking work and needing direction. He states that employees do not want responsibility and prefer to be managed. They must be controlled, coerced and threatened with punishment to become productive. As opposed to this, Theory Y states that employees are capable of performing independently and can be given responsibility. They enjoy work and will embrace self-direction and self-control if they are committed to the purpose of the work.

Waring (1991) elucidates that Theory X represented a school of thought known as taylorism or scientific management. It led to a management style where employees were closely supervised and allowed no space for autonomy or creativity. This created a situation of unhappy, de-motivated and unproductive employees. It created the exact scenario managers would want to avoid. McGregor believed theory X to be inaccurate and theory Y to be true. He encouraged management by objectives because it evaluated employees based on performance and encouraged them to assume responsibility for improvements.

The concept of self belief and self efficacy are dominant in the understanding of self actualisation by the women who have been interviewed. The tripartite relationship between personal factors, environmental factors and behaviour creates the foundation for self efficacy as a foundation for success. Bandura (1986 p.15) states that "a theory that denies that thoughts can regulate actions does not lend itself readily to the explanation of complex human behaviour." Although biological, environmental and

human adaptation are considered, social cognitive theory rejects the type of evolutionism that views social behaviour as the product of evolved biology. This theory does not account for the influence that social and technological innovations, which create new environmental selection pressures for adaptiveness, have on biological evolution (Bussey, & Bandura, 1999).

Social cognitive theory is rooted in a view of human agency in which individuals are agents proactively engaged in their own development and can make things happen by their actions. Key to this sense of agency is the fact that, among other personal factors, individuals possess self-beliefs that enable them to exercise a measure of control over their thoughts, feelings, and actions, as Bandura (1986, p.25) clarifies "what people think, believe, and feel affects how they behave." Environments and social systems influence human behaviour through psychological mechanisms of the self system (Pajares, 2002). Therefore factors such as economic conditions, socioeconomic status, and educational and familial structures do not affect human behaviour directly. The impact is considered in people's aspirations, self-efficacy beliefs, personal standards, emotional states, and other self-regulatory influences. An open systems approach maintains that all living systems form part of larger systems, which in turn, are part of further overlapping and concentric systems. These are termed open systems because their boundaries are permeable to influences from the smaller systems they comprise and the larger supra-system of which they form a part (Brown, & Pedder, 1991). This is relevant because a change in one element of a system tends to affect other components of the system. The discussion of self belief needs to be encompassed within an environment of acknowledging personal differences is ability.

1.1 Human capacity

Rooted within Bandura's social cognitive perspective is the understanding that individuals are imbued with certain capabilities that define what it is to be human (Pajares, 2002). People extract meaning from their environment, construct plans of action, solve problems, support action, acquire knowledge and communicate with others. In the creation of success, human capacity plays a significant role in the attainment of accomplishment. Within this study, the concept of human capacity is mentioned as it is imperative to acknowledge that the intrinsic human capacity

enabled the success of each person who is analysed. A correlation exists between a person's intrinsic abilities and the development of their self efficacy levels, as they prove their own abilities to themselves.

1.2. Self-efficacy

Bandura (1986, p.391) defined self-efficacy as "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances." Self-efficacy beliefs provide the foundation for human motivation, well-being, and personal accomplishment (Pajares, 2002). Additional factors such as knowledge, skills, education, decision making abilities and circumstances impact on the ultimate achievement of one's goals, yet the personal belief in one's own abilities, must weigh on the influences of aspiration completion. The personal interpretation of the outcome of a situation, impacts on self beliefs in term of personal abilities. Self-efficacy is an individual's belief in his personal ability to perform specific tasks. It is a person's belief in his own competencies, capacities or potential productivity levels and the evaluation of the likelihood achievements can be attained. Bandura (1997, p.2) synopses this concept perfectly, when he states "people's level of motivation, affective states, and actions are based more on what they believe than on what is objectively true." For this reason, how people behave can often be better predicted by the beliefs they hold about their capabilities than by what they are actually capable of accomplishing, for these self-efficacy perceptions help determine what individuals do with the knowledge and skills they have (Pajares).

Self-efficacy beliefs are themselves critical determinants of placing one-self in a position to achieve success, and in the situation to acquire knowledge and skill. Pajares (2002) emphasizes that the contention that self-efficacy beliefs are a critical ingredient in human functioning is consistent with the view of many theorists and philosophers who have argued that the potent affective, evaluative, and episodic nature of beliefs make them a filter through which new phenomena are interpreted. White and Ruh (1973) highlight that some of these philosophers would include Maslow (1954) and Rokeach (1968). Much human behaviour, which has purpose, is initially shaped in thinking, which creates goals or objectives. Personal goal setting is influenced by self-appraisal of capabilities. The stronger the perceived self-efficacy,

the higher the goal challenges people set for themselves and the firmer their commitment to them (Bandura, 1991).

People's beliefs in their efficacy influence the types of anticipatory scenarios they construct and rehearse (repeat) in their minds. Those who have a high sense of efficacy visualise success scenarios that provide positive support for performance and the confidence to attempt new challenges. Those who doubt their efficacy visualise failure scenarios and dwell on the many things that can go wrong. It is difficult to achieve much while fighting self-doubt (Bandura, 1991). Bandura (1997) cites a 1989 study in which he and Wood tested the notion that conceptions of ability affect thought processes and performance attainments through the self-efficacy mechanism. Before the individuals began a given task, the researchers instilled different conceptions of ability by telling some of them that proficient management of the simulated organisation reflected inherent intellectual capacity. Others were told that performance on this managerial task reflected an acquirable intellectual skill. They then measured how these two conceptions of ability affected the self-regulatory factors governing performance attainments. The group who viewed ability as reflecting an inherent intellectual aptitude experienced plummeting levels of self-efficacy as they encountered problems. They became progressively more erratic in their analytic thinking, and they lowered their aspirations and goals for the group. A progressive deterioration in performance was shown. In contrast, the conception of ability as an acquirable skill fostered a highly resilient sense of self-efficacy. The individuals remained steadfast in their perceived efficacy, despite difficult standards to fulfill, they continued to set challenging goals for the group, and they used analytic strategies in efficient ways. Such a self-efficacious orientation paid off in high group attainments.

People's self-efficacy beliefs should not be confused with their judgments of the consequences that their behaviour will produce. Typically, self-efficacy beliefs help determine the outcomes one expects. Confident individuals anticipate successful outcomes. Aronson (2004) states that just because attitudes do not always predict beliefs, it does not mean that attitudes never predict behaviour. He quotes (p.128) Fazio's belief that attitudes are used to interpret and perceive an object selectively and to make sense of a complex situation. He uses this theory as a foundation to conclude

that there is considerable evidence to support the proposition that highly accessible attitudes guide behaviour. He states (p.129) that one measure of attitude accessibility is the speed with which an individual can provide an evaluative response of an object or issue. Aronson believes that a relatively subtle context can influence attitudes and expectations, which, in turn, affect behaviour and subsequently affect the next round of perceptions. The outcomes we expect are themselves the result of the judgments of what we can accomplish, and therefore our outcome expectations are, according to Bandura, unlikely to contribute to predictions of behaviour (Pajares, 2002). Because individuals operate collectively as well as individually, self-efficacy is both a personal and a social construct (Pajares).

Self-efficacy beliefs affect the choices people make, they help determine how much effort people will expend on an activity, how long they will persevere when confronting obstacles, and how resilient they will be in the face of adverse situations (Pajares, 2002). The higher the sense of efficacy, the greater the effort exerted, persistence, and resilience. Matthias, Fliege, Hildebrandt, Schirop and Klapp (2002) performed a study analyzing the psychological variables in patients with diabetes, their study concludes that patient's belief in self-efficacy and active coping behavior appear to have the greatest relevance for achieving the primary treatment goals. Locke, Zubritzky, Lee, and Bobko (1982) state that ability, past performance and self-efficacy are the major predictors of goal choice. Their study showed that ability, self-efficacy, goals and task strategies were all related to task performance. Self-efficacy was more strongly related to past performance than to future performance but was still a significant predictor of future performance when past performance was controlled. Self-efficacy ratings for moderate to difficult levels of performance were the best predictors of future performance. They suggest that the concept of self-efficacy might provide an integrating mechanism between the goal setting and social learning theory approaches to task performance.

Gunn and Schunk (1986) believe that although self-efficacy is influenced by task performances, it is not a mere reflection of them. They state that performing a task well does not guarantee that people will view themselves as highly capable, because self-efficacy is partially independent of cognitive skills. They also support the notion that perceptions of capabilities affect subsequent skillful performance. Gunn and

Schunk found that the largest direct attributional effect on changes in skill was found for effort. Although they feel that it is possible that this effect was mediated by some variable not assessed such as persistence.

People with a strong sense of personal competence approach difficult tasks as challenges to be mastered rather than as threats to be avoided (Pajares, 2002). Self-efficacy beliefs also influence an individual's thought patterns and emotional reactions. High self-efficacy correlates with feeling of emotional stability and reassurance. As a consequence, self-efficacy beliefs can powerfully influence the level of accomplishment that one ultimately achieves (Pajares). The Galatea effect entailing the self-fulfilling prophecy where one accomplishes what one believes one can accomplish, comes into play.

Self-efficacy should be distinguished from self-esteem in that it concerns the psychology of task performance, whereas self-esteem is a broad concept, which can be applied to wider aspects of self-image in contexts that are not performance based. The concept of work or task performance is however broad by nature. Willoughby, King and Polatajko (1996) highlight one of the important differences between self-efficacy and self-esteem as being the perceptions of self-efficacy varying depending on the life event in question whereas self-esteem is a relatively stable way in which we view ourselves that is established early on in life. Pajares and Schunk (2001) support this view, by stating that the difference between self-efficacy and self-esteem beliefs is not cosmetic. They define self-efficacy as a judgment of the confidence that one has in one's abilities; whereas self-concept is a description of one's own perceived self accompanied by an evaluative judgment of self-worth. They elucidate that because self-concept beliefs involve evaluations of self-worth, self-concept is particularly dependent on how a culture or social structure values the attributes on which the individual bases those feelings of self-worth. As opposed to this, self-efficacy beliefs are not as tightly bound by cultural considerations.

When using self efficacy beliefs as a determinant of behaviour, it cannot be overemphasized that, when exploring the relationship between efficacy and behaviour, we must be certain to measure the self-efficacy beliefs relevant to the behaviour in question, and vice-versa (Pajares, 2002). Faulty assessment of self-

percepts or performance will create an ambiguous relationship. Bandura (1986, p. 396) has argued that "measures of self-precept must be tailored to the domain of psychological functioning being explored." Tasks perceived as more difficult or demanding than they really are result in inaccurate low efficacy readings, whereas those perceived as less difficult may result in overconfidence (Pajares). It is necessary to emphasize that sense of efficacy is only of use in predicting behaviour, when there is a realistic understanding of how much effort will need to be projected, the duration of the exercise and the level of skill required.

Pajares (2002) quotes the Roman poet Virgil stating that "they are able who think they are able." Since Bandura first introduced the construct of self-efficacy in 1977, researchers have been very successful in demonstrating that individuals' self-efficacy beliefs powerfully influence their attainments in diverse fields. In his 1997 book, "Self-efficacy: The exercise of control", Bandura set forth the tenets of his theory of self-efficacy and its applications to fields as diverse as life-course development, education, health, psychopathology, athletics, business, and international affairs. In this book, Bandura also further situated self-efficacy within a social cognitive theory of personal and collective agency that operates in concert with other sociocognitive factors in regulating human well-being and attainment. He also addressed the major facets of agency, in particular, the nature and structure of self-efficacy beliefs, their origins and effects, the processes through which such self-beliefs operate, and the modes by which they can be created and strengthened. In addition, Bandura reviewed a vast body of research on each of these aspects of agency in diverse applications of the theory. A discussion of this work is beyond the scope of this paper. A search for the term "self-efficacy" in many academic databases reveals that, by the year 2000, over 2500 articles had been written on this important psychological construct. Self efficacy refers to a belief in one's own abilities, in order to effect achievement, there is a need to manage oneself and one's behaviour.

1.3 Self management

The manner and degree to which people self-regulate their own actions and behaviour involves the accuracy and consistency of their self-observation and self-monitoring, the judgments they make regarding their actions, choices, and attributions, and, finally, the evaluative and tangible reactions they make to their own behaviour

through the self-regulatory process (Pajares, 2002). Manz and Simms (1980) define self management as management of own behaviours by setting personal standards, evaluating performance in terms of these standards, and by self-administering consequences based on self-evaluations. They maintain that specific techniques such as self-observation, goal specification, cueing strategies, incentive modification, and rehearsal can be used to exercise self-management behavior. Manz (1986) discusses the importance of integrating self influence with the model of self management. He discusses the fundamental component of self management as intrinsic motivation. Resourcefulness and creativity also play an essential role in the development of the self managed individual.

All behaviour begins with the motivation or impetus needed to embark on that behaviour or action. According to Bandura (1993), motivation based on goals or standards is governed by three types of self-influences. These are: affective (emotional) reactions to one's performance; perceived self-efficacy for goal attainment; and readjustment of personal goals based on one's progress. Bandura (1991) proved that these three self-influences impact on motivation levels, which in turn determine self-efficacy. In this study, the direction and magnitude of the gap between performance and a difficult assigned goal were varied. The more positive sources of self influence individuals created for themselves, the higher the effort was exerted to attain the goals. Taken together, this set of self-influences was shown to account for the major share of variation in motivation. The self-efficacy beliefs contribute to motivation because they determine the personal goal setting. How much effort is expended, the extent of perseverance when encountering difficulties, and resilience to failures are all affected. When faced with obstacles and failures, people who harbour self-doubts about their capabilities slacken their efforts or give up quickly. Those who have a strong belief in their capabilities exert greater effort when they fail to master the challenge. Strong perseverance often secures performance accomplishments. The trait of resilience is often advantageous when persevering through obstacles or challenging circumstance.

1.4 Resilience

Kobasa, Maddi and Kahn (1982) explain the construct of hardiness evolved out of the stress and coping literature to explain individual differences in stress resiliency.

Coetzee and Cilliers (2001) explain that the concept of hardiness is considered a personality style consisting of three interrelated factors, namely commitment (individuals who involve themselves in whatever they are doing), control (individuals who believe and act as if they can influence the events shaping their lives), and challenge (individuals who consider change not only as a threat but also as an opportunity for development). When the resources at the disposal of a person are inadequate for meeting the specific demands of the moment, this causes stress, Coetzee and Cilliers explain that potency will enable the individual to restore a state of homeostasis. They clarify that potency refers to a person's enduring confidence in his or her own capacities. This results from previous successful coping experiences as well as confidence and commitment to the social environment. Strümpfer (2004) affirms that resilience is typically defined in terms of being strong in the face of adversity, particularly in exceptionally challenging experiences, which have been constructive and growth-enhancing. The concept of control can be compared to the well researched phenomenon of locus of control to be discussed further on in this chapter.

Strümpfer (2004) discusses the construct of resilience as a process starting with an appraisal of the situation. He explains that by appraising the situation, an understanding of inordinate demands unearths a motive to conquer, recover or convert the burden. He continues that goal-setting, followed by behaviour, culminates into the final phase of a process of active coping. Strümpfer delineates six personal dispositions which influence this process. The first and the last originate from Strümpfer, and the middle four are derived from Antonovsky's sense of coherence construct. The six dispositions are positive emotionality, comprehensibility, resources under control of self, resources under control of others, and meaningfulness and finally hope of success with respect to a specific goal. He emphasizes that all forms of social support add value to this process. This is consistent with research that shows social support has found to be the single biggest reducer of stress (Barling, Fullager, & Bluen, 1990). The resistance construct has three dominant outcomes, specifically: positive emotions, and two regarding personal growth, namely enhanced personal coping and enhanced interpersonal coping. Strümpfer states that although these components can be distinguished, they show systemic interrelatedness and interpenetration.

Strümpfer (2004) maintains that resilience is primarily not a unitary characteristic. He states that persons can show considerable variation in their degree of resilience. Furthermore in various spheres of operation and personal development stages resilience may differ. Strümpfer (2004 p.3) believes that "there is also a need to contextualize resilience in the contexts of social structure, socioeconomic status, ethnicity and culture. As with many personality variables, these form the ultimate sources of resilience, and they both shape and constrain its expression." He states that it is far more meaningful to speak of various "resiliences." With this as a foundation, Strümpfer deduces that resilience is a process rather than a personal trait. He refers to this as the process of resiling, which is explained (Strümpfer 2004 p.3) as "a pattern of psychological activity which consists of a motive to be strong in the face of inordinate demands, the goal-directed behaviour of coping and rebounding, and of accompanying emotions and cognitions."

Strümpfer (2004) introduces the concept of false variety, in contrast to the description of authentic resiling, where the individual does not redirect as the situational demands disappear, but tries to behave resiliently. He asserts that this is likely to occur in occupations where uncompromising tenacity and bravery are valued, such as among soldiers, police, and some business executives. Personal and social frameworks determine behaviour. The micro and macro environments impact on individual behaviour, Strümpfer (2004, p.1)refers to the environmental influences as a "complex web of factors", particularly in view of their "synergistic effect, wherein the effects of co-existing stressors far exceeds the effects of any single factor considered individually."

The term resilience is applied to multitude of responses, most of which are linked to positive functioning or coping. One of the key factors of resilience is the ability to manage the situation despite danger, hardship, or stressful difficulties. Strümpfer emphasizes that qualities of resilience may be developed or strengthened, not necessarily due to presently existing demands, but in anticipation of inevitable inordinate demands, a process which he describes as proactive coping. The process of resiling, as described by Strümpfer, is considered to have the interdependent and interlocking components (Figure 5 on page 143 for Strümpfer's (2004) model of the

process of resilience). The concept of resilience implies a hardiness in the face of adversity, a naturally positive outlook or approach is another approaching towards difficulty.

1.5 Salutogenesis

The medical focus on physical wellbeing evolved to encompass the individual's psychological wellbeing. In 1979, Antonovsky wrote that despite being bombarded by multiple stressors in everyday living and undergoing severe traumatic experiences, there are individuals who cope quite well and stay healthy (Coetzee, & Cilliers, 2001). He developed the paradigm of salutogenesis (meaning the origin of health) in his quest to unearth the motive resulting in positive health.

Frankl (1959) argued that many individuals who survived Nazi concentration camps did so through an honest acceptance that some portion of their existence was not under their control. This assertion is in direct contrast to the personal control assumption. However, he clarifies that they continued to explore what maneuvering space was left to them. In so doing these people experienced a form of freedom, and therefore retained some sense of human dignity. Secondly, constructive thinking enabled an intellectual escape, which provided avenues for mental exploration. Frankl (1959, p.99) states that the ability to make some decisions, continuing to exercise the "diminutive remains of one's right to decide for oneself", refusing "to become completely passive" or "to be completely overwhelmed by circumstances", as well as not "to lose one's reasoning power and ability to plan and put plans into action" thus "remaining an individual and an individualist." Even when death was inevitable, wrote Frankl (1967, p.107), it was necessary first to philosophize, then to die. "This was the one valid thing: to give an accounting to oneself on the question of ultimate meaning, and then to be able to walk forth upright and die the called-for martyr's death."

Some researchers believe that the pathogenic view and salutogenesis can be described in terms of a "health disease/ease continuum," implying that the individual will function between the two poles of terminal illness and total wellness (Strümpfer, 1990). Strümpfer emphasizes that absence of psychopathology does not necessarily indicate wellbeing or the presence of psychological strengths, nor do low measures of

wellbeing indicate pathology. It is possible that wellbeing and pathology be completely independent of one another, as opposed to existing on a continuum. In 1995 Strümpfer introduced the broader concept of fortigenesis (meaning the origins of strengths), based on Antonovsky's writings, to include sources of strength. Wissing and Van Eeden (2002) further argued that the focus should not only be on origins of psychological strengths, as implied by the names salutogenesis and fortigenesis, but also on the nature, dynamics and enhancement of psychological wellbeing (Coetzee, & Cilliers, 2001). They introduced the term psychofortology (meaning the science of psychological strengths), which considers factors such as capacity building and quality of life.

1.6 Psychofortology

Strümpfer (1990) identified six constructs to conceptualize aspects of psychological wellbeing, to describe the core of salutogenic and fortigenic functioning. These are the sense of coherence, locus of control, self-efficacy, hardiness, potency, and learned resourcefulness.

Antonovsky (1990) defines the sense of coherence as a global construct that expresses the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environments are predictable and that there is a high probability that things will work out as well as can reasonably be expected (Coetzee, & Cilliers, 2001). Comprehensibility includes the concepts of predictability and structure. Manageability refers to the ability to utilize resources to achieve desired results. Meaningfulness presents the notion that there are certain demands which are worth expending energy for the achievement of a challenge.

Locus of control (LOC) describes the extent to which individuals believe that their behaviour has a direct impact on events that follow (Coetzee, & Cilliers, 2001). Coetzee and Cilliers cite Rotter's (1966) description of individuals who believe that they can control what happens to them as having an internal locus of control (internals). Those who tend to think about what happens to them as a function of luck, fate, or powerful others, have an external locus of control (externals).

Finally, learned resourcefulness refers to a set of well-learned behaviours and skills by which individuals self-regulate or control their behaviour (Coetzee, & Cilliers, 2001). Coetzee and Cilliers site Rosenbaum (1990) as stating that it is seen as a personality repertoire that includes mainly three functions: regressive self-control, reformative self-control, and experiential self-control. Coetzee and Cilliers define the terms as follows: Regressive self-control helps the individual to regulate internal responses, such as pain, emotions, and cognition that interfere with the smooth execution of an ongoing task. Reformative self-control enables individuals to change their current behaviour in the hope of achieving a greater reward in the future by using planning skills, problem-solving strategies, and the delay of immediate gratification. Experiential self-control enables individuals to experience and enjoy unknown and pleasurable activities to the fullest. There are other constructs which relate to the preservation and augmentation of psychological wellness yet they all show some form of conceptual resemblance to the above six defined constructs, therefore they will not be considered for the purposes of this study. Research results indicate high intercorrelations between all six constructs (Kossuth, 1998; Viviers & Cilliers, 1999 as cited in Coetzee and Cilliers).

1.7 Career Psychology

Career choice and development is but one example of the power of self-efficacy beliefs to affect the course of life paths through choice-related processes. The stronger people's belief in their efficacy, the more career options they consider possible, the greater the interest they show in them, the better they prepare themselves educationally for different occupations, and the greater their staying power and success in difficult occupational pursuits. Hackett and Betz (1981, p.27) note that "overall, career self-efficacy is strongly predictive of a wide range of career-related behaviours from early high school through college and beyond."

Individuals who experience the perceived success of the entrepreneurial parent express a greater preference for an entrepreneurial career than those who have not had this kind of role model performance effect (Scherer, 1989). It would seem that the probability of someone becoming an entrepreneur can be increased by exposing the individual either vicariously or through formal learning experiences to the tasks associated with owning a business. This exposure can be accomplished through

mentors or role models in the workplace or home, career guidance, internships, and cooperative education programs. Others have advocated various forms of government intervention, access to apprenticeships in the industry, education programs, and gender-based public policy programs (Brennan, 2003). Bandura outlined the predictive success of enhancing self-efficacy based on observance of others.

Perceived coping self-efficacy regulates avoidance behaviour as well as anxiety arousal. Numerous studies consistently show that people base their actions in threatening situations on their coping efficacy rather than on anxiety arousal. Perceived coping efficacy predicts behaviour when anticipated anxiety is partialed out. But anticipated anxiety does not predict avoidant behaviour when perceived coping self-efficacy is partialed out (Williams, 1992). This shows that perceived self-efficacy is even more predictive of avoidance behaviour than anxiety.

The constructs within this paper strive to unearth some of the positive attributes, which may enhance or augment success in the women interviewed, who have achieved in male dominated industries. Some of the generic factors which are believed to drive success include self beliefs, coping mechanisms, degrees of resilience and positive affect. Many successful people have overcome some intense demands and uplifted their circumstances to enable accomplishments. Specific characteristics and personal beliefs may be an empowering factor which enable a select few to achieve beyond the average person, within the same occupational category. Social cognitive theory lays the foundation for understanding some of the essential drivers of success.
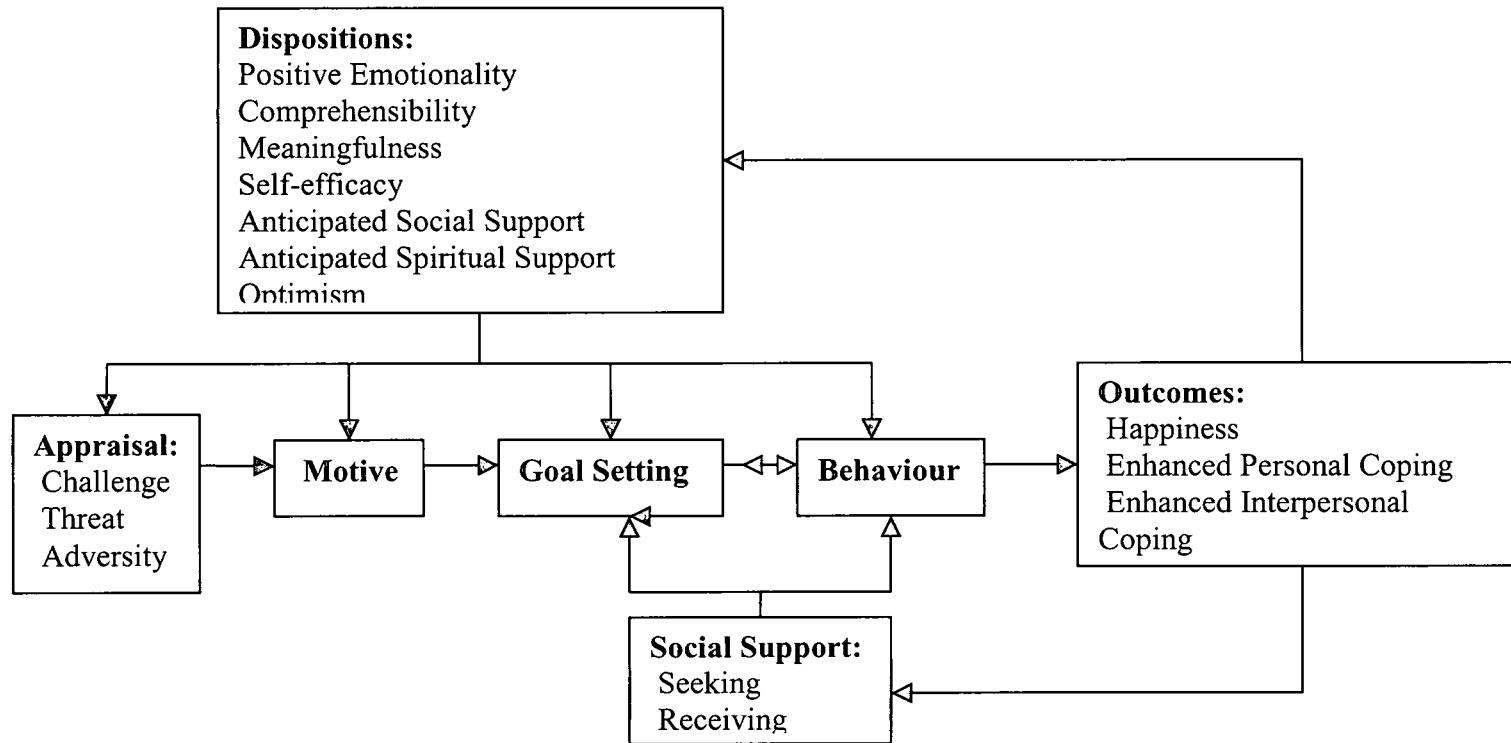
Figure 5. Strümpfer's (2004) model if the process of resilience

Strümpfer, D.J.W. (2004). A different way of viewing adult resilience. *International Review of the Armed Forces Medical Services*. *77*(227-250), 252-260.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research is an active, diligent and systematic process of inquiry aimed at discovering, interpreting and revising facts (Research, 2007, Wipikedia). This intellectual investigation produces a greater understanding of events, behaviours or theories, and creates practical applications, through laws and theories. There are 2 key forms of research methodology, namely qualitative and quantitative. McKereghan (1998, p.1) explains the difference as follows:

> Quantitative research is objective; qualitative research is subjective. Quantitative research seeks explanatory laws; qualitative research aims at in-depth description. Quantitative research measures what it assumes to be a static reality in hopes of developing universal laws. Qualitative research is an exploration of what is assumed to be a dynamic reality. It does not claim that what is discovered in the process is universal and, thus, replicable.

Kuzel as cited in Barbour (2001) believes that rather than aspiring to statistical representativeness or generalisability, qualitative research usually aims to reflect the diversity within a given population. Interpretive and postmodern scholars are championing the use of methodologies that provide insights, reveal meaning and acknowledge the possibility of multiple answers to problems (Goulding, 1996). Whether or not an approach is appropriate depends on the research topic and the research questions being addressed (Avison, Lau, Myers, & Nielson, 1999).

Scientific research paradigms are overall conceptual frameworks within which some researchers work, that is, a paradigm is a world-view or "a set of linked assumptions about the world which is shared by a community of scientists investigating the world" Deshpande, 1983, p. 101 (as cited in Guba, & Lincoln, 1994). Guba & Lincoln synthesize scientific paradigms into the four categories:

1. positivism;
2. realism;
3. critical theory; and
4. constructivism.

Each with the three elements:

1. (1) ontology;
2. (2) epistemology; and
3. (3) methodology.

Positivism predominates in science and assumes that science quantitatively measures independent facts about a single apprehensible reality (Guba & Lincoln as cited in Healy, & Perry, 2000). Miller (1999) states that positivism can be taken to imply that there is always a single externally determined law underlying any set of phenomena and that measurements can be used to fully describe or delineate individuals. He quotes the founder of positivism, Auguste Comte, as stating that all real knowledge results from experience, and that knowledge could be accounted for without resorting to metaphysics. Roebuck and Phifer (1999) explain positivism is the belief that genuinely scientific discourse is value free. It is also a philosophy of science with a particular epistemology of verification, confirmation and falsification. It has an objectivist foundation and maintains a commitment to realism and ethics. Healy and Perry explain further that within the positivism approach, the data and its analysis are value-free and data do not change because they are being observed. That is, researchers view the world through a "one-way mirror" (Guba and Lincoln as cited in Healy & Perry). Positivists separate themselves from the world they study, while researchers within the three other paradigms acknowledge that they have to participate in real-world life to some extent so as to better understand and express its emergent properties and features. Popper (as cited in Healy & Perry) simplifies the concepts into three "worlds." World one is positivist and consists of objective, material things. World two is related to critical theory and constructivism, and is the subjective world of minds. World three is related to realism and consists of abstract things that are born of people's minds but exist independently of any one person.

Healy and Perry (2000) state that positivism researchers consider internal validity, reliability, construct validity and external validity to be essential criteria for quality purposes. They continue that constructivists view "truth" or credibility, neutrality or confirmability, consistency or dependability and applicability or transferability to be the essential criteria for quality (Lincoln, & Guba, 1985 as cited in Healy and Perry).

As opposed to realism, positivism operates in the objective world. Realism research is primarily theory-building, rather than the testing of the applicability of a theory to a population, which is the primary concern of positivism (Healy, & Perry, 2000).

In contrast with positivism's relevance to quantitative research, the next three paradigms are relevant to qualitative research. Critical theory emphasises social realities incorporating historically situated structures. Thus critical theory researchers aim at critiquing and transforming social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values (Healy, & Perry, 2000). Realism believes that there is a "real" world to discover even though it is only imperfectly apprehensible (Guba, & Lincoln, 1994). Constructivism holds that truth is a particular belief system held in a particular context. Like critical theory, constructivism inquires about the ideologies and values that lie behind a finding so that reality actually consists of "multiple realities" that people have in their minds (Healy & Perry).

The grounded theory methodology is clearly constructivist because no "outside" reality is meant to intrude into the research. Grounded theory methodology requires that the research is pure in that it is not affected with pre-existing ideas in a researchers mind. Exploration is confined, focused and channelled into the research at hand. For example, grounded theory researchers are urged not to read reports of similar research done before. However, realism becomes relevant when moving on from this very theory-building methodology to in-depth interviews and focus groups methodologies that have an interview protocol consisting of probe questions based on what the researcher wants to find out about a predetermined outside reality (Healy, & Perry, 2000) (Figure 6 on page 167 for Healy & Perry's diagrammatic representation of this process). Ontology is the "reality" that researchers investigate, epistemology is the relationship between that reality and the researcher, and methodology is the technique used by the researcher to investigate that reality (Healy & Perry).

Pidgeon, Turner & Blockley (1991) state that grounded theory emerged from the work of Glaser and Strauss who challenged:

1. The arbitrary division of theory and research;

2. The prevailing view of qualitative research as primarily a precursor to more 'rigorous' quantitative methods by claiming the legitimacy of qualitative work in its own right;

3. The belief that qualitative methods were impressionistic and unsystematic;

4. The separation of data collection and analysis phases of research; and

5. The assumption that qualitative research only produced descriptive case-studies rather than theory development.

1.1 Grounded theory

Grounded theory is an inductive, theory discovery methodology which allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data (Glaser & Strauss as cited in Turner, & Martin, 1986). Grounded theory involves the identification and integration of categories of meaning from data (Willig, 2001). It provides researchers with an 'explanatory framework' to understand the phenomenon being studied. Parsons (1968) explains that in grounded theory, the theory is emergent and grounded in the data. Researchers require an initial question upon which to focus their attention in the area/phenomenon they select. Thus the purpose of grounded theory is the development of a theory. Parsons further delineates 5 steps in grounded theory. He emphasized, however, that stages are not mutually exclusive (ie analysis carried out alongside data collection):

1. Data collection

2. Data Storage

3. Coding

4. Memo writing

5. Outcomes

Strauss and Corbin (1994) define grounded theory as general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed. Theory evolves during actual research, and does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. This methodology is called grounded theory, because it is grounded in the actual data. Pitts (1995) explains that the grounded theory developed here must be considered preliminary, but it provides a focus for future research and practice. Part of the value of the research is that it evolves and

grows naturally based on findings along the way. This is how data gathering and analysis occurs simultaneously and this particularly distinguishes grounded theory from other methodologies. This is part of the value of confining the focus of the study to the research itself.

Grounded theory is based on symbolic interactionism (Wilson & Hutchinson as cited in Sidani, & Sechrest, 1996). This paper states that symbolic interactionism is concerned with how people define events or reality and how they act in accordance with those beliefs. Sidani & Sechrest continue that it is an approach to the study of human conduct and a human group's life; it focuses on the meaning of events to people in natural everyday settings. Attempts to structure, order and interpret data are commonly seen to defile the canons of pure qualitative, positive practices or phenomenological research, where the primacy of the subjective experience of the participant takes precedence over the interpretation of the researcher (Goulding, 1996). Goulding explains that grounded theory allows for multiple data sources which may include interviews, observation of behaviour and published reports, as opposed to relying solely on the words of informants as the only valid source of data.

Pidgeon, Turner & Blockley (1991) elucidate that the development of grounded theory created the following:

- Conceptual models which are grounded in data. This places great stress on the detailed examination and cataloguing of qualitative data as the first stage of developing rich conceptual models that accurately describe data. By emphasizing that theoretical models should emerge from and be firmly grounded in data, the approach stresses the critical importance of the model building phase of the scientific method.
- A social science methodology for the systematic generation of conceptual models from qualitative data sources such as ethnographs.
- A simple and broad based approach to the conceptual analysis of unstructured or semi-structured qualitative data.
- A particular advantage of the grounded theory approach is in uncovering potential conflicts between different frames of reference in use by actors. The product, ie, the grounded theory, *comprises* the set of conceptual

categories and their properties, presented with the relationships among them. Conceptual descriptions of the data are systematically worked out throughout the research process producing three levels of generated conceptualizations:

    i.   Properties of the data, usually organized hierarchically into various categories and subcategories;

    ii. Substantive theory made up of more abstract descriptions of the data as it relates to specific domains; This explores the substance or depth

    iii. Formal theory which integrates the theoretical descriptions across fields.

Seeming contradictions are resolved as follows: The categories in point (i) divide up the data into clearly labelled components based on the key ideas. This makes the data simpler to manage. The substantive theory gives depth of explanation, and the formal theory explains the relationships. This allows the pieces to tie in together like a jigsaw.

There are basically 3 complementary conditions that indicate completion:

    iv. The analytic framework forms a systematic substantive or formal theory;

    v. The written account is a reasonably accurate statement of the matter;

    vi. The findings are presented in a form that the target audiences find useful.

The three basic elements of grounded theory are concepts, categories and propositions. Concepts are the basic units of analysis since it is from conceptualisation of data, not the actual data per se, that theory is developed (Pandit, 1996). Theories can not be built purely from actual incidents or activities as observed or reported; i.e. from "raw data." The incidents, events, happenings are taken as, or analysed as, potential indicators of phenomena, which are thereby given conceptual labels (Corbin, & Strauss, 1990).

1.2 Grounded theory methodology

Grounded theory is in contrast to theory obtained by logico-deductive methods. It is theory which has been systematically obtained through social research and is grounded in data (Goulding, 1996). Goel and Dolan (2003) state that deductive reasoning is the process of drawing valid conclusions from a given set of premises. From a logical point of view it is a closed system. Conversely Li and Cellier (1990) explain that inductive reasoning is a techniques which allows us to reason about a finite state representation of a system on the basis of available data.

Pidgeon, Turner & Blockley (1991) provide the following foundations, which provide the basis for grounded theory methodology:

- A logically consistent set of data collection and analytic procedures aimed to develop theory
- The methodology consist of a set of inductive strategies for analysing data
- The researcher starts with individual cases, incidents or experiences and develop progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize, explain and understand data and identify patterned relationships within it
- Distinctive characteristics of the method include:
    i. Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis phases of research;
    ii. Creation of analytic codes and categories developed from data, not from preconceived hypotheses;
    iii. The development of middle-range theories to explain behaviour and processes;
    iv. Memo-making, ie, writing analytic notes to explicate and fill out categories, the crucial intermediate step between coding data and writing descriptions;
    v. Theoretical sampling, ie, sampling for theory construction to check and refine the analyst's emerging conceptual categories; and
    vi. Delay of literature survey or use of (imported) theoretical models and analysis.
- Fundamentally, grounded theory methods explicitly unite the research process with theoretical development.

The main focus of this methodology was originally to bridge the gap between theoretically empirical research and empirically theory, by grounding theory in data. Charmaz (as cited in Goulding, 1996). Grounded theory is a methodology which has been used to generate theory where little is known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. It is an interpretivist mode of enquiry, which has its roots in symbolic interactionism and as such language, gestures, expressions and actions are all considered primary to the experience. Goulding regards the purpose of a theory to provide the best comprehensive, coherent and simplest model for linking diverse and unrelated facts in an useful and pragmatic way and describes this research as not 'atheoretical', but rather as requiring an understanding of relating theory and empirical work in order to enhance theoretical sensitivity. This study is using the grounded theory methodology so that the experience of each individual can be scrutinized and the true value extracted.

1.2.1. Distinguishing features of grounded theory.

Pidgeon, Turner, & Blockley (1991) delineate the following factors of grounded theory which distinguish this from other forms of research methodology. They are:

- Collection of data takes place at the same time as analysis
- Coding and categories are derived from the ground of the text. i.e. not so much what we bring to the text as what we bring out from it
- Memo writing – where descriptions and explanations are put together from the grounded codings and categorisations
- Theoretical sensitivity - develops connections with existing theory.

1.2.2. An analysis of grounded theory.

Sidani & Sechrest (1996) state the main focus grounded theory to be the discovery of social processes, patters of action and interaction between and amongst individuals and groups, and the meaning of personal experiences as they are constructed within a specific social and interpersonal context. The emphasis lies in understanding the processes, changes and patterns of actions and interactions, which lead to the individuals' perceptions of events. The nature of this study indicates that grounded theory be the most applicable tool for an indepth analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1990)

state that there are four primary requirements for judging a good grounded theory: 1) it should fit the phenomenon, provided it has been carefully derived from diverse data and is adherent to the common reality of the area; 2) it should provide understanding, and be understandable; 3) because the data is comprehensive, it should provide generality, in that the theory includes extensive variation and is abstract enough to be applicable to a wide variety of contexts; and 4) it should provide control, in the sense of stating the conditions under which the theory applies and describing a reasonable basis for action.

The grounded theory approach uses a "systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon" (Strauss, & Corbin, 1990, p24). Selection of any research method is based on the nature of the research question and the preferences of the researchers (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory really looks into the data, as theory accounts for and comes from the data. Grounded theory does not take participants contributions as 'truth', rather as an indication of perspectives and the experience of a phenomenon. This theory takes the big picture approach, with an allowance for refinement. Grounded theory draws on the strengths of the separate scientific and interpretive research traditions of the two sociologists who developed the methodology (Glaser, & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory provides techniques and procedures to create an inductively-deductively integrated theory (Brown, Stevens, Troiano, & Schneider, 2002).

It is recognized that there is a general concern, as highlighted by Goulding (1996) that grounded theorists sometimes fail to devote proper attention to both data collecting techniques and the quality of the gathered material. Goulding also warns against the Glaserian and Straussarian schools of thoughts, and the conflict between forcing data into categories (Strauss 1991) and dealing only with categories that emerge from the observed situations to explain those observed behaviours (Glaser 1992). Goulding refers to Skodol-Wilson and Ambler-Hutchinson's (1996) assertion that grounded theorists always check the development of ideas with further specific observations, make systematic comparisons and often take the research beyond the initial confines of one topic or setting. This exists within the continual striving to develop a fresh theoretical interpretation of data, rather than to explicitly aim for any final or complete interpretation of them (Baker, 1992 as cited in Goulding).

The model created by grounded theory is the informant's 'folk model'. The researcher follows the progression from concepts to categories to integrated theory. Results and discussion are often presented together. Quotations are essential to allow for validity and reliability. Care should be taken that the presentation of quotation does not resemble that of a content analysis. The researcher is more concerned with a full understanding of concepts and how they fit with the emerging theory, rather than with the number of utterances which represent an underlying concept.

The following potential negative consequences of grounded theory must be considered. These destructive aspects will be guarded against and considered when conducting the research:

- When analysing grounded theory, it is necessary to be cognizant of the problem that research can be never ending;
- There is also the potential of low external validity in which it may be difficult to generalize findings to other situations, or experiences of the same phenomenon; However, grounded theory requires a breadth of research and complicated analysis, it is more difficult to replicate complex, broad and depth studies that need to employ a grounded theory approach than it would be to verify simpler research;
- "The researcher faces the difficulty of determining when categories are saturated or when the theory is sufficiently detailed" (Creswell, 1998, p.58);
- There is some level of skill required is executing a study using the grounded theory methodology, an unskilled researcher may misinterpret the data;
- Malterud (2001) delineates the following three main challenges in performing a qualitative research study: reflexivity, transferability and interpretation and analysis;
- Grounded theory has been criticized for its failure to acknowledge implicit theories which guide work at an early stage;

- If not used intelligently "it can also degenerate into a fairly empty building of categories or into a mere smokescreen used to legitimize purely empiricist research (Silverman, 2001, p.71)."

The researcher will remain cognizant that these various factors will be considered and taken into consideration and shielded against when examining the data and conducting research. Confirmability examines the 'objectivity' of the research, i.e. another researcher can confirm the study when presented with the same data (Brown, Stevens, Troiano, & Schneider, 2002). These authors indicate that confirmabiliy is achieved when the findings of the study emerge from the participants, ensuring that the data spoke for itself, not as a mouthpiece for the biases and assumptions of the researcher. Dependability ensures that the changing conditions of the phenomenon under study, are represented. The hallmark of grounded theory is, they say, that it incorporates the different conditions, properties, and dimension of the phenomenon discovered through adherence to the method as described.

1.2.2.1. *Strengths of the grounded theory approach.*

Pidgeon, Turner, and Blockley (1991) outline the following strengths of the grounded theory approach:

- Grounded theory identifies the situated nature of some expert knowledge, as well as the contingent nature of practice, with the need to deploy qualitative and ethnographic approaches.
- Grounded theory produces a 'rich' or 'thick' description that properly acknowledges areas of conflict and contradiction.
- Grounded theory is more likely to determine what actually happens rather than some official or folk version of practice.

1.2.2.2. *Weaknesses of the grounded theory approach.*

Pidgeon, Turner, and Blockley (1991) demarcate the following weaknesses of the grounded theory approach, these are:

- The large documentary overhead.
- Difficult to manage.
- Pragmatic issues about action research, such as access, confidentiality etc.

- High level of social skills required from the investigator.
- Investigors need to be skilled in the method.
- The product may not be as well structured as with other knowledge elicitation methods.
- Not based in experimental science (may be seen as a merit by some).

Healy and Perry (2000) highlight the following complications which incurred when the grounded theory approach was utilized. Firstly, the process of grounded theory research is extremely time-consuming. It is also critical to realize that due to the nature of this method, it often takes the research in a number of directions before a plausible theory begins to emerge. Secondly, they state that grounded theory research involves long periods of uncertainty. Without a priori hypotheses to test and established protocol to follow, much of the first half of the study period required a good measure of faith and hope. Thirdly, the data extracted is sometimes found to be incomplete. Fourthly, collecting data may become expensive.

Goulding (1996) maintains that the qualitative nature of the paradigm focuses on the search for meaning and understanding to build innovative theory and not universal laws. It is a method where close inspection of the data extends theory through theoretical sampling. He asserts that philosophy knowledge is seen as actively and socially constructed with meanings of existence only relevant to an experiential world. Therefore the focus becomes one of how people behave within an individual and social context. Goulding believes that the researcher has an obligation to 'abstract' the data and to think 'theoretically' rather than descriptively.

Sidani and Sechrest (1996) assert that for a qualitative inquiry to be credible, they must be reinforced by referencing trustworthy sources through the use of explicit descriptions attesting to the fidelity of implementation of recommended procedures. Goulding (1996) concludes by quoting Brown's (1995 p.294) belief that some of the advantages of qualitative research include:

- The emphasis on multiple realities,
- The mutual interactivity between the researcher and phenomenon,
- The belief that causes and effects cannot be separated,

- The notion that research is value laden, and
- The outcome of the research is socially constructed.

1.3 Sampling

In order to gain insight into how success is experienced, between 20 to 25 women who have succeeded in industries, which are traditionally male dominated, will be interviewed.

1.3.1. The sample.

The persons to be interviewed will be homogenous individuals. They will all be female, and they will all have reached an official level of achievement within their organisation or respective field. The intention in conducting interviews with this sample is to gain insight into their experience of success. Lohr (1999 p.3) states the following with regards to sample sizes:

> "A perfect sample would be like a "Grandview": a scaled-down version of the population, mirroring every characteristic of the whole population. Of course, no such perfect samples can exist for complicated samples. (Even if it did exist, we would not know it was a perfect sample without measuring the entire population.) But a good sample will reproduce the characteristics of interest in the population, as closely as possible. It will be representative in the sense that each sampled unit will represent the characteristics of a known number of units in the population."

In the past qualitative research often relied on convenience samples, particularly when the group of interest was difficult to access (Barbour, 2001). Purposive (or theoretical) sampling, however, offers researchers a degree of control rather than being at the mercy of any selection bias inherent in pre-existing groups. With purposive sampling, researchers deliberately seek to include "outliers" conventionally discounted in quantitative approaches (Barbour, 1994 as cited in Barbour, 2001). Barbour indicates how unique cases could illuminate, by juxtaposition, those processes and relations

that routinely come into play, thereby enabling "the exception to prove the rule. For this reason, although grounded theory advocates the interviewing of 16 people, the researcher will proceed to interview between 20 – 25 women, to assist with the validity of the study.

Sidani and Sechrest (1996) state that in purposive sampling participants are selected who can provide rich descriptions of the experiences under study, the researcher therefore systematically selects cases which will represent a wide continuum for the purpose of maximising similarities and differences of information gained.

1.3.2. Sample design.

Between 20 and 25 women will be interviewed, for periods ranging between 1 and 2 hours. The interviews will be recorded for accuracy and transcribing purposes. Specific topics and guidelines will be provided in order to give direction the interviews in similar course, however, the interviewer would prefer to allow the interviewees to speak freely, and take control of the interview, in order to impart the information relevant in their minds. Through unstructured interviews, the interviewer has the ability to ensure that the key topic areas are covered and to probe deeper into an aspect of interest, to deepen understanding. The creation of a 'therapeutic environment' allows for a safe exchange of information. Freud's concept of free flow of ideas, with minimal disruptions, could prove to be a beneficial tool in this environment (Bellak, 1961). Rogers (1980), Ellis (1978) and Maslow (1976) debated the advantages and disadvantages of the humanistic approach. The benefits and constructiveness elements of this approach will be utilized in order to ensure each participant feels secure and important in their contribution to this study. Rogers identified positive therapist attitudes as congruency, unconditional positive regard and empathic understanding. Hall and Marshall (1996) define unconditional positive regard as deep, genuine, unconditional caring for the other person without judging his/her thoughts, feelings or behaviours as good or bad. Rogers philosophises that this, together with congruence and empathetic understanding form the basis for an effective humanistic approach. This type of interviewing technique will allow for data capturing and analysis throughout the interview while enabling fresh concepts to build on the information that is shared. Barclay (2001) states that some of the advantages to the interviewing process are quality information gathering and the ability for the

interviewee to explain themselves better, than in a written transcript. Preconceived notions must not lead the sample to biased information.

1.4 Data collection

Grounded theory contains many unique characteristics that are designed to maintain the "groundedness" of the approach. Data collection and analysis are consciously combined, and initial data analysis is used to shape continuing data collection. This is supposed to provide the researcher with opportunities to increase the "density" and "saturation" of recurring categories, as well as to assist in providing follow-up procedures in regards to unanticipated results. Interlacing data collection and analysis in this manner are also designed to increase insights and clarify the parameters of the emerging theory. At the same time, the method supports the actions of initial data collection and preliminary analyses before attempting to incorporate previous research literature. This is supposed to guarantee that the analysis is based in the data and that pre-existing constructs do not influence the analysis and/or the subsequent formation of the theory. If existing theoretical constructs are utilized, they must be justified in the data (Corbin, & Strauss, 1990).

Most commonly used forms of qualitative data collection are:

- Semi structured interviewing
- Participant observation
- Focus groups
- Diaries
- Tape recorded data
- Verbatim transcription of words spoken, not timing, pauses

It is important to engage in note taking after each round of data collection, recording key issues. Unstructured interviews allows for analysis to be conducted alongside data collection, thus interview schedule changes throughout the process.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.65) define the data collection process:

> "In theoretical sampling, no one kind of data on a category nor technique for data collection is necessarily appropriate.

> Different kinds of data give the analyst different views or vantage points from which to understand a category and to develop its properties; these different views we have called *slices of data*. While the [researcher] may use one technique of data collection primarily, theoretical sampling for saturation of a category allows a multifaceted investigation, in which there are no limits to the techniques of data collection, the way they are used, or the types of data acquired."

As grounded theory is the systematic generation of theory from data, theories are empirically grounded in data from which they arise. Therefore theory informs data collection. The gathering of data depends on how grounded theory is utilized. There are three key forms of gathering data, these are:

- Content analysis, which identifies what the representative sample of the topic is.
- Historical/comparative analysis, which defines what information needs to be sampled
- Empirical gathering, which is considered to be the heart of grounded theory and focuses on focus groups and interviewing.

Grounded theory creates a cycle of theory generation. The data is analysed to create the original hypothesis. This is data from the world outside the study, as the study has not yet begun, it has just been inspired. The data collection within the study is then examined to keep creating new theories. The new theory (hypothesis) is researched, which in turn creates more data. This can occur within a given piece of research or act to inspire new research.

Sidani and Sechrest (1996) state that in the process of data collection, multiple perspectives are sought, analysed, and incorporated into theoretical conceptualisations of phenomena, bound by time and context. Due to the fact that grounded theory seeks to understand and explain the meaning of experiences and behaviour, as presented by participants, the data collecting should be collected in a natural setting, where the researcher can observe behaviours and interactions as they occur.

Data collection, analysis and theory formulation are undeniably connected in a reciprocal sense, and the grounded theory approach incorporates explicit procedures to guide this. This is especially evident in that according to grounded theory, the processes of asking questions and making comparisons are specifically detailed to inform and guide analysis and to facilitate theorizing process. Data collection is directed by theoretical sampling, which means that the sampling is based on theoretically relevant constructs (Corbin, & Strauss, 1990).

The interviews will be tape-recorded. The main reasons for this include the ability to converse freely, without the concern of manually recording every important comment, and secondly to ensure that the interviewee is relaxed and uninhibited by the notion of each word being written down. In line with grounded theory, approximately 20-25 interviews will be conducted. When working with qualitative data gathering methods such as interviews there are numerous ethical issues that arise. In order to maintain the creditability of this study the prescribed ethical guidelines adopted by the Psychology Board of the Health Professions Council of South Africa will be followed throughout the implementation of the research (Department of Health, Ethical rules of conduct for practitioners registered under the Health Professions Act of 1974, 2006).

A characteristic specific to grounded theory is that the process of data collection and data analysis are conducted simultaneously, with one feeding back into the other (Sidani, & Sechrest, 1996). These are guided by the following activities:

- Reflecting, which is achieved through dialectical processes between researcher and participant in the form of a conversation;
- Bracketing, which is the act of suspending the researcher's knowledge and bias;
- Intuiting, which requires looking at the experience from an unrestricted perspective, with an open mind, and regarding the experience of the human being;
- Analysing, which refers to identifying current elements in the experience by comparing and contrasting the descriptions obtained from various participants and using an analytic scheme which asks questions such as when, why, how and why.

- Describing, which involves a detailed description of the experience, which conveys what has been found or seen, in order to determine the central characteristic.

The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory (Goulding, 1996). The emerging theory sifts data collection to the exploration of specific ideas rather than allowing for the endless collection of random data. Goulding quotes Glaser's explanation that there is general acknowledgement of the danger of placing too much emphasis on identifying codes as the exclusive feature of the process without theoretically coding.

1.5 Data analysis

The strongest unifying theme underlying exploratory data analysis is expressed in "Look at the data and think about what you are doing" (Hoaglin, Mosteller, & Tukey, 1983). Velleman (1980) states that much of data analysis is looking for patterns in data.

Helberg (1996) discusses the various pitfalls of data analysis. These can be summarized as: sources of bias, errors in methodology and interpretation problems. These will be kept in mind during this phase of the research.

Morse (1997) cited in Glaser (2002) states that data analysis consists of organizing reality with conclusions that are subsequently systematically confirmed in the process of investigation. He maintains that qualitative data theory is abstract yet it consists on minimal speculation. These theories are rich in description, and the theoretical boundaries have been derived from the context. Sidani and Sechrest (1996) state that when data are analysed in grounded theory, the emphasis is on conceptualisation, rather than mere description (Figure 7 on page 169 for Pandit's (1996) demonstration of the process of data analysis).

Sidani and Sechrest (1996) state that qualitative research, in general, is interpretive. This means that results are dependant on the researcher's subjective understanding of the phenomenon, experience or behaviour, from the participants perspective, within a natural context. Sidani and Sechrest deem that subjective understanding requires

personal contact and conversation with the participants, as well as the ability to set aside previous knowledge. Its success is also determined by the use "intuitness" which means an in-depth attention to various aspects of the phenomenon and submersion in the phenomenon. (For a graphical representation of this process, refer to figure 7 on page 169).

1.6 Data storage

Each interview will be recorded during the personal meeting. The interviews will then be transferred from voice recorder onto a PC. The data will be stored electronically on a PC, pier-to pier network and then manually transcribed. Transcriptions of each interview will be stored electronically as well an in a hard copy format.

1.7 Coding

The coding process is examined in terms of passage of time to get a sense of how, when and how often the phenomenon occurs (Glaser, 1978). The results of this comparison are written in the margin of the note-taking as coding. The task of the researcher is to identify categories (roughly equivalent to themes or variables) and their properties (in effect their sub-categories). There are three kinds of coding used in grounded theory :

      1. Open coding to find categories

      2. Axial coding to find links

      3. Selective coding to find a core category

Pandit (1996) explains that open coding refers to that part of analysis which deals with the labelling and categorising of phenomena as indicated by the data. The product of labelling and categorising are concepts. Which are the basic building blocks in grounded theory construction. Pandit states that open coding requires application of what is referred to as 'the comparative method', i.e. the asking of questions and the making of comparisons. Data is initially broken down by asking simple questions such as what, where, how, when, how much, etc. Thereafter, data are compared and similar incidents are grouped together and given the same conceptual label. The process of grouping concepts at a higher, more abstract, level is termed categorizing (Pandit). Goulding (1996) states that grounded theory has a built in mandate to strive towards verification through the process of category saturation,

which is achieved by staying in the field until no further evidence emerges. Axial coding refers to the process of finding relationships between the categories. Within selective coding, core categories emerge to explain relationships.

Grounded theory uses bricolage, which is a construction of theory based on improvisation and utilizing whatever data is at your disposal (Henwood, & Pidgeon, 2001). Corbin and Strauss (1990) explain that categories are higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent. They are generated through the same analytic process of making comparisons to highlight similarities and differences that are used to produce lower level concepts. Categories are the "cornerstones" of developing theory. They provide the means by which the theory can be integrated, meaning the key variables are tied together to combine the theory into a whole. Glaser and Strauss (1967) originally introduced the concept of hypothesis, Pandit (1996) refers to these hypotheses as propositions which indicate generalised relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories. Goulding (1996) refers to Glaser's (1978, 1992) suggestion that categories should indicate behavioural type, and not people type.

1.8 Memo writing

Memo-writing consists of taking categories apart by breaking them into components. Categories are defined as carefully as possible by identifying properties or characteristics. This process looks for underlying assumptions and shows how and when the category develops and changes (Pidgeon, Turner, & Blockley, 1991). Memo-writing is directed to making comparisons (constant comparative methods). Hence, compare one respondent's beliefs, stance, experience and actions with another's. Through memo-writing clarification is achieved in terms of which categories are major and which are minor. Sidani and Sechrest (1996) delineate three forms of memo writing, these are: observational, which are related to events experienced during research; theoretical, which represents self consciousness, controlled attempts to derive meaning from any one or several observation notes; and methodological, which is reflective of an operational act, an instruction to oneself, which provides further support for the researcher's conceptualisations of the phenomenon.

Corbin and Strauss (1990) state that:

> Writing theoretical memos is an integral part of doing grounded theory. Since the analyst cannot readily keep track of all the categories, properties, hypotheses, and generative questions that evolve from the analytical process, there must be a system for doing so. The use of memos constitutes such a system. Memos are not simply "ideas." They are involved in the formulation and revision of theory during the research process.

1.9 Phenomenology

Sidani and Sechrest (1996) refer to Oiler's (1982) definition of phenomenology, when they explain that it is a distinctive philosophy, theory and method for studying human phenomena. It has a specific focus on the lived experience of everyday life and the unique and personal interpretation of the experiential world. This philosophy combines the commonsense knowledge with a sense of reality. Sidani and Sechrest clarify that phenomenology is based on a well defined set of assumptions, these are:

i. Human beings live in the world, within a specific context, which exists as an outside object.

ii. An individual's perspective is subjective, and therefore it reflects his or her actuality of events.

iii. Truth is therefore perceived as a composite of an individual's perceived realities.

Phenomenology embraces a holistic approach, with a significant focus of viewing an individual as a whole, which is different to the sum of the parts. Therefore all components comprising an individual are examined simultaneously. The interactions between the researcher and participant unearth meanings, truths or realities. The task of the researcher is to bring an open level, to describe and understand the meaning of life of the individual human experience in daily activities. Phenomenological study is well suited to getting into the minds" of individuals, which is required to achieve a depth of understanding of an experience and responses to it. Grounded theory allows for an analysis of the participants subjective experiences, interpretations and therefore realities. The "therapeutic-like" environment will allow for a safe context in which to explore subjective realities. An unstructured interview format allows for the Freudian notion of a free flow of ideas which gives the participants an opportunity to express

their inner realities. The participants perceived realities will be combined, using the grounded theory approach to create a shared reality.

1.10 Reliability

Haig (1995) states that reliability of data forms the basis for claiming that phenomena exist. In establishing that data is reliable evidence for the existence of phenomena, we control variously for confounding factors (experimentally and statistically), carry out replications, calibrate instruments, empirically investigate equipment, and perform statistical analyses for data reduction purposes. While reliability is the basis for justifying claims about phenomena, judgments about explanatory coherence are the appropriate grounds for theory acceptance. In this study, interviews are the primary data gathering method thus in order to ensure interview reliability, information will be confirmed with the interviewees before it is used and the interviewee will be asked to provide a summary of key points in her own words at the end of the interview. The interviewer will repeat the information to the interviewee to ensure understanding. Confirmation would then imply the consistent attainment of the same information, if the interviews were conducted for a second time.

1.11 Validity

Validity is the adequacy and appropriateness of the interpretations made from assessments (Linn, & Gronlund, 1995). Johnson (1997) states that most qualitative researchers argue that some qualitative research studies are better than others, and they frequently use the term validity to refer to this difference. When qualitative researchers speak of research validity, they are usually referring to qualitative research that is plausible, credible, trustworthy, and, therefore, defensible. Validity and reliability are critical in qualitative research. Johnson delineates three specific forms of qualitative validity, these are: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, and theoretical validity. He states them to be important to qualitative research because the description of what is observed and interpretation of participants' thoughts are two primary qualitative research activities. Johnson (1997, p. 283) also draws attention to external and internal validity, "Internal validity is relevant when qualitative researchers explore cause and effect relationships. External validity is relevant when qualitative researchers generalize beyond their research studies."

The following will be done in order to ensure validity in data collection:

i. The questions will be objective, structured and asked to all interviewees

ii. The findings will be continually validated, in other words checking for bias, neglect or lack of precision in the research methodology

iii. The procedures and decisions will be critically questioned

iv. Dialoguing the knowledge – verifying the data with the research participants.

v. Semi-structured interviewing to assist with validity of the interview.

In order to ensure validity, an expert in the field of grounded theory will be consulted in order to determine if the same interpretation is obtained from a few of the interview protocols.

Triangulation addresses the issue of internal validity by using more than one method of data collection to answer a research question (Barbour, 2001). Triangulation is a method used to check and establish validity in research studies such as evaluation research (Guion, 2006). It is difficult to perform properly: data collected using diverse methods come in different forms and defy direct comparison. Barbour explains that triangulation relies on the notion of a fixed point, or superior explanation, against which other interpretations can be measured. Qualitative research, however, is usually carried out from a relativist perspective, which acknowledges the existence of multiple views of equal validity. Therefore, Barbour continues, that it does not readily lend itself to the production or observance of such a hierarchy of evidence. Barbour cites Richardson's suggestion that it is more helpful to conceive of complementary rather than competing perspectives and offers the term "crystallisation" as an alternative to triangulation. Triangulation focuses on the depth and quality, rather than on population size (Leonard, & McAdam, 2000). It is the combination of methodologies in a study of the same phenomenon or construct. In other words, it is a method of ascertaining the truthfulness of data by comparing three or more types of autonomous perspectives (for instance: interviews, observation, and records) bearing on the same findings. Crystallization is the notion that observing diverse spheres of a study can often best characterize the phenomenon under study. The blend of components and methods of observing provides a multifaceted picture. Barbour concludes that qualitative research, with its distinctive approach to harnessing the

analytical potential of exceptions, allows a research question to be examined from various angles. Respondent validation can be particularly valuable in action research projects, where researchers work with participants on an ongoing basis to facilitate change.

Winter (2000) states that the fact that there are so many possible definitions and replacement terms for 'validity' suggests that it is a concept entirely relative to the person and belief system from which it stems. He states that validity is not a singular acid test that can be applied to the research process as a whole. Winter believes that the validity measure can be applied differently depending upon the researcher's beliefs as to what stage of the research process is in need of validation. Such an approach may perceive validity as referring only to measurement, observers, scores, instruments, relationships between scores or observable variations, rather than to the whole research process. Winter explains that within descriptive, interpretive, theoretical and evaluative validity there are endless spheres for interpretive disparities. Winter concludes that external validity is often of no importance to qualitative research and the attempt to achieve it can seriously hinder its overall validity. However, qualitative findings are best generalisable to the development of theories and not wider populations. He maintains that validity appears to reside within the appropriation of research methodologies to those systems of truth that their processes best represent. He claims that one possible test for validity is to enquire whether the research is measuring what it was intended to measure. Yet this question may be even more illuminating if we adapt it to enquire, whether it is measuring the kind of 'truth' it hoped to measure.

Once each interview has been coded, and the major themes have emerged, the researcher will return to the person interviewed to confirm the accuracy of the information drawn. This process will ensure an accurate interpretation of the information obtained from the person interviewed. Each person will be asked if what they said is truly reflected and if their meaning has remained pure. Subsequent to this process, an expert in the grounded theory methodology will be asked to scrutinize a few of the interviews to ensure an accurate coding and interpretation methodology.

1.12 Grounded theory fit

From this analysis of grounded theory, it appears as though the methodology would be the most beneficial and appropriate for this type of study. The lack of restrictions and developing theory which will direct the researcher to the literature, which best informs, explains and contextualises the finding, makes this form of research, appropriate for this study. The experience of success by women who operate in male dominated industries, together with the challenges, sacrifices and ambition, which they have encountered, can best be understood in a personal and practical manner. This study strives to capture what factors drove these women to succeed in male dominated industries. In order to conceptualise specific characteristics, it is necessary to empathise, identify with and create a secure environment, in which these women are comfortable to share their experiences. Sidani and Sechrest (1996) deduce that the position may be taken that the meaning which an individual attaches to a particular phenomenon is important in its own right, without extending the position to incorporate any further propositions about whether there is any independent reality. (Figure 8 on page 170 is a diagrammatic explanation of the process to be followed).

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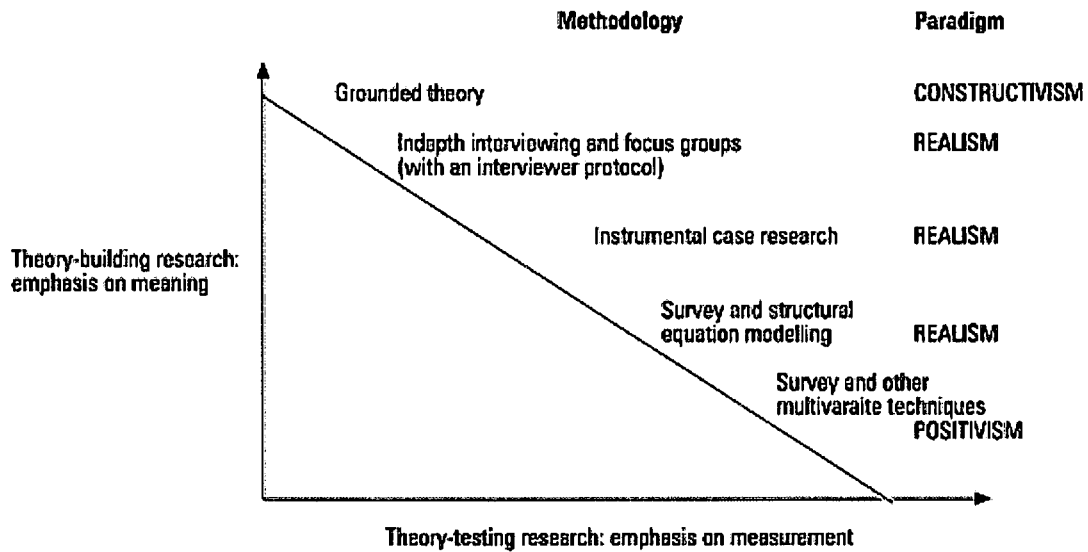
Figure 6. Diagrammatic representation of the stages of paradigms and their corresponding methodologies

Healy, M., & Perry, C. (2000). Comprehensive criteria to judge validity and reliability of qualitative research within the realism paradigm. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, *3*(3), 118-126.

⇒	Data Analysis (4)	⇒	⬇	
⬆			Theory Development (5)	
Data Ordering (3)		⬇		
⬆		Theory Saturation ?	⇒	Yes
Data Collection (2)		⬇		⬇
⬆		No		Reach Closure (6)
Theoretical Sampling (1)	⬅	⬇		
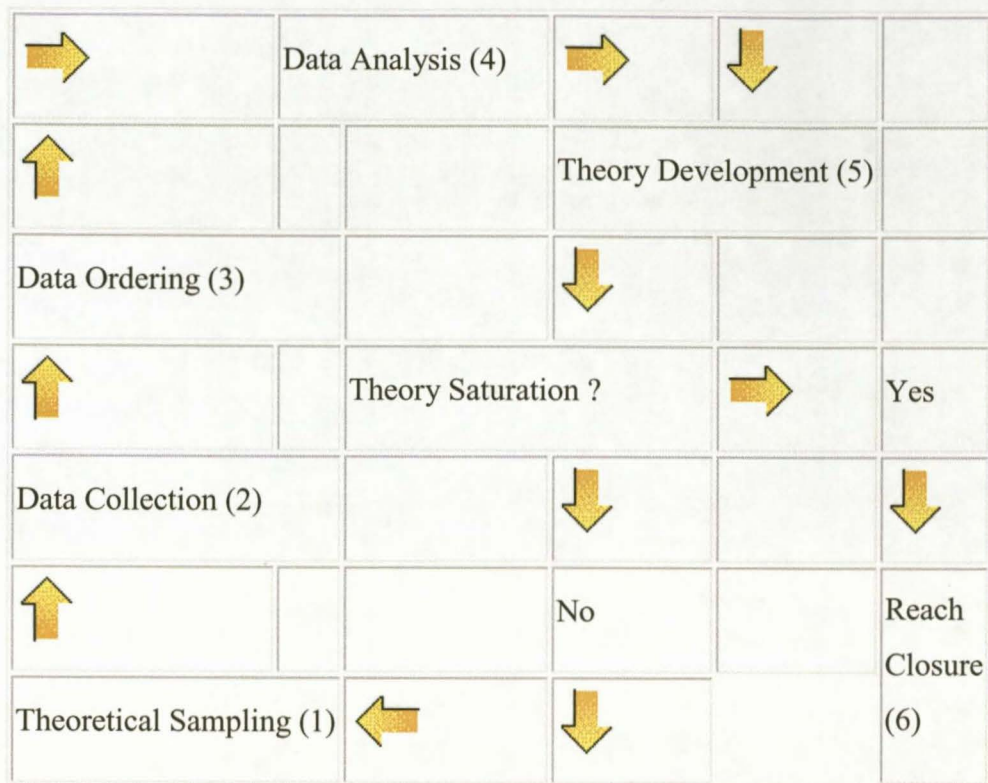
Figure 7. The Interrelated Processes of Data Collection, Data Ordering, Build Grounded Theory

Pandit, N.R. (1996). The creation of theory: A recent application of the grounded theory method. *The Qualitative Report,* 2(4), 1-16.

Data Collection:	Data Storage:	Coding:			Memo Writing:	Outcomes:
	Recorded interviews saved to hard drive	Open Coding	Categories are found within the interviews		Categories defined & components created	Categories found;
Interview 24 women	Interviews manually transcribed	Axial Coding	Relationships between the categories are found		Comparisons made	Similarities identified; Differences identified; Theory evolves
	Interviews compiled into timeline format, and CD is cut	Selective Coding	Core categories emerge to explain relationships		Major & Minor categories established	

Figure 8. Diagrammatic representation of the grounded theory methodology approach, as understood by the researcher

CHAPTER 8: INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA:
EXPERIENCING CAREER SUCCESS

In order to gain an understanding of their experience of success, 24 successful women have been interviewed. Grounded theory has been chosen as the methodology as the extrapolation of experience can be richly drawn using this methodology. The definition and experience of success varies by personal perception, yet as a standard for this study, success was defined by occupying and leading from an official position of headship. The purpose of the study was to uncover a richness of experience, in order to extract meaning and ultimately translate the meaning into a significant theory.

The following list comprises the interviews conducted. The codes are of no relevance, except as a means of maintaining confidentiality, and to assist the researcher in record keeping.

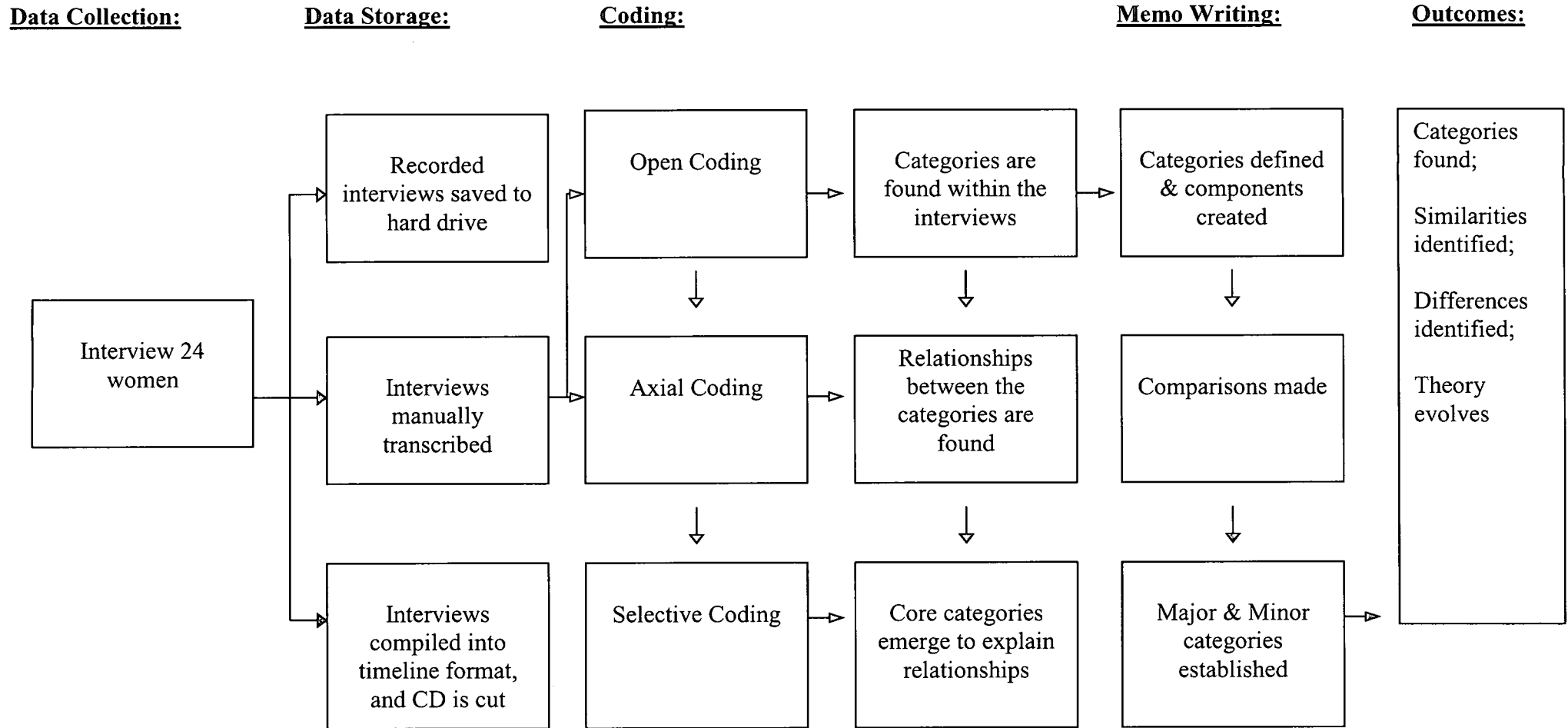|	Industry	Interview	Duration	Date	Time
1	Aviation	A1	17 mins	11/10/2006	11:45- 12:15
2	Business	B1	26 mins	01/09/2006	10:00 – 10:45
3	Business/ Medicine	B2	34 mins	09/04/2006	17:30 – 18:30
4	Construction	C1	38 mins	11/09/2006	10:00 – 11:00
5	Construction	C2	1 hr 2 mins	28/09/2006	12:00 – 13:30
6	Finance/ IT	C3	33 mins	05/09/2006	11:30 – 12:30
7	Mining Magnet	E1	46 mins	31/08/2006	12:00 – 13:00
8	Finance	F1	44 mins	29/09/2006	11:30 – 12:45
9	Stock Exchange	F2	14 mins	15/09/2006	15:30 – 16:00
10	Trade Union	FL1	16 mins	30/11/2007	12:30 – 13:15
11	IT	IT1	24 mins	01/11/2006	15:30 – 16:15
12	Medicine/ Academic	M1	36 mins	14/09/2006	16:00 – 17:00
13	Mining	M2	41 mins	03/05/2006	11:00 – 12:00
14	Business	N1	41 mins	17/10/2006	11:00 – 12:00
15	Politics	P1	1 hr 6 mins	11/10/2006	10:00 – 11:30
16	Politics	P2	1 hr 20 mins	05/04/2006	11:00 – 12:30

17	Politics/ Medicine	P3	56 mins	05/09/2006	17:00 – 18:30
18	Quality Control	Q	67 mins	30/09/2006	10:00 – 12:30
19	Security	S1	58 mins	26/09/2006	11:00 – 12:30
20	Security	S2	20 mins	26/09/2006	12:30 – 13:00
21	Correctional Services	S3	32 mins	05/12/2006	14:00 – 15:00
22	Molecular Biologist	SC1	40 mins	01/11/2006	10:00 – 11:00
23	Business	SC2	27 mins	16/11/2007	10:00 – 11:00
24	Water Irrigation	W1	42 mins	28/09/2006	15:00 – 16:30

A total of 24 women have been interviewed over a period of 10 weeks. All women interviewed occupy or occupied a position of official leadership within an industry that is or was classified as being predominantly male dominated. Male dominated industries have been defined as sectors of the economy where at least 70% of the professionals in the industry are male. Interviews ranged in duration from 14 minutes through to 80 minutes. The style was informal and mainly conversational, allowing for the interviewee to express herself and her opinions freely, without judgement or guidance. Interviewees chose the venue for the interview, therefore, settings varied from public coffee houses to offices and private homes. Various factors such as coping, resilience, the impact of a support group and the experience of success were questioned and discussed.

The demographics of the people interviewed varied significantly. Their ages ranged from 30 years of age to 85 years of age. They were also from diverse cultural groups. 83% of the women interviewed were married (or had been married), 79% of the women interviewed have children, and mentioned them. Economically, these successful women also came from diverse backgrounds. In general they were mainly disadvantaged (Interview N1 p.11, Interview C1, Interview M1, Interview S2; Interview P1; Interview P3; Interview FL1), as illustrated by the following statement: "because I don't know how much she (mother) spent or maybe she took the whole savings when she took me to the college (Interview S2 p.4)." Others explained that they were reared in advantaged homes (Interview W1; Interview S1 p.1, Interview A1; Interview C1; Interview SC2; Interview B2; Interview S3; Interview Q; Interview F2).

Some of the women interviewed started their careers in female dominated professions, and then moved across to more male dominated environments (Interview P1, p.2, Interview Q; Interview A1: Interview C1; Interview M2; Interview N1; Interview P2; Interview S3; Interview SC2), while the majority went straight into male dominated fields (Interview W1, p.3; Interview B1; Interview B2; Interview C2; Interview C3; Interview E1; Interview F1; Interview F2; Interview IT1; Interview M1; Interview P1; Interview P3; Interview S1; Interview S2; Interview SC1).

There have been several homogeneous and heterogeneous factors, which have emerged from the interviewing process. Although occupying official leadership positions, many of the women's self-concepts were modest and family focused. The following core categories emerged from the interviews, each one will be discussed below:

1. Personal characteristics
2. Life influences
3. Personal support
4. Sacrifices or regrets
5. Male dominated environments
6. Strategic development
7. The meaning of work

1.1 Personal characteristics

The diversity of women interviewed spanned across demographic spheres as well as across industries. The most prominent observation from the interviews would be the high levels of energy and positivity, which radiated from most of the women interviewed. Although prominent people, all the women interviewed were very approachable and sociable. Personality traits varied considerably, as some women appeared to be more extraverted and some more introverted. Their styles of talking and discussion of focal points through the interviews varied considerably. Most of the women were happy to talk very personally, while a few others remained concentrated solely on their career paths.

Some of the women had endured hardships on their paths to success and all discussed their exertion of great effort and hard work to reach their levels of achievement. Traits

such as tenacity and fortitude were evident in almost all of the stories relayed. Almost 60% of the women interviewed expressed altruistic motives and natures; this enthusiasm drove the direction of their careers. The significant focus on altruistic motives, which will be discussed in greater detail towards the end of this chapter, evolved as a strong motivation or focus for many people. "You do things for people...you do things with people, not for them, and you also look at what matters to them most (Interview C2 p.11)."

The indication that different people have varying perceptions of the same experience has also been a theme through many interactions. "A lot of people see me very differently (Interview E1 p.9) ."; "The experience for me is a circumstance" (Interview E1 p.9). The personal characteristics varied, although there were some commonalities, which emerged through the interviews.

1.1.1.Planning.

Although an end result of official success was attained, the paths to achieve this success differed considerably from planned and structured career paths to the unstructured opportunistic course. However, despite this variation in planning, all the women interviewed were alert to career opportunities, considered their career as an important component of their lives and were able to take the risk of a new career direction or promotional opportunity. The personality differential of preferring structure and planning was evident in many women. The women who had ordered and well thought out career paths made comments such as: "I am not impulsive" (Interview F1 p.8); "I am very strict because I know how I worked and I am very disciplined" (Interview M2 p.4); "I always had a plan of some sort and I always had goals and objectives and I always was willing to work hard to get where I wanted to go." (Interview C3 p.3); and "I have goals and plans for every aspect of my life" (Interview B2 p.3; Interview P2 p.30)

There was far greater emphasis on a free-spirited approach, leading to achievement. This was evident in statements such as: "I'm driven totally by my gut feeling with everything I have" (Interview S3 p.2); "At the most I had a two month's plan, but mostly I had a one day plan. " (Interview W1 p.15); "I am the most unplanned, disorganised" (Interview M2 p.12); "it has just kind of happened" (Interview P2 p.6); "I

think I am a bit more peripheral" (Interview SC2 p.4); and "I jump into things before I should … I don't always get my facts straight" (Interview C3 p.6). One participant, when comparing successful men to women, focused on the lack of structure in many women's career paths when she stated that: "The way successful male executives networked compared to your average female to the way they planned their careers to the kind of roles that they took" (Interview N1 p.1)

There was also a mixture of lifelong achievers versus non-achievers. Some of the women interviewed described themselves as being "academically average" (Interview W1 p.1; Interview S3 p.1). Many women stated that their achievement levels were of average or of non-importance to them (Interview S3; Interview A1; Interview S1; Interview P2). There was also a slight emphasis on the importance of school leadership positions, some of the women commented: "I mean I wasn't the head girl at school" (Interview M2 p.7) and "I was very quiet, very reserved wasn't a prefect, nothing" (Interview W1 p.7).

On the other side, several of the women stated that they were always achieving in several fields (Interview M1; Interview B2; Interview IT1; Interview F2; Interview N1). This was evident in statements such as: "I was always a high achiever, both at academics and in sport." (Interview F1 p.1) and "I would Captain the teams of sports that I chose" (Interview F1 p.1); Despite variations in perceptions and emphasis of direct academia, a prominence has been placed on the importance of knowledge. Many women consider knowledge to be a fundamental factor in breeding success. Their perceptions were illustrated by saying: "my getting there was out of my sheer qualifications and experience and knowledge that I had. So I did not have any of the other influences that benefited a lot of other people." (Interview C2 p.20); "Importance of education" (Interview A1 p.1; Interview F2 p.6); "Education is very highly valued in my family because so few of them have had it." (Interview SC1 p.5). Despite the emphasis on knowledge and education, a slight trend of incomplete education and not finishing of degrees emerged (Interview P1; Interview P3; Interview C3 p.1; Interview S3 p.1; Interview P2, p.3). The concept of planning, achievements and completion of activities also appeared to be linked to the temperament and nature of each person interviewed.

1.1.2. Tomboy.

Regarding the nature of some of the women interviewed, a tomboyish childhood surfaced (Interview IT1; Interview E1, Interview W1; Interview F1; Interview M1; Interview P3; Interview Q), wherein many of the women interviewed, socialised with boys rather than girls, grew up with brothers and showed a clear preference for 'boys toys' rather than dolls or dresses. This potentially laid the foundation for many women interacting easily and comfortably in male dominated environment. Certain of the women interviewed felt more comfortable in groups of men, rather than with other women (Interview S3 p.4; Interview W1; Interview P1). This categorisation of women shows a clear sphere of interest, which they chose to pursue as their careers. This area of interest was commonly related to a passion, opportunity or challenge.

1.1.2.Proactivity.

A prevailing theme of having a passion for the chosen area of work, together with the ability to take risks and rise to a challenge, emerged. Underlying these traits, a vehement trend of encouraging changes, implementing changes and adjusting the status quo evolved. The women interviewed shared experiences such as: "coming to companies that actually needed somebody to turn them around." (Interview C3 p.5; Interview F2 p.4); "I don't mind change." (Interview C3 p.6; Interview Q p.10); "I am one that doesn't always just accept the status quo" (Interview F1 p.1); "It is more what can I do with the energy I have to effect change" (Interview S3 p.7); "I changed and moving with the times is one of the strengths that anybody can have" (Interview S1 p.1).

In order to effect change, some of the self-descriptions included: "always fearless" (Interview S3 p.1); "Adventure" (IT2 p.2); "Involved" (Interview IT1 p.8); "seeing a gap" (Interview C1 p.3); "I looked for opportunities." (Interview C2 p.12); "Open" (Interview C1 p.16); "experimenting and doing things" (Interview S3 p.4); "always going into dangerous territory" (Interview S3 p.1); "Look for the opportunities in the white space in between the obvious things" (Interview N1 p.5); "I want to know how things work" (Interview SC2 p.2); and "you need to initiate things" (Interview S2 p.7)

The motivation for change appeared to be a part of the concept of taking a challenge, and doing the things which most people are not able or willing to try. When discussing

challenges and effecting change, the statements included: "Somehow I always managed to find the most difficult thing." (Interview W1 p.2); "I feel comfortable in a very challenging environment" (Interview W1 p8); "It's not an issue to risk and get into something I don't know." (Interview A1 p.3); "I get curious to do something I don't know at all." (Interview A1 p.3); "But I am always open for opportunities so if something comes along the way that sounds challenging enough, I will take it on and do it." (Interview SC2 p.10); "I have got a lot of energy I think, and I get excited about things … so and I don't sit back." (C3 p.2); "Whatever chance comes, just grab them (it)." (Interview S2 p.9); and "it took a woman to do it" (Interview P2 p.9).

In general, the attitude, which prevailed, was extremely positive and optimistic. This attitude was evident throughout most of the interviews and the women demonstrated that they had not taken a pessimistic or defeatist approach when considering their career options or opportunities. Their outlooks were illustrated in some of the following comments: "To me as long as I was able to do it, I didn't think about it as a hardship" (Interview C2 p.15); "I am committed to a free thinking lifestyle so I will do that forever" (Interview W1 p.16); "You have to manage all of that and still remain passionate about what you are doing." (Interview S1 p.1); "Passionate about that which is mine. " (Interview S1 p.14); "You know there is not a day that is not stimulating for me" (Interview S1 p.14); "Thinking totally out of the box." (Interview S3 p.4); "Always looking for stimulation" (Interview S3 p.1); "Passion and tenacity" (Interview P2 p.29); "There are things that I have really felt very passionate about" (Interview S1 p.6). The ability to manage a challenge and position yourself in a situation of uncertainty is an uncommon phenomenon as many people prefer to remain safe, and to operate within known parameters.

1.1.3. *Going against the grain.*

Many women described themselves as "always going against the grain", in terms of their interests and activities. This was not perceived negatively, nor particularly positively, rather as a fact of disposition or spirit. One woman stated: "I think I was always perhaps seen as the Maverick that would do the things that the others did not do." (Interview SC2 p.3). Within the 'maverick' outlook, there was a strong viewpoint desiring exploration and a high tolerance for personal mistakes (Interview SC2 p.3, p.4; Interview S1 p.4; Interview F1 p6); Within this nature of deviating from society, there

was an evident dislike for rules and boundaries, as one women said: "You can be as good as you can be, and as much as you can put in, and as successful as you can be within these walls, there are still rules that govern you (Interview F1 p.2). "

The competitive streak of many women also emerged as a commonality, together with a great disdain for losing.(Interview S1 p.2; Interview F1 p.21; IT2 p.5; Interview M2 p.11; Interview M2 p.11). This competitive streak indicates a strong ambition, need for achievement and a very determined nature.

1.1.4. Strong-willed.

The women interviewed all portrayed themselves to be very decisive, strong-willed and many of them head-strong (Interview S1 p12; Interview M2 p.10; Interview SC2 p.6; Interview P1, p.18, p.20; Interview C1 p.16). The women discuss their ease of decision-making and some of them, encompassing the self-knowledge and determination from a young age to progress in the direction, which they feel to be best suited for them (Interview C3 p.6; Interview SC2 p.2). One interviewee stated: "I enjoy making decisions" (Interview F2 p.6). One of the participants proclaimed that "before my teens I was clear about what I would or wouldn't do." (Interview E1 p.4). However, there were a few women who were less decisive, for instance one person asserted that "keep open a third back door… I don't like closure on anything" (Interview W1 p.1).

Within this categorisation of clear decision-making, there were also elements of perfectionism (Interview S1 p.6, p.12; Interview IT1 p.8; Interview SC2 p.6). Perfectionism, however, does not seem to detract from the realism of "not always making the right decision" (Interview S1 p.7). There was a clear acceptance of making mistakes (Interview C3 p.6) and the pragmatic approach that "you want to succeed, you don't want to fail" (Interview SC1 p.10). Many women perceive themselves to be pragmatic, as one participant stated: "I don't have that kind of pride that makes me think that I am right all the time either" (Interview C3 p.6). Prior to interviewing, the concept of self and self belief was originally perceived to be a strong determinant of success.

1.1.5. Self belief.

Overall the women interviewed projected extremely strong perceptions of self worth, capabilities and self-efficacy. There was a strong element of self-acceptance and limitless boundaries. The expression "I can do anything" (Interview C2; Interview P1 p.4; Interview F1 p.1; Interview C3 p.2; Interview S1 p2; Interview A1 p.2; Interview S1 p.5; Interview N1 p.3; Interview C2 p.15; Interview SC2 p.9; Interview S3 p.2; Interview S2 p.6; Interview Q p.4; Interview P2 p.18), emphasises personal strength and determination of ability, and this statement was repeated in different formats continuously. Many of the women confirmed their perception of the importance of self-belief in developing success (Interview W1 p.15; Interview N1 p.17; Interview C3 p.9). There was also a clear awareness of other positive personal characteristics and talents, which have been utilised to enhance career performance (Interview S3 p.2; Interview SC2 p.1; Interview FL1 p.4). One participant indicated her self concept and personal development by stating: "I am who I am because I created myself." (Interview N1 p.18). Another participant believes that "one of the things that make people have an inner strength is not just the confidence but an inner sense of … purpose but because you have that reinforcement and you have it in your formative years and it doesn't go away" (Interview E1 p.4).

Part of believing in oneself are the values and belief system, which lays the fundamentals to self. The issue of integrity was a very passionate issue. Personal value systems and boundaries were stated to be a crucial element of self and of professionalism (Interview C2 p.10; Interview W1 p.4; Interview S3 p.11; Interview C3 p.16) One participant summarised it well by saying: "I suppose it boils down to Shakespeare's 'This above all to thine self be true'" (Interview M1 p.6). One particular participant had been offered several prominent positions as an affirmative action candidate. She felt that it was unethical to accept such positions, and was determined to work her way towards the same level on her own merits (Interview C2 p.21). Although the attitudes projected were very positive, there was also a strong element of realism and self control. It was said: "I am a very, very positive person ….I am also very cynical or very, very realistic" (Interview S3 p.6).

1.1.6. Resilience.

Resilience was assumed to be an important factor before the interviewing started. It appears to be significantly important, together with stress management, focus and drive. Many of the women declared themselves not to be particularly stressed and to be resilient, work independently and the have the ability to "bounce back" (interview SC2 p.6; IT2 p.1; Interview S1 p.1; Interview M2 p.11; Interview A1 p.3; Interview E1 p.2; Interview A1 p.3; Interview F1 p.1; Interview C3 p.3; Interview P1 p.7). There was only one woman who disagreed with the general consensus, when she stated: "I don't think I am more resilient" (Interview IT1 p.9).

Resilience and drive seem to be interlinked with positivity. "I never paused to look at as hurdles" (Interview C2 p.15); "I like myself" (Interview M2 p.15); and "It's possible, anything is possible" (Interview C2 p.4), were common statements which populated many of the interviews and showed a steady stream of positivity and enthusiasm. A strong optimism about life, self and personal happiness prevailed strongly through many of the women (Interview S3 p.14; Interview C3 p.13; Interview SC2 p.13; Interview F1 p.1; Interview P2 p.14). The extremity of affirmative and upbeat exclamations is evident in the following two statements: "I love it! I love working, I love what I do here, I love the company, I love the people, I love the fact that I can feel the difference." (Interview C3 p.6) and "Just optimistic about life, I wouldn't change a thing!" (Interview A1 p.2). For many women, the path to happiness and positivity, has been an evolutionary process, transpiring over a period of time.

1.1.7. Self development.

Self development refers both to the continual learning which is proactively initiated by each person, throughout the career, as well as to the element of developing as an individual through a career span. Personal development was discussed in terms of "continuously grow your competence" (Interview N1 p.7) and "directly developing skills" (Interview SC1 p.7). However, there was a far stronger focus on "the person I have become." (Interview E1 p.7; Interview S1 p.11; Interview P3 p.17; Interview SC2 p.2). An awareness of reaching a personal level of self-actualisation was also prominent in many of the discussions (Interview F1 p.1; Interview S11 Interview F2 p.5). Maturity in outlook was included as an element for conversation, in terms of learning to assert oneself, and being less rigid in personal approach (Interview S1; Interview S3;

Interview M2; Interview IT1; Interview B2). The path of personal development was acknowledged to be a gradual development, encompassing the factor of time and personal advancement (Interview M2 p.7; Interview C3 p.3; Interview S1 p.4).

Personal development leads to the aspect of managing relationships and interacting with other people. Women have traditionally been assumed to have good interpersonal skills and to be able to maintain good relationships. Many women indicated a strong focus on people, relationships and emotional components (Interview C2 p.25; Interview M2 p.4; Interview SC2 p.10; Interview S1 p.7; Interview S1 p.15; Interview E1 p.10; Interview A1). The overriding sentiment appeared to be that working with people enriches an environment, and by gaining an understanding of the people with whom one interacts, life becomes a richer and far more rewarding experience. A participant stated her belief that "we need to be looking out for other peoples' interests" (Interview SC1 p.5).

The other element of relationship management is the ability to actively network and be noticed amongst other achievers. The concept of being seen and noticed was felt very strongly by certain women, when they stated: "I have always been very lucky in that people take an interest in me in my work as you are searching for what you want to do" (Interview E1 p.4); "I am never scared to look stupid and … and I guess I make myself noticed" (C3 p.2); "You even have to shout it out and…because if you don't make a stand, then you should just lose face altogether." (Interview F1 p.20) and "I had done it again very visibly" (Interview N1 p.7). Many women advocate the importance of active networking (Interview B1; Interview F1 p.4; Interview C3 p.3). The notion of self promotion, although generally recognised to be beneficial, seemed to be a difficult task for some of the successful women. One stated that it just "went against the grain" and she maintained that it was one of her greatest limitations within her career (Interview M1 p.15). The fundamental message detailing the relevance of positive relationships was illustrated very clearly in various interviews. It was summarised as follows: "handle every relationship well, those relationships don't disappear, and as you build on those relationships, and I think that's why success normally comes a little bit later in the years, because it takes quite a lot to get that structure in place" (Interview F1 p.5).

The traits and characteristics of positivity, energy and determination were very intensely strong throughout most interviews. The approach of accepting fates and creating your own destiny was also a factor discussed and of relevance for some people. Overall there was a stronger belief in luck and destiny, although there was some determination that a person makes their own luck (Interview C3 p.2; Interview W1 p.15; Interview S3 p.7; Interview F2 p.2; Interview P2 p.11). On the whole, most women, although defying societies structures and limitations, did not appear to be rebellious or directly defiant, on the whole, they had a passion and a purpose, which they insisted on pursuing. Some of the characteristics and traits mentioned are ingrained, whereas others are created by influences and life experiences.

1.2 Life influences

Conscious and subconscious life influences were mentioned. The most significant conscious influence was the impact of a sport or an early ability, generally unrelated to the ultimate career path. Tennis, in particular was mentioned as a character and confidence building activity (Interview IT1 p.5; Interview P2 p.3; Interview P3; Interview W1 p.1). A passion for individual-performance sport would probably indicate a high level of competitiveness. One women stated that: "Sports, very strong, very competitive, I would say, especially with professional … provincial tennis. I was a provincial tennis player and that was one of the choices for career actually was tennis and you know, science." (Interview W1 p.1). There was also an indication of a choice of male dominated sport because "I play a hard game" (Interview W1 p.12) and the formidable statements of: "I had to win" (Interview F1 p.7: Interview S1 p.6; Interview M2 p.11).

On another conscious plane, many women could site specific life or career mentors who had supported, guided or assisted them through their careers (Interview FL1 p.3). "I have had a remarkable mentor. Professor …." (Interview W1 p2); and "I have either found or I have looked for, in some cases its just happened naturally, or in some cases I have purposely gone out and found mentors at various points in my career to in a sense to coach me if you want, on career choices and dynamics in the organisation" (Interview N1 p.2).

When most women began speaking, within the first few sentences they mentioned their fathers. Generally, the father was mentioned before the mother and many of the women did not mention their mother at all. The father's career path as well as his desired path for his daughter to pursue emerged as a strong influencer for each woman's career choice, for instance: "My father wanted me to be a professor... I ultimately achieved my father's dream" (Interview M1 p.1). Most of the father's of the women interviewed were professional men and the profession, which appeared to dominate, is Law (Interview IT1 p.2; Interview F2 p.1; Interview E1; Interview B1). A possible association and a suggestion for future research would be the personality traits which drive a person to pursue a career in law, and should those characteristics be genetic, could the possibility for ambitious and driven daughters be the same characteristics which drove the fathers to the legal field.

In general, the father's career influence, career support and role model dominated as a factor in a majority of the interviews (Interview P1, p.9; Interview S1 p.1, p.3; Interview E1 p.2; Interview F1 p.1; Interview S3 p.5; Interview S2 p.4; Interview C3 p.3). One of the explanations for this relationship was provided by interview E1 p4, when she said "It is fathers that create the new horizons and the mothers want you to do the things that you should be doing but the fathers create the new horizons so for me it was." Some of the women who mentioned their father's influence had lost their father at an early age and still mentioned him in reference to their career decision (Interview F2 p.6; Interview IT1 p.1).

A few the women mentioned their mother's influence, although in general it was in more altruistic terms, referring to nursing work or sacrifices, which had been made. (Interview C1 p.10; Interview S2 p.4; Interview A1 p2) There was also a reference to the general attitude of a mother, which prepared her daughter for her career life: "She basically turned you around and pushed you by the shoulders and said get out there and get on with it." (Interview N1 p.12). Some of the influence of the mother was a negative motivator or desire not to be like their mother, in terms of being dependant on a man (Interview M2 p.6; Interview B2; Interview Q p.1).

In terms of life influencers, there were a variety of differing religious views, mostly irreligious (Interview E1; Interview M1; Interview M2 p.13): "I am totally anti-religion

because it ties you down." (Interview W1 p.3) There was also a differentiation drawn between religion and spirituality (Interview S1 p6; Interview W1 p.3; Interview P2 p.30).

There was a general consensus that "those kind of influences when you are young are crucial' (Interview E1 p.2), also that "there are always people who influence and make opportunities or create opportunities." (Interview E1 p.2). Some of the childhood influencers were congruent with circumstance of upbringing, for instance an influential or caring nun in convent (Interview P1 p.10; Interview P2 p.12; Interview A1 p.2) A handful of women expressed other successful women and motivators or influencer in their lives (Interview C3 p.11; Interview A1 p.2). Some of the other influential comments included: "social structure" (Interview E1 p.2); "Very stable family life." (Interview W1 p.1); "Birth order" (Interview W1 p.1) and "Growing up with brothers, 'maleness rubbed off'" (Interview IT1 p.1).

Finally, all interviews were conducted within the South African environment and the apartheid system seems to have been an influencer, in terms of non-conformists deriving their inspiration from the meaning of doing what is right (Interview FL1; Interview S3; Interview P1; Interview P3; Interview C2). There was also a commonality drawn by some of the women between "not religious, non conformant they were conformant, anti-apartheid" (Interview E1 p.3). In other words, those who would 'go against the grain' in terms of society, would take a stand against socialisation and society's concepts of what was right for a women, and what was unacceptable. For many of the women interviewed, their support structures laid a strong foundation for the development of their careers.

1.3 Personal support

There was a strong interlace between influence and support with regards to male professors (Interview P1 p.1; p.14; Interview P3; Interview C2; Interview M1; Interview W1).

Most of the women interviewed indicated a very strong support gleaned from their direct partner or spouse (Interview C2 p.20; Interview S1 p.4; Interview SC1; Interview W1; Interview SC2 p.3). The majority of women stated that they would never have

been able to achieve the results they did without their supportive partner (Interview S3 p.2; Interview SC1 p. 12). Some even referred to their husband as a life mentor (Interview IT2 p.5). In several instances it was the encouragement from the husband to progress and continue work, which the women was ready to discontinue (Interview P1, p.13; Interview P3; Interview B1).

The supportive role of the husband was emphasised by almost every women, not only in terms of individual support, but also in terms of mutual development and the benefit for the family unit as a whole (Interview S1 p.3; Interview C3 p.4). A few of the women interviewed mentioned their career being the dominant career within the family and therefore their husbands perform the household roles and are caretakers of the children, while the women work. For all the women who live in this environment, they perceived both marriage parties to be satisfied and that the system of house-husband to be working effectively (Interview F2 p.5; Interview B2; Interview SC1 p.4). The general feeling was that the husband of the women interviewed would assist in any way possible in order to support and facilitate the growth of her career (Interview F1 p.3; Interview SC2 p. 4; Interview C3 p.4; Interview F1 p.3; Interview S1 p.10). One participant stated that "no woman can actually begin to do the kind of things that I have done without the support of your husband" (Interview P2 p.8).

Many of the women interviewed further indicated the support of close friends, generally female, who had been life friends (Interview M2 p.9; Interview A1 p.2; Interview F1 p.4; Interview E1 p.6); "I have got a wonderful support system in terms of friends, associates, whoever can lend a hand if I am not there that surely the world mustn't stop if I am not around." (Interview SC 2p.6); "my girlfriends were amazing." (Interview C3 p.4). Some women stated that they had a very limited circle of friends: "I am not a big crowd person. I am very private" (Interview W1; Interview P1) and "I have very few friends" (Interview S3 p.14).

Another huge area of support was family and parents (Interview S3 p.1, p.5; Interview C3 p.4; Interview F1 p.3; Interview W1; Interview P3; Interview E1 p.6). A significant portion of the women discussed the early support of their parents, through childhood and reaching early career decisions (Interview SC2 p. 4; Interview S3 p.6; Interview SC2 p. 4; Interview SC1 p.5). Some women specifically made reference to the support

of their fathers (Interview S2 p.4; Interview S3 p.4; Interview SC1 p.5), and others to their mothers (Interview SC2 p.3; Interview F2 p.5). There were also a few references to the support of siblings (Interview C1 p 5; Interview SC2 p.3). Finally, some references were made to the closeness and support of parents-in-law (Interview M2 p.10; Interview W1 p.10; Interview F2 p.5) and to the support of children (Interview S3 p.2).

One of the considerations raised was the particular nature of the new South Africa, which has facilitated a greater ease for working women, in that most middle to upper economic households have domestic workers, who are able to run the home and take care of the children. This has provided more women with the opportunity to pursue their career goals. The other advantage to working women, is the wage discrepancy between domestic work and the economic sector, this benefit allows many women to maintain a higher standard of living, while having their home environment cared for.

There was an incongruity in the feelings of support gained from other professional women, these feelings ranged from indifference (Interview C2 p25) to phenomenal support (Interview A1 p.3; Interview S1 p.5; Interview P2; Interview C3 p.12; Interview SC2 p.10; Interview F2 p.5; Interview P2 p.13). Some women felt that men have been more supportive professionally than other women (Interview C2 p.26; Interview Q p.4). Although there was also a feeling of complete lack of professional support, carrying the attitude of "who does she think she is" (Interview C2 p.26)?

Another interesting observation from the discussion of supportive husbands, was that several of the husbands occupied very high powered positions themselves. Some are specialised doctors (Interview P1 p.4; P2 p.14); others were lawyers (Interview P3); others were described as being in high powered business positions (Interview F1 p.3; Interview SC2 p.4; Interview W1; Interview M2). The contemplation that perhaps men who are successful in their own careers may not be threatened by a woman or a wife who is successful in her own right, was considered.

From the aspect of support, other than the direct partner, there was very little indication of a discrepancy whether the support group or person be male or female. Or in the different types of support which males or females may provide. There was a very

strong consensus that the support structure plays a significant role in breeding and providing a platform for success. Some of the statements to this effect include: "We can't do it on our own." (Interview S1 p.5); "if you really want to make it as a career person, especially in a male dominated job, you need to have a very strong system" (Interview W1 p.10; Interview SC1 p.1); "that support and infrastructure is important" (Interview SC1 p.4); and "I don't think anybody does this on their own." (Interview E1 p.2). Despite the phenomenal support received by most women, there were still feelings of making sacrifices to achieve their levels of success.

1.4 Sacrifices or regrets

For all the interviewees who are mothers, the neglect or limited time spent with their families, children or husbands was a primary concern (Interview S1 p.9). A few of the women stated that "my children say I neglected them" (Interview FL1) or "my son is angry with me, but we are now working through it" (Interview B1 p.4). These women are now struggling with the damaged relationships. Other women stated that they were aware of the difficulty of balancing work and their children. There were statements such as "The difficulty of being a woman and a mother then came into play" (Interview P3); "Women do have a more difficult time, unless you've got a mother who becomes a surrogate mother, if you know what I mean" (Interview SC1 p.8). There was a justification of performing at a high level wherein "the life style, the demands are horrific … and not necessarily compatible with having a nice harmonious set up at home" (Interview SC1 p.1). Feelings of guilt also emerged: " I have always come back with guilty feelings of the fact that I might not be there for all the other roles that I am supposed to play" (Interview C2 p.20).

The difficulty of juggling roles, in terms of motherhood and career women was also mentioned as an extreme difficulty (Interview C2 p.20; Interview P1 p.4; Interview F1 p.2; Interview C3 p.9; Interview M2 p.9; Interview SC2 p.5; Interview N1 p.13). The credence was expressed as: "I think many women find themselves lost in their roles, their role as wife and mom and career women" (Interview W1 p.7). Other women considered the family time a socialised responsibility, when one in particular stated that the greatest sacrifice is "not spending the time that you've been socialised to spend with your children" (Interview S1 p.9; Interview W1 p.10). Some of the women interviewed considered their careers to be a priority, and therefore did not have families. This

element of their lives seemed to be a concerted decision, made consciously through a drive for success, rather than a regret (Interview E1; Interview M1). There was also the issue of being unable to have children, as medical experts say this individual is too stressed (Interview IT1 p.5). What for one person is a sacrifice may not be a sacrifice to another. One women explained that for one of her children, the time away from her mother was a sacrifice, yet another child appreciated the benefits and opportunities it brought him (Interview C3 p.4).

Within the consensus that there are always trade-offs (Interview E1 p.5; Interview SC1 p.7), there has also been an indication of literal sacrifices, like a stable salary (Interview C1 p.7); Travel, resulting in time away from the family (Interview SC1 p.1; Interview A1 p.2; Interview P1, p.12); Instability (Interview SC1 p.12); Leisure time, watching TV, exercising (Interview W1 p.10); Parties and functions (Interview F2 p.7); Social life (Interview C3 p.12; Interview E1 p.6); Time "(Interview E1 p.6); Time away from children (Interview F1 p.6; Interview N1 p.12) and a feeling that there are numerous "prices to be paid" (Interview SC1 p.9; Interview SC2 p.5). In order to compensate and cope with the many role responsibilities, many women have implemented schedules in order to structures their lives (Interview W1 p.10; Interview F1 p.6,; Interview FL1 p.4).

The discussion regarding the sacrifice made by women who go on maternity leave considered various aspects, the greatest being that the time loss, in certain professions, was irrecoverable and there is a great lacking of systems in place to facilitate maternity leave and programmes for returning new mothers (Interview SC1 p.3). Women who manage departments with women in them, appeared to be far more compassionate about the time these women needed for specific family based activities (Interview SC1 p.3; Interview S1; Interview E1). In addition, many women who discussed scheduling minimised their sacrifices by creating systems and plans in which their children were factored in (Interview SC1 p.3; Interview W1 p.10). These women believed that "I have sacrificed but at the same time I think I have got a happy balance" (Interview F1 p.6; Interview SC2 p.5).

The positive attitude which most of the women displayed became apparent when most women stated that they do not believe in regrets, as they are a futile waste of time

(Interview M1; Interview N1 p.17; Interview F2 p.6). One of the beliefs stated was "I don't believe in regrets, I believe in making decisions, and you live with the consequences" (Interview S1 p.9). Many of the women perceive their success to be a great advantage to their children, not only in terms of private school education, but also in terms of life experience gained, networking opportunities and a worldliness of personal experiences (Interview N1 p14; Interview F1). One of the women interviewed stated that her children were a significant part of her life, and in her attempt not to neglect them, she has provided them with the opportunity to travel with her, and live the experiences with her (Interview S3 p.4). The positive approach was evident in comments such as: "I don't think I have ever sacrificed anything in my life so I would never see it as a sacrifice really" (Interview S3 p.7).

The sacrifices which are made are also congruent with the specific values and career goals of the women interviewed. Many of them made comments such as "I give everything" (Interview IT1 p.7); "I just work!" (Interview S3 p.14); "compulsory career persons, so I would just work 14, 16 hours a day" (Interview W1 p.10). The most striking factor when discussing sacrifices is the concept which several women believed that "If I didn't enter this type of role then I think I would maybe be sacrificing myself" (Interview F1 p.6); and "if I hadn't done that I would have been true to myself" (Interview SC 2p.5). Following this, there was a generalised consensus of contentment and the belief that "I would do everything I have done again" (Interview SC 2p.5). The overall conviction was that "We should enjoy it." (Interview W1 p.7; Interview P2 p.15). The outlook towards women who have chosen not to make the sacrifice, and rather to be with their families, bred the general feeling that "it's a choice that needs to be respected not to pay the price of a senior executive job" (Interview N1 p.12). The respect for another person's life or career choice has not been exhibited in all spheres of society and work environments.

1.5 Male dominated environments

The attitude pertaining to entering into a male dominated industry was predominantly along the lines of "it never entered my head" (Interview P1 p.10; Interview C1 p.14). The majority of women professed to have pursued careers, which interested them, or took a job for the sake of having a job and thereafter discovered a passion within their environment, which then led to a fulfilling career. The intrinsic importance of pursuing

and achieving within a framework of purpose or passion often seemed to overshadow peripheral issues like gender discrimination. Several women remarked similarly that "I am very comfortable working with men" (Interview S3 p.4).

There existed a strong awareness of the impact of socialisation (Interview S1 p.1). An explanation was provided as follows: "We have for centuries of being the submissive partner, or, you know, taking care of the home" (Interview W1 p.4). A portion of the women interviewed indicated that certain people in their lives would have preferred them to "simply get married and have babies" or to "be a housewife" (Interview E1 p.3; Interview S2 p.4; Interview W1 p.8; Interview P1 p.13). One participant was told when she applied to a University for admission: "you go home and have babies. That's what this country needs" (Interview P3). Another participant felt that social pressure was experienced "indirectly more than directly for me because my parents never pressured me" (Interview E1 p.3).

Many examples of direct gender prejudices arose during the interviews, from diverse perspectives. Prior to the working environment, at a University level, there were a few comments indicating a prejudice: "I think there was the feeling even from the lecturers that they are always talking to the men…. they don't take women seriously" (Interview F1 p.9) and another perspective stated that "I found the relationship between the lecturers (doctors) and the girl students inappropriate" (Interview P3). Entrance into certain professions was limited to men, as it was explained: "There was a quota for women…There was a suspicious 12% women" (Interview M1 p.1); Institutions were "not open" (Interview M1 p.1). Many women were aware of themselves being the only or one of few women in a particular professional circumstance, the domination of the male dominated environments was described quite phenomenally:

"There were four women in parliament when I went there out of 156" (Interview P1, p.4);

"For six years I was the only woman" (Interview P1, p5);

"I was the only woman programmer" (Interview C3 p.2);

"There are still very few women in Investec that hold top positions" (Interview F1 p.10);

"Sometimes when I get into a boardroom I think, jeez, I'm the only lady around" (Interview A1 p.2);

"94 years and no woman had ever been in that position" (Interview P2 p.4);

"That was fairly male orientated as well in the sense that there were virtually no woman seen in positions in that organisation whatsoever" (Interview N1 p.2);

"I sat on a committee recently that was evaluating some prestigious grounds and we were very few women." (Interview SC1 p.10);

"If you go to our credit forums, there is not one woman who sits in credit forum. Not one female." (Interview F1 p.16);

"University classes were male dominated" (Interview W1; Interview P1 p.10);

"In a hall of 300 people, I was the only woman" (Interview FL1; p.4);

"I was going into Anglo Platinum Boardroom and it is all male and it is all white male and they would all sit there and they couldn't believe that a woman…" (Interview M2 p.4);

"The barrier to entry which is access for women was markedly higher than men." (Interview SC1 p.14);

"One woman on the review panel" (Interview SC1 p.13);

"I never had the perks of my male counterpart" (1984) (Interview F1 p.9);

"In most meetings where I would go for construction projects, I would be the only black female" (Interview C2 p.13);

"It was just men, men, men and I just thought, you know, this is not right. What's … what's wrong, you know, where are the women in this field?" (Interview W1 p.3).

There have also been stories detailing expectations that certain roles would be performed by a man, and were therefore given a male title, not a gender-neutral title (Interview F1 p.1). Many women described their perceptions of gender inequalities and the difficulties they experience having men dealing with reporting and being answerable to a women manager (Interview S2 p.4; Interview C2 p.25; Interview M2 p.5; Interview C3 p.7; Interview F1 p.13). Some of the participants believe that there is a level of antagonism against women in prominent positions, as there is the accusation that they have been "window dressed" for the position, despite their qualification and experience (Interview F1 p.10; Interview C2 p.24).

1.5.1. Opinion.

The opinion held with regard to the impact and bearing which operating in a male dominated industry, or being the only women in a professional environment, differed

considerably between two polar views viz. "You have to work twice as hard, to receive the same recognition, if you are a woman" (Interview SC1 p.14; IT2 p.4; Interview A1 p.3) and "As a woman you have such an advantage" (Interview S1 p.8; Interview S3 p.5). For those women who had encountered incidences of discrimination, their outlook revolved around factors of "not the same rules but we play the game" (Interview SC1 p.4). Many women had directly encountered discriminatory behaviour within their working environments, some of these actions include: Having men accept credit for work which a woman had performed (Interview M2 p.4); Being treated in a dismissive manner, and having a younger, less experienced man receiving greater respect (Interview F1 p.9); and general feeling of being demeaned (Interview SC1 p.12; Interview S2 p.2). Many women, who felt this discrimination, although they mentioned it, then stated that they accept it as a reality, and are not particularly bothered by it (Interview IT1 p.5). "I haven't seen it as a stumbling block to me whatsoever" (Interview IT1 p.6).

Despite the consensus of general discrimination within their working environments, the majority of the women interviewed perceived their gender to be either a neutral issue or a positive factor. Certain women stated: "I've never, ever felt the gender issue" (Interview S3 p.11; Interview F2 p.5). On the positive side it was felt by some that: "Women have the greatest advantage in business" (Interview A1; Interview S1 p.8). A few women stated that "I never had to prove anything to him because I was a woman" (Interview F2 p.3). The point was also raised that many companies want to be perceived as supporting women, and therefore the timing is good to find opportunities for personal growth (Interview C1 p.4). Some women have admitted to using the female wiles to their benefit in various situations (Interview P1, p.11; Interview S3 p.11). A stance made in terms of addressing gender discrimination was "I have never allowed myself to feel undermined" (Interview S3 p.11).

1.5.2. Perception of women.

The perception of women ranged from varying talents, which women embody versus an almost chauvinistic approach to 'other women' and their lack of success or dominance. The positive approach to women identified a multitude of characteristics, which are believed by the women interviewed to be particular to females and to hold an advantage for them. One perception observed that: "I find that women are often far more diligent

in meeting obligations" (Interview SC1 p.10; Interview F2 p.3). Certain women mentioned the concept of multi-tasking and being able to perform multiple functions simultaneously was cited as a significant advantage (Interview A1 p.2; Interview F1 p.16). Relationship management and development, encompassing empathy and understanding of others, was also perceived to be a female benefit (Interview S1 p.10; Interview A1 p.2; Interview F1 p.10). A strong standpoint was taken on women's ability to make decisions and to be equally as mathematically inclined as men (Interview F1 p.16; Interview SC1 p.10). Attention to detail was cited as a female asset (Interview S1 p.10). A woman's ability to admit to making a mistake was considered to be a strong advantage (Interview C3 p.7). One woman observed that: "sometimes business is very ruthless and it is not in a woman's nature not to be like that ... just be assertive and not aggressive in whatever you do. Women have that ability" (Interview A1 p.1). It is believed that women have vision and that they "bring a very different view, much more sensitive, collaborative view, it is really, really fascinating to see" (Interview SC1 p.10; Interview A1 p.2). The general feeling was that "over time people are appreciating more what women have to offer" (Interview F1 p.12). A viewpoint shared demonstrating the positive and growth areas of women was "The woman keeps things together, but the men crack the whip" (Interview S1 p1).

A conflicting view regarding women, as perceived by the women interviewed, as well as how they see society as viewing women, was shared. A perspective was that some women may take on a weaker or a victim mentality in order to be assisted in life: "Women relying on being only women. We are women, so hence I need preferential treatment, or because I am a woman I can't do this" (Interview W1 p4). There was a belief that women are risk averse and therefore tend to take a safer career path (Interview N1 p.3). A woman's fear of failure was also cited as a differentiating factor between men and women's natures (Interview N1 p.3). It was stated that women do not necessarily stretch themselves in terms of goals (Interview N1 p.3) and that they tend to go for the softer sciences (Interview W1 p.8; Interview SC1 p.10). Many participants discussed a woman being the more emotional gender at length. It was generally accepted that women are emotional, however, there were many viewpoints, which stated that the emotions are not necessarily detrimental and just need to be channelled and utilised effectively (Interview S3 p.7; Interview S1 p.6; Interview F1 p.16). Some of the women interviewed admitted that emotionality is a personal issue for them too

(Interview S3 p.7; Interview F1 p.16; Interview P3 p.17). It was also stated that those women in managerial positions rarely tolerate the emotions of other women in a business environment (Interview S1 p.5). There was a negative perception of some women's emotions being uncontrollable, when a participant stated that: "Woman tend to beat themselves up about it, and almost create a self fulfilling prophesy when they say 'you see I didn't cope with that'." (Interview N1 p.17). Concurring with this outlook, another participant believes that: "Women have got so much baggage" (Interview S3 p.4).

A philosophy exists, that in order to progress within certain professional environments, it is necessary for women to be aggressive and forceful. This was reinforced by the following two assertions: "Some women have become successful to think the only way they can be successful is to have more testosterone than the men. You have this kind of highly aggressive female who in fact doesn't help other females take up the ladder and in fact fights them off because she is the queen bee amongst all these men." (Interview N1 p.18) and another perspective stated that: "I think that in a way the aggressive characteristics that are necessary and are valued. We have got a society that values certain things, certain types of behaviours and I think a lot of women might feel uncomfortable" (Interview SC1 p.2). The belief existed that many women starting off their careers have to assert an aggressive front in order to be respected and taken seriously (Interview S1 p.4).

Several women felt very strongly that society socialises specific conditions to perceive a man to be better for a certain profession, than a woman (Interview F1 p.10; Interview S3 p.5). When analysing why the perceptions of other women or women in general are not all positive, some of the explanations offered include: "There is a lack of sensitivity as to what the realities are, and lack of leadership of women in leadership positions perpetuates that" (Interview SC1 p.10). Another standpoint focused very directly on the socialisation of women when saying that: "a lot of women are not socialised to be the boss" (Interview S1 p.16). A perspective was offered that women "aren't accepted by society as much as men are" (Interview S3 p.5). Another view was that: "I think less is expected of girls, and their roles are laid out for them very early on" (Interview W1 p.8; Interview SC1 p.6). Official flaws in systems were also cited as areas of weakness hampering a woman's progression. For instance, not being orientated to a career path,

no direct socialisation for women into business and schemes to help women who have had their babies come back into the system" (Interview SC1 p.6, p.8; Interview S1 p.1). The structure of society, both formal systems and informal normalities create a generally difficult circumstance for women, in certain professional spheres. The stance in this regard was stated as "I don't know where the solution lies other than a major societal change" (Interview SC1 p. 4).

The positive and negative perceptions of women provide an indication of the diverse outlooks held by the women interviewed. Despite their opposing views, one statement seemed to echo many of their feelings: "When my boss asked me at one stage what was the thing that would have most helped, I said to him a wife" (Interview N1 p.13).

1.5.3. Perception of men.

The perception of men was an interesting mix of personal experiences and direct observations. The feelings were a combination of positive, negative and impartial outlooks, the broad belief was that "men do things differently" (Interview S1 p.4). The first factor discussed was men's egos, this was addressed in terms of not admitting to making a mistake (Interview C3 p.7), being intimidated by women in the workplace (Interview S1 p.9), the difficulty of having a female senior (Interview F1 p.13), and a resistance to instructions from a woman (Interview S1 p.4). Another perspective on working with men was that: "when men's testosterone dies down you can actually reason with them" (Interview S3 p.5). One outlook on working with men was that: "it is easy to charm a man … make him feel that he is actually part of this decision and he made the decision, but you cannot let him know that you made the decision" (Interview M2 p.6).

A factor for consideration was that: "men don't always take women seriously (Interview F1 p.9) and that many men also feel a socialised pressure to behave like a 'man should behave'. Two statements to this effect were: "Roles, you know, through the centuries, it is embedded in the DNA… the way that we teach our children, hey, the boys being taught to be the man – to take ownership, to lead and it takes, this and that and that and that is expected of him to be the man" (Interview W1 p.8) and "Men are meant to be in charge, men run households, men run their business" (Interview F1 p.14). An advantage of men, which was discovered by one of the women interviewed,

is their ability to network effectively, she stated that: "Males used their networks in their relationship very differently to what women did" (Interview N1 p.9).

Finally, it was remarked on men's "certain lack of sensitivity" (Interview SC1 p.10), which was explained by another participant as a lack of empathy because most men "have got a wife at home who takes your kids to school and cooks the meals and sorts out household issues. I still have to go home and do all that" (Interview N1 p.13). Despite gender issues and incidence of discrimination, the overall sentiment was as follows: "I also realise the value of both women and men in the organisation" (Interview S1 p.5).

1.5.4. Breaking boundaries.

Many of the women interviewed were pioneers in their industries or companies (Interview E1; Interview A1; Interview M1; Interview FL1; Interview F2; Interview P1; Interview P2; Interview W1; Interview B1). Many of them were unaware at the time of the impact their actions would give to other women who would follow in their footsteps. Many of them are still oblivious of the influence, which their careers have on others: "I know my circumstances, I don't know how it effects other women" (Interview F1 p.15); and "I never really considered myself as breaking boundaries" (Interview F2 p.3). Others admitted to their emotional journeys through ground breaking steps (Interview W1 p4; Interview P3 p.11; Interview N1 p.6). The reality of women entering into industries which are still dominated by men is difficult, one participant made reference to her responsibility to pave an easier path for the women who will follow (Interview F2 p.5). The perception of other people to see a professional women as a competent professional is identified as one of the most crucial factors for career success (Interview F1 p.16). The positive attitude of one participant is an inspiration to other women entering daunting environments: "My gender encourages me because now I need to prove a point that we can do it" (Interview A1 p.2)!

1.5.5. Age.

The development of confidence and career success over a period of time has been discussed previously in this chapter, however, a factor raised by women when discussing their progression through a male dominated industry, has been the factor of their chronological age, in some cases, rather than gender. One participant stated that

"You know its not that I haven't been the only woman at the table more times than I can even bother to count, but I am just trying to look at it in gender terms and the fact, in many ways, is the fact that I am the youngest at the table is often more of an issue than the gender" (Interview F2 p.2). There has been a strong perception that age makes a difference, both in terms of how a woman is treated, as well as the age of the people who need to interact with her. Some women believed that older men have difficulty working with a younger woman (Interview F1 p.9, p.16.), whereas other women perceived younger men to have difficulty reporting to a woman (Interview M2 p.5).

The other aspect of age is the belief that with age comes more respect, as well as the experience to manage gender or age discrimination (Interview S1 p.14; Interview W1 p.14; Interview S2 p.2).

1.5.6. Femininity.

The importance of self concept was emphasised by several participants throughout the interviews. The potential of developing 'male' or 'aggressive' traits was also mentioned. Certain of the women maintained that there was an important need not to lose the feminine touch in everything you do" (Interview A1 p.3). The standard belief was that a woman should "ideally capitalise on those attributes and not try and be another man" (Interview N1 p.19). A message to other women was that it is important "the way you project yourself… it is about your dress… it is not about being a woman … I do not for one minute think that I have compromised my femininity in any way … you must be able to combine those two things … if you can make a career of that … then you have done well" (Interview C3 p.16). Most women interviewed portrayed femininity and positivity about being a woman. The consensus was that it is "quite possible to be a woman and still be successful" (Interview N1 p.19).

"So how do you break that trap between women saying don't treat me differently and yet, what I have argued up till now, is that you need someone to stand aware. Not necessarily to be treated differently, yet you need to be conditioned in a different way" (Interview SC1 p.13). This stands as one of the greatest paradoxes and complexities of women entering not only specifically male dominated environments, but in some cases, the workforce in general. There is a strong sense that most of the women interviewed would motivate "respect for the achievement regardless of gender" (Interview W1 p.4).

On one hand women are being told "a woman should not see themselves as a lesser human being and they should be okay with themselves and reach for the stars." (Interview F1 p.15), yet on the other side there are the realistic factors and concerns which do impact on women in male dominated industries, as one participant articulated: "You don't want to become either in a sense treated as an inferior because you are a woman or become the target of sexual harassment or other issues because you are a woman" (Interview N1 p.19).

The acceptance of having complicated situations and possibly double standards in certain spheres is also often perceived as an opportunity to assert oneself and develop into a position (Interview S2 p.5; Interview S1 p.5). The female capabilities and relationship handling is perceived by some to be almost a criteria on its own to secure career success (Interview F1 p.12; Interview S2 p.3). In essence, rather than being judged by a lower standard (Interview SC1 p. 4), the dominant attitude is "I am here to become the best I can be and being a woman is a great body to do that in, but it is just a body. It is about what I do, that counts" (Interview W1 p.4).

1.6 The meaning of work

The strongest message to surface through all the interviews is the deep meaningfulness, which each woman feels or felt for her work. The continual significance of having a purpose and enjoying your career, gives meaning to the daily roles performed. Enthusiasm and energy were obviously displayed when each person began speaking about her work, life purpose or passion. For some people, the career began as a job, through which a strong passion emerged and became a life purpose (Interview FL1; Interview B1; Interview B2; Interview C1; Interview C3; Interview F2; Interview M2; Interview N1; Interview P2; interview P3; Interview S2; Interview S3). For others their work was the merging of an interest and passion with a carefully chosen career path (Interview C2; Interview F1; Interview E1; Interview M1; Interview IT1; Interview P1; Interview Q; Interview SC1; Interview SC2; Interview S1; Interview W1).

Motivation for work is an individual factor, however the intrinsic rewards, which the 24 women interviewed experienced, were far more meaningful to them than external satisfaction. One women stated that: "Either you work for money or you work for status, or you work for something else, you are working for the wrong reasons, in my

opinion" (Interview SC2 p.8). The strong message emerged that a career should be what is right for the individual. The statements made in this regard were along the lines of: "Be who you are and do the best that you can… be true to yourself and do the best that you can despite anything." (Interview IT1 p.8). A difficulty in honouring this statement is the underlying assumption that individuals know what they want. A strong message through many interviews was that each individual has a purpose in life, and that circumstances will allow the individual to discover that purpose, as long as they believe in themselves (Interview C1 p.13; Interview S1 p.5).

The meaning of work is a varying concept per individual; however, it appears to have a strong correlation with personal values and of what is of value to the individual (Interview SC1 p.11). For many people, work fulfils a need, and in many cases, this is a need to assist others, grow others or just to be helpful to society. A prominent need, which arose through this process, was the need to make a difference, both to society and to people in general (Interview C3 p.15). For some women this yields great satisfaction and correlates with their purpose in life (Interview IT1 p.7; Interview E1 p.1). The ideal that in satisfying your own meaning and purpose in life you will ensure other people's happiness is not necessarily always the case. In certain instances a life purpose may be a drastic transformation, which has a greater principle, beyond the satisfaction of every person. As one person explained it: "You can justify to yourself why am I actually making everybody so unhappy, because actually I am doing this and this has to be done" (Interview E1 p.3).

Personal development was also a clear area of meaningfulness to many women. There was a strong belief in growing your skill base and competencies in order to promote yourself (Interview N1 p.15). As part of personal development, the desire to grow or develop something together with other people appeared to be a strong motivating factor (Interview SC2 p.9). Many of the women interviewed found meaning in their own abilities to conquer challenges, the enthusiasm was evident when the women interviewed discussed factors such as overcoming hurdles (Interview F1 pg.15), perseverance (Interview M1 p.5), building a competent team (Interview SC2 p.8) and overcoming difficulties, such as gender discrimination (Interview F2 p.4). A component of conquering a challenge is also overcoming the fear of failure, which is a possible deterrent which would detract from the meaningfulness of work (Interview SC1 p.10).

A dominant message, which emerged from the women who participated in this study, was to identify the elements of one's life, which you enjoy, and then make a career out of that pleasure (Interview F2 p.8; Interview A1 p.2; Interview F1 p.15; Interview W1 p.8). The art in achieving this would be to identify career and life opportunities, which may not be overtly obvious (Interview P1 p.15; Interview P2 p30). The outlook which many women expressed is "This world is wide, big and its there for the taking, and I think what you put in you get out" (Interview F1 pg.15)! The phrase "aim for the stars" (Interview S1 p.23) was complimented by "be confident" (Interview A1 p.2) and "understand why things are happening so you can be successful in things you do" (Interview A1 p.2). In order to achieve meaningfulness in work, the factor of self belief and not underestimating personal potential and capabilities emerged (Interview N1 p.14). The summation was made that if one takes one's "hobby and makes it their career, even the better. Follow that thing and then focus. Focus like you cannot believe and tell yourself, you know you are going to be the best that you can be" (Interview W1 p.14).

In order to effect a meaningfulness in work, advice which was given is to "think about the things that you have done and think about where you have been innovative and creative and where you have had achievements and in a sense capitalise on what your strengths" (Interview N1 p.14). The energy of positivity and proactivity filtered through many aspects of the interview, through to the significance of a working environment. A strong emphasis has been placed on accepting that a meaningful work path will be difficult, and there is a need to promote the reality of "painstaking thorns that are waiting for you there" (Interview C2 p.26). However, despite this truth, the prominence in discussions focused on not "settling for second best" (Interview S1 p.23) and ensuring "decisions are positive" (Interview S1 p.23). The element of self creation (Interview F2 p.2) dominated, together with a passionate and genuine love for a job, because of the meaningfulness of the work (Interview M2 p.11; Interview SC2 p.9; Interview IT1 p.7; Interview F2 p.2; Interview C3 p.8; Interview P2 p6). The notion of work being meaningful was surmised perfectly by one participant who stated: "To me it is not what I do, it is why I do it"(Interview E1 p.7).

1.7 The meaning of success

The women who were interviewed were all officially occupying or had occupied leadership positions. However, that definition of success is a limited single focus, and does not illustrate the meaning of success and the experience of success for each individual. The women interviewed were all accepting of their careers as being a success, and for most of them they had achieved their original ambitions. The experience of success is not a definition; rather it is a practice of an existence, within chosen frameworks. The following statement echoes the sentiments of many of the women who were interviewed: "I think for me it is still having that energy and still wanting to do better and still wanting to improve……. I don't think success is something you can say … right, now I am successful. You are successful in one area of your life; or you are successful in different areas, and I think it changes" (Interview C3 p.14).

Probably the most common discussion revolved around success changing at various stages of life and reaching various levels (Interview C3 p.15; Interview F2 p.6). Life experiences were discussed as enhancing the holistic meaningfulness of success. Many comments were made indicating an acceptance of positive and negative happenings, as building a rich tapestry of experience (Interview S1 p.11; Interview N1 p.7; Interview SC2 p.9; Interview S3 p.7; Interview E1 p.1). Most of the women spoken to had chosen interesting and often unusual paths, which lead to a variety of experiences. One women proclaimed: "I have lived and loved!" (Interview S3 p.10). An outlook encompassing the experience of success is "Well I am happy that I have had such an interesting life" (Interview P1, p.18).

The second most dominant observation is the meaningfulness of achievement. The need and importance placed on achievement was striking, in almost all the people interviewed (Interview S2 p.2; Interview N1 p.13; Interview F1 p.5, p.14, p.15; Interview P1, p.17; Interview A1 p.3; Interview W1 p.11; Interview C3 p.13; Interview M1 p.2). Achievement was referred to in reference to an individual's specific goals or career accomplishments. One of the aspects to achieving is the ability to overcome resistance and "its all about rising up again when … when things get you down" (Interview C3 p.15). A perspective on not utilising the natural talents and gifts which

one has was expressed as (if) "I didn't use it, it would be like throwing it back at the deity, God, whoever, whatever" (Interview P2 p.30).

For family oriented women, they believed that a component of the experience of success is having a happy family, a good relationship with their husbands and a general balance in their lives (Interview C2 p.23; Interview C3 p.16; Interview M2 p.14; Interview F1 p.14) The observation was made that: "I think you are successful if you have got a happy family life, you know, happy children, everything is happy there and everyone is happy and you succeed and you have excelled in your career" (Interview M2 p.14).

Many women feel their success as adding value to other people, contributing to society, to a company and to the individuals with whom they interact. (Interview IT1 p.6., p.7; Interview F2 p.6; Interview F1 p.5; Interview FL1 p.5; Interview S3 p.8; Interview C2 p.20; Interview C2 p.21; Interview N1 p.14). This philosophy and dominant factor in the experience of success returns to the altruistic motivations and intrinsic desires to help other people. Many of the women discussed their happiness at the achievements of other people (Interview E1 p.8; Interview W1 p.14; Interview S3 p.8, p.9). This achievement for others has included the statement that "success is being able to provide job creation" (Interview A1 p.3). In terms of sharing success or measuring the effect of an individual's success, the approach is: "it's the recipient that knows it much more than we do" (Interview E1 p.8).

For many women self acceptance has been a personal journey and an eventual achievement. A participant mused that she: "can really say that it's only, honestly, in the past seven years I have really, really found myself" (Interview S3 p.2)." The experience of success has allowed many of the interview participants to feel that they are "comfortable in your own skin" (Interview C2 p.22; Interview M2 p.13, p.15; Interview C3 p.14; Interview F1 p.5). Leading on from self acceptance is the belief that "success is somewhat a issue of happiness"(Interview F2 p.6; Interview C2 p.27; Interview W1 p.11; Interview S3 p.2). The interlacing of self acceptance and happiness was illustrated by the following statement: "A lot of people underestimate that inner strength that we all have.... I think if you know you've got strength, inner strength, you are going to be confident about whatever happens" (Interview S1 p.23). The feeling of

happiness was integrated with the meaningfulness of work (Interview S2 p.4; Interview W1 p.11; Interview SC1 p.16), the element of happiness in meaningfulness was expressed as: "It is just nice to do things, so I enjoy what I do, it's nice though you kind of continue doing what is nice" (Interview SC2 p.9).

Self actualisation and an acknowledgement that one's best is great, has also emerged as an experience of success (Interview C2 p. 21, p.25; Interview F2 p.5; Interview C3 p.14). One participant commented that: "I tend to measure success more internally, so to me success is actually being able to work and achieve probably to your potential" (Interview N1 p.13), and along the same lines, another women stated that: "Whatever I have, I want; whatever I want, I have, and I create it for myself" (Interview S3 p.7).

Another facet of experiencing success is the feeling of pressure and responsibility. This was illustrated when a woman said: "In many respects, it's a huge privilege in others its pressure" (Interview S1 p.8; Interview E1 p.7; Interview P2 p.21). In terms of responsibility, the main focus lay in assisting other people through a similar path, and helping them through difficulties (Interview F2 p.5). Coaching and mentoring to assist career development was also perceived to be the responsibility of successful women (Interview SC1 p.9).

The prevailing attitude regarding the experience of success is that success is not only dynamic, but it is also personal. It is regardless of industry, background, approach or status. The following statement recapitulated this sentiment: "…It's not about the position itself, in that position did I make a difference and did it make life better? I would far more like to be remembered about the impact you had on people and they gave you insight or whatever and saying regardless of position." (Interview E1 p.9). The apparent enjoyment of a fulfilled career appeared to be emphasised by the determination and strength the twenty four women portrayed. There seemed to be a willpower and a resolute decision in each one of them to make their lives the success they desired them to be. In line with this attitude, it was assured: "I have never accepted that people can put women down … at any level" (Interview C3 p.16).

1.7.1. About being a woman.

"Your professionalism and your feminism go hand in hand, but don't forget that you are a woman, because there are so many advantages to the way women think; the way women behave with people; which I think is what is important in business today." (Interview C3 p.17). Affirmative and optimistic statements, like the one above, clearly demonstrate the general mind-set towards being a women in today's world. The broad outlook towards personal gender acceptance or happiness was extremely positive. There were statements such as: "I think it is quite a wonderful position for a woman" (Interview S3 p3); "a personal realisation and that it needs to be a woman" (Interview W1 p.6) and "So it is not about wishing I was a man, it was just a total confidence that I was as good as any man and I could do whatever they wanted to do" (Interview E1 p.5).

The most conspicuous gratitude about being female was the ability to care and to be empathetic, without neglecting professional responsibilities (Interview C3 p.17; Interview C2 p.25; Interview M2 p.4; Interview SC2 p.10; Interview S1 p.7; Interview E1 p.10; Interview A1). Aligning with this approach is the belief that business has changed (Interview C3 p.17) and within the changes, a woman's style of leadership may be extremely beneficial (Interview W1 p.6).

The point most stressed when discussing gender during interviews was rather to focus on abilities and positive self belief. The heart of many discussions revolved around concepts such as: "you find yourself in such a multi-disciplinary feel of being good at so many things that you get lost" (Interview W1 p.6). The overall feeling was: "I have never been resentful about being female" (Interview E1 p.5), and any inabilities were not as a result of gender: "okay so it wasn't because you were female you couldn't do something, I mean I had to be operative" (Interview E1 p.2). The statement that: "I don't believe that there is one area that should suffer if you are a working woman" (Interview S1 p.12) was echoed in various forms through many discussions and the conviction of meaningfulness and drive, apparent in many conversations, has been encapsulated by the following expression : "I constantly remind myself I have a purpose to achieve, regardless of my gender" (Interview A1 p.2).

1.8 Observations

There were several factors, which emerged through the interviewing process, certain commonalities which were intriguing to observe. A striking characteristic to the interviewer was the efficiency and precision with which most of the women interviewed conducted their interaction. This conscientiousness generally comprised of interview confirmations, early or on time starting of the interview, generally an awareness of the time elapsing to end the interview, and an extreme meticulousness in the completion of the informed consent form, in signing and returning it, usually within minutes.

The second observation was that a few of the women mentioned their sisters, who were brought up in the same family or home environment, who are very domestically oriented, not career focused at all (Interview C1 p.10; Interview Q; Interview C2 p.23). Some of the statements in this regard reflect this: "My sister was never career orientated at all, and as I say you come from the same background." (Interview F1 p.5) and "… both my sisters followed pretty traditional roles, my oldest sister is a teacher, who have taught for hundreds of years, and absolutely loves what she is doing and my middle sister is a writer" (Interview SC2 p.3).

A very strong value for freedom emerged (Interview E1 p.9), combined with this has been a strong focus on the need for energy in order to achieve (Interview SC1 p.7; Interview C2 p.27). Along with the need for energy, the consideration that there is a need to be aware of one's environment also emerged. The reality of HIV in South Africa is a concern, which impacts on current economic environments and individual outlooks (Interview E1; Interview S1; Interview S3). Several of the participants drew reference to other social activities such as Black Economic Empowerment (Interview C2; Interview E1; Interview SC1).

Although many of the women involved in this study occupy responsible positions within technical industries, many of them spoke freely about their spirituality, open approach and life philosophies (Interview E1 p.9; Interview W1 p.12; Interview IT1 p.10; Interview P2 p.18). There was also a strong emphasis on the thinking that "what you do takes different forms and shapes at different times and you have different opportunities to do them differently" (Interview E1 p.8). Together with this outlook,

there appeared to be a very genuine pride and belief in the role of women (Interview S3 p.11; Interview S1 p.1). There were statements such as: "gender and specifically diversity are really prized things" (Interview F2 p.3) and "you couldn't find a better time to be a woman" (Interview F2 p.2). The outlook towards women who are unaware of this advantage was: "they are really doing themselves an injustice" (Interview F2 p.2).

The positivity and passion of most of the women interviewed has been mentioned, however, it was so powerful and prevalent that it truly warranted comment. Some of the elements of positivity were expressed as: "I think there are really tremendous opportunities" (Interview F2 p.2); "I believe in turning things into the positive" (Interview S1 p.11); I am eternally positive" (Interview SC2 p.9); "passionate energetic person" (Interview W1 p.12; Interview P2 p.29); "I love what I am doing, I am passionate about it and honestly I have always loved every job that I have done" (Interview M2 p.11). The positivity extended to the ability to laugh easily, with jovial comments such as: "I think that we should live life backwards. We should know what we know now when we are young but then we would do things differently!" (Interview E1 p.9); "I just like life, I just like being alive, I like the challenges, I never wake up thinking oh another day" (Interview SC2 p.9); "I have just enjoyed everything" (Interview P2 p.15) and "It's a passion, its something I have always... do in my own personal life, and I always feel I have something to offer to other people." (Interview F1 p.8). Such an overt display of positivity and passion for life must have a correlation with achieving success, or visa versa.

There appeared to be a slight underlying concern about forcing change and creating a reality, which will incur its own complications. There are many companies and environments, which are very pro-gender and diversity (Interview F2 p.3), however, the concern has been raised regarding pressurising individuals or "they are just starting to develop and we are setting them up for a failure" (Interview SC1 p.8). The question raised was: "I look at these women and I am just filled with awe but I truly question how sustainable this is" (Interview SC1 p14). Many women would be inclined to feel that: "it is good potentially a reverse" (Interview F2 p.4), however, all systems have disadvantages. The view of one women remains: "I think we should be so careful what we force. We force things, equity. We force gender bate shredding, we force things

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which are against nature and I think we should take cognisance of what nature is telling us.... You don't just change that overnight" (Interview W1 p.10). The question then remains, what will be the impact of a societal change and will the experience and meaningfulness of success endure?

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This paper embarked on a journey to discover the characteristics and traits embodied by women who have achieved success in male dominated industries. In order to unearth these characteristics, 24 women who occupy or have occupied official leadership positions within male dominated industries, were interviewed. These interviews were then coded, categorized and analysed for commonalities and discords. Social conditioning, which was considered to be a large factor in leading many women into unhappy or unfulfilling careers, was discussed and the varying experiences of the successful individuals were analysed. The ultimate purpose of this paper was to construct guidelines to enable young men and women the freedom to pursue the career path of their choice, in order to achieve true personal fulfilment.

The discussion of the evolution of gender roles led to the analysis of potential advantages, which women may bring to the workplace, and particularly to spheres mainly dominated by men. The acceptance of diversity between women and men was acknowledged, without prejudice or one-upmanship. With this as a foundation, the natural manner, approach and style of women was perceived to be advantageous, at certain levels, within certain circumstances. This paper does not allege women to be superior to men, or visa versa, rather that women encompass many talents and may introduce new paradigms into existing environments. Juxtaposing the positivity and anticipation, is the fear of change, or concerns regarding a disruption of the stable and comfortable status quo. A force of change, natural or otherwise, must have an effect on the surrounding environment and the inhabitants thereof. It is almost unfeasible to attempt a prediction into the categories of adjustment, through which society will progress, until a new permanence is formed. Several visible transformations were highlighted, yet subtle shifts and changes may be more complicated to elucidate. An additional concern would be the potential creation of a new disequilibria, where one sect breaks through societies prescribed shackles of appropriate behaviour, resulting in another sect being incarcerated, metaphorically.

Societies cultivate accepted norms and cultures in order to enhance socialisation and security. The women interviewed have all rebelled, consciously or unconsciously, against the expectations delineated for them by society at large. The actions of these successful women not only lay a foundation for other women to proceed along similar

paths, learning vicariously from the experiences obtained by their predecessors, it also threatens the constancy and protection of the members of society who resist change. It is not envisaged or anticipated that society will shift its natural tendencies and eradicate conformist pressures. Those individuals who pursue ambitions beyond societies boundaries need to have the fortitude to engage in their passion, despite other's perceptions.

Several factors surfaced as differentiating or assisting the women interviewed to reach their levels of success. The main findings emerging from the interviews were as follows:

- The father appeared to have an influential impact on their daughter's career decisions;
- A personal strong belief of each woman in her ability to achieve a task or role;
- The strong passion or belief for a specific purpose emerged as a driving force for achievement;
- Positive attitude and outlook in life was a common thread throughout most interviews;
- A supportive partner or spouse seemed to be a strong enhancer of success.

Using these five classifications, an analysis into how these findings correspond with existing research will be discussed. A discussion contemplating the practical experience of these spheres will follow, leading into considerations for future research.

1.1 Relationship to literature

The experience of success, as shared by the 24 women who participated in this study, reflect personal encounters, based on their individual circumstances, values and ambitions. The purpose of this paper reaches beyond the personal experience to endeavour to create a blueprint for other people. In order to achieve this end, there is a need to draw comparisons between the original data drawn from this study, and existing research. This process provides credibility as well as a holistic perspective in which the research conducted may be viewed.

1.1.1. Influence of father.

Within the interviews conducted in this study, women mentioned their fathers, within the first few sentences. Often the mother was not mentioned at all, and if she was, it was after the father. The father's career path as well as his desired path for his daughter to pursue, emerged as a strong influencer for each woman's career choice. The interest in the impact of a father on the vocational path chosen by daughters has been examined in the literature. In a study conducted by Steinberg in 2001, identifying the factors influencing women Presidents and Prime Ministers in their rise to power, she noted: "Each woman had a close relationship with her father." Although this study does not focus on the magnitude of the connection, it still emerged as a convincing source. Other studies have supported the fact that a father's relationship with his daughter can direct her career and influence her attitude with regards to university and career (Schulenberg, Vondracek, & Crouter, 1984; Galambos, & Silbereisen, 1987; Korupp, 2000; Soh, 1993; Hoffman, Hofacker, & Goldsmith, 1992).

Poulter (2006) examined the impact of a father's parenting style on his children's functioning within the workplace. He categorises fathers into five classifications, namely: "Superachiever", "Time Bomb" (This father works extremely hard and is continually very stressed), "Passive", "Absent" and "Compassionate/Mentor." Poulter maintains that the father factor exerts its influence in a multitude of manners, including ultimate career choice and job satisfaction, both consciously and unconsciously. He further draws a correlation between a girl's relationship with her father and her capacity for achievement, meaningful professional relationships as well as the foundation of her career. He asserts that this impact is strong, even if the father is no longer alive or if the relationship was not close. Poulter states that in their professional experience, in general, fathers have had a significantly greater impact on a child's career choices and work habits than mothers have. He explains that the workplace is structured on a masculine model and is a male arena. Further to this, men define themselves by their work and their success therein.

In a study conducted in China, Deutsch (2004) considered career choice influencers of Chinese students. Her findings illustrate the dominance of traditional family values, the desire for many students to be obedient to their parent's desires and the influence of the father. In particular, Deutsch highlights that both the fathers and daughters emphasised

the importance of women being independent. A further study conducted by Bank, Slavings and Biddle (1990) indicated that parental influence was far greater than faculty on students' career paths. Normative influences have stronger impact than modelling influences. However, each influence type exerts both a direct impact on determination and an indirect effect on students' behavioural intentions (Bank, Slavings & Biddle).

Steele and Barling (1996) examined the impact of maternal gender-role ideologies and role satisfaction on their daughters' career interests. This study focussed on individual's vocational selections, their gender-role perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' gender-role beliefs and role satisfaction levels. Correlating this, each parent completed similar questionnaires focusing on gender-role perceptions and role satisfaction. The results indicate that actual and perceived maternal ideologies impact both the attitude and career choice of their daughters ($Q= .90$; $W= 14.00$, $p> .05$); however, no correlation emerged between father's perceptions and that of their daughters. The authors draw a correlation between their results and the role of family socialization on children's career aspirations. Grauca, Ethington and Pascarella (1988) sought a conclusion on whether a parent's possession of a bachelors degree influenced the sex atypicality of their educated daughters' careers. Five categories of variables emerged from this study, as being pertinent to career choice: (1) student background characteristics; (2) precollege variables; (3) institutional characteristics of the college attended; (4) measures of the collegiate experience; and (5) outcome measures (educational attainment, sex atypicality of career). Importantly, the indirect influence of father's and mother's college education on the women's educational attainment and career sex atypicality was confirmed.

Greater research indicating the influence of the father appears to exist with specific reference to a daughter's mathematical ability. This follows the same thought process as women who have entered into male dominated industries, as often success in maths or the sciences is perceived to be more of a male arena. Maple and Stage (1991) discovered that parental influence was the greatest persuader in a female selection of maths and science subjects at a tertiary educational level. Dick and Rallis (1991) propose a model for career choice, including the direct and indirect effects which society may play in affecting career choices, including parental influences. They state

that both parents and teachers had significant impacts on career path decisions, in particular in the engineering and scientific spheres. The home and in particular the father figure is a strong foundation of vocational influence. The creation of a self concept and self belief may have its roots in the support and influence gleaned from the home environment. Zeldin and Pajares (2000) researched women who have excelled in mathematical, scientific and technological careers, to gain insight into how their self-efficacy beliefs influenced their academic and career choices. The results of this study indicated that both verbal convincing and vicarious incidence lay a strong foundation for these self-efficacy beliefs. They deduce that these results indicate that sources of self-efficacy beliefs may be stronger for women in male-oriented domains than for people working in traditional environments. Further to this, Zeldin and Pajares determined that both academic and relational self-efficacy perceptions resulted in the tenacity and resilience necessary to triumph over difficulties. They conclude that these results support Bandura's social cognitive theory.

The majority of the women interviewed within this study mentioned their fathers, which seemed to emerge as a sub-conscious influence in their career process. It is stated that this is subconscious as, although most women discussed their fathers, not all of those interviewed drew a direct correlation between him and their chosen career path. The literature corresponds with the information drawn in this study, however, the majority of literature information focus significantly on the parental influence, with a much lesser spotlight on the father in isolation. The influence of the father has been perceived to be positive, and as an assistance in developing a sense of self.

1.1.2. Self belief.

In general the women interviewed displayed tremendously strong perceptions of self worth, capabilities and self-efficacy. Further to this, the women interviewed demonstrated self-acceptance and limitless personal boundaries in terms of their capabilities. In an attempt to uncover the sociocognitive influences which shape children's career aspirations and trajectories, Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara and Pastorelli (2001) conducted research determining that familial socioeconomic status is linked to children's career trajectories only indirectly through parents' perceived efficacy and ambitions. Consequently, parental self-efficacy and aspirations have an impact on their children's career efficacy and choice. The authors conclude that

children's perceived efficacy as opposed to their actual achievement is the determinant of their perceived occupational self-efficacy and preferred vocational choice. Further to this, a deeper examination of gender aspects indicated that perceived occupational self-efficacy predicts traditionality of career choice. When analysing the impact and effects of self belief, it is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Self esteem refers to the total or whole self-concept and sense of self-worth, whereas self-efficacy refers to the level of belief in the ability to perform a certain task or job function (Pajares, 2002).

Several studies have drawn a correlation between a woman's levels of self belief or self efficacy and her career decisions and success (Mathieu, Sowa, & Niles, 1993; Borders, & Archadel, 1987; Schaefers, Epperson, & Nauta, 1997; Erdwins, Buffardi, Casper, & O'Brien, 2001). Rudman (1998) conducted three experiments testing motivational influences on impression formation, particularly within the context of an impression management dilemma that women face. Specifically, he focussed on the issue that self-promotion may be critical in forming a competent impression. The difficulty in this ideology lies in the possibility that women who self-promote may endure social retribution for defying gender standards of modesty. Rudman considered the impact of stereotypical thinking and responses to counter-stereotypical behaviour. He then furthered this study to include male respondents. His results indicated that for female participants, self-promotion resulted in higher competence ratings, yet acquired social perception costs, unless the perceivers were outcome-dependent males. For the male participants, lack of self-promotion decreased competence ratings, though its effects on social perceptions were inconsistent.

When considering paths for self development, Noe (1988) stated that women potentially have trouble establishing a mentoring relationship. Turban and Dougherty (1994) used structural equation modelling to analyse relationships between proteges' personality characteristics, initiation of mentoring, mentoring received, and career success. Their outcome indicated that proteges influenced their quantities of mentoring by initiating relationships with mentors. Their study also demonstrated that an internal locus of control, high self-monitoring, and high emotional stability improved initiation, assisted in the relationships between personality characteristics and mentoring obtained. Mentorship quantities were directly related to career success, and this in turn impacted

on the perception of personal success. However, no correlation was discovered between protégé gender and initiation or mentoring.

Cronen (2000) conducted a study examining the effects of occupational stereotypes on women's career beliefs. The factors comprising career stereotypes included career gender composition, vocational gender stereotypes, and occupational status. The career beliefs investigated were occupational self-efficacy, occupational interest, and anticipated outcomes resulting from engaging in a specific career. Gender identity was discussed as a mediator of the effects of the three spheres of occupational stereotypes on career beliefs. Perceived gender discrimination in the workplace was included as a moderator of the association between gender constitution and career beliefs. Careers portrayed in stereotypically masculine vocabulary were assumed to have a negative impression on women's career beliefs; it was anticipated that this impact would be qualified by individual disparities in gender identity. It was hypothesised that gender composition would have an indirect impact on career beliefs via perceived gender discrimination. These prophecies were not supported. Contrary to expectations, male-dominated professions were associated with superior career self-efficacy and awareness of an occupation than female-dominated occupations. A few higher order participants moderately supported the hypotheses, and revealed the complex environment of the impact of gender identity and gender-related facts.

Betz (2000) discusses the fundamental assumptions of self-efficacy theory and its applicability to career choice and development. He indicates the domains used to measure perceived self-efficacy as being: career self-efficacy, mathematics self-efficacy, activity self-efficacy, and career decision self-efficacy. Betz indicates a correlation between self-efficacy and occupational interests. Correll (2001) discusses the impact of cultural values on gender differentially, and the effect this has on people's early career decisions. He states that cultural attitudes with reference to gender impact on an individuals' perception of their abilities at various career-relevant tasks. The author maintains that gender-differentiated beliefs affect career decisions and career actions. Gender attitudes derived from culture, direct men and women in significantly dissimilar career paths. The focus of this study was conducted considering mathematical beliefs, which, consequently result in diverse gender decisions in terms of pursuing a career in science, maths or engineering.

Gattiker and Larwood (1986) assert that career success is a multi-faceted concept, which is not necessarily based on an official position of leadership. Their study examines the position-success relationship with specific reference to career success as an indication of occupational self-concept and job characteristics. The results indicate that these factors determine certain components of career success. Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger and Vohs (2003) adopt a different approach when they suggest that high self-esteem encompasses a category of people who are honestly aware of their positive attributes along with narcissistic and conceited individuals. They state that high self-esteem does not lead to strong school performance. Alternatively, they suggest that high self-esteem is portionally as a result of positive school performance. However, in adults, they believe that job performance is correlated with high self esteem, despite the fact that the correlations vary significantly, and the direction of causality is undefined. Their debate revolves around career success boosting self-esteem as opposed to the commonly believed reverse. They also postulate that self-esteem has an important connection to happiness. Happiness is also a resultant emotion of pursuing and succeeding in a career path through which great passion, purpose and meaning is experienced.

The literature corresponds strongly with the sentiment embodied in this paper. The acceptance of self, together with the belief in one's own abilities clearly enhances a woman's grasp on success. The confidence enables a woman to drive her career to achieve her desired end result. A woman who has belief in herself and a passion for a particular purpose, possesses a strong combination to enable success.

1.1.3. Passion.

Despite the fact that all the women interviewed in this paper had defied society's concepts of a woman's role, many of them did not appear to be rebellious or directly defiant. However, they exhumed a passion and a purpose, which they insisted on pursuing. Limited literature exists in the sphere of passion as an enhancer or boost of career success. Sperber, Fassinger, Geschmay, Johnson, Prosser and Robinson (1997) identified passion as a contributing factor to the career success of women. Hodgson, Scanlon and Whitelegg (2000) conducted research to try to identify the limitations of women in scientific careers, and the barriers to entry into these careers. They maintain

that there is a necessity in analysing a holistic perspective of a woman's career, encompassing her background and education. One of their more significant findings is the level of meaningfulness and passion which women who have entered into scientific careers display for their vocational choice.

Almost a decade ago, a Wall Street Journal/ABC News survey indicated that almost 50% of people working in the United States would select a new type of work, should the opportunity arise (Quoted in Warshaw 1998). Despite a seemingly dispassionate workforce, very limited information appears available regarding work passion and the meaningfulness of work as a driver enhancing the success of women. When discussing the meaning of work, Judge, Cable, Boudreau & Bretz Jr. (1995) state that the degree of importance which work has to the identity of an individual, positively relates to career attainment, as individuals who see their work as central to their lives should be more willing to make significant investments in their work and in their careers.

Women's emotionality and ability to develop relationships have been discussed previously in this paper. Hakim (1991) states that despite the fact that job segregation places women in lower status and lower paid jobs, women are disproportionately satisfied with their jobs. Tsui and Gutek (1984) agree that women are generally more satisfied in their jobs than men are, and that women find more meaning in their jobs than men do. Weymes (2001) discusses the relationship between organisational leadership styles and success. He argues that an organisation's success is dependent on solid relationships with a strong focus on leadership influencing the feelings and emotions of those within the organisation. He concludes that there is a need to establish an 'emotional heart' of the organisation and thereby to establish the meaning of the relationships between the people inside and outside the organisation.

Simpson (2000) analysed the personal and career benefits gleaned from an MBA degree. The results indicate that women value the experience that furnishes them greater "intrinsic" benefits such as enhanced confidence and self-worth. Contrary to this, the study indicated that men gain greater "extrinsic" benefits such as enhanced pay and status; they also place a significant emphasis on the credential value of the MBA. Men do not appear to experience the same personal transforming effect on their self concept. These studies follow the discoveries of Hilgert (1998) who demonstrated that

women MBA graduates experience broadened perspectives. Hilbert's result indicate that these women "think more broadly", "understand more comprehensively" and report the "life changing" outcomes expected by their sponsoring organisations. This study concentrated on the transformation of women managers from a specialist perspective to a more integrated generalist perspective. Evidence suggested that these women experienced increased confidence, cognitive flexibility, and broadened perspectives. Interviews reflected an increase in self-determination, flexibility of role enactment, increased value of self and time, more process-orientation, increased understanding of self and others, and the feeling that the meaning of success was competence, which was valued over political gamesmanship.

In order to examine the nature of women's career experiences, O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) analysed career patterns, career locus, career contexts, and career beliefs. Distinct configurations of the evolution of women's career development emerged. The most distinctive of these was the impact of society, an organisation, and relationships within a career context. Further to this was the development of women's personal images of their careers and career success. The authors suggest a three-phase, age-linked model of women's career development, namely: the idealistic achievement phase; the pragmatic endurance phase; and the re-inventive contribution phase. Their interviews indicated that the most often mentioned meaning of career was "making a difference, being of service, impacting others." Career phase had no significant impact on this belief. When asked to describe their meanings of success, almost 50% of the women used expressions such as "personal fulfilment and happiness."

The literature does not emphasise passion specifically, however, a meaningfulness in work and a desire to be happy within a career choice have emerged. Meaningfulness does not necessarily equate to happiness, and within the interviews conducted in this study, the personal significance of pursuing and achieving a purpose or passion overshadowed peripheral issues like gender discrimination. The more passionate a woman is to achieve her desired outcome, the more drive she will have. If passion exists, and the opportunities are taken to achieve a purpose, happiness and positivity would be a natural conclusion.

1.1.4. Positivity.

One of the most striking features commented on from the interviews conducted was the extremely positive and optimistic attitude. The literature analyses the effect of positivity on a woman's career success. In a drive to achieve a level of personal fulfilment and happiness, women, more than men, tend to incorporate the meaning of their work into their personal reflection. Ferrari, Keane, Wolf and Beck (1998) discovered that on a self-esteem scale, the majority of women scored very highly on their rating on positive attitude about self. Cangemi, Chaffins, Forbes and Fuqua Jr. (1995) concur with this, when they maintain that a positive attitude and tenacity to overcome difficulties, will enable an increasing amount of women to achieve managerial success. Gerdes (2003) conducted a study intending to advise young women beginning careers in higher education. One of the factors noted by Gerder was the optimism and focus on personal happiness, displayed by the participants of her study.

Lounsbury, Park, Sundstrom, Williamson and Pemberton (2004) propose a model analysing correlations between personality traits leading to career satisfaction and life satisfaction. Two personality factors emerged: The first encompassed extraversion, optimism, assertiveness, openness, and emotional stability and the second comprised conscientiousness and tough-mindedness. Results demonstrated significant correlations between both personality factors and career satisfaction, between the second personality factor and life satisfaction, and between career and life satisfaction.

Strümpfer (2004) explains that "positive emotionality", is a trait, as opposed to "positive emotions", which are commonly brief response tendencies towards a personally meaningful experience. Positive emotional reactions are usually the outcome of progress towards a resilience goal, or attainment thereof. He explains that these emotions enhance the happy experiences of success, increase self-esteem, and encourage recognition from others. Lyubomirsky, King and Diener (2005) indicate that happy people demonstrate more frequent positive effect as well as adaptive characteristics. They further state that positive effect has been shown to lead to adaptive characteristics. The authors continue to suggest that the success of happy people may be affected by the impact of positive effect and the attributes which are promoted thereby. Happiness, which has been developed through past experiences as well as personality, often leads to future successes. In terms of the spread of positivity,

Lyubomirsky, King and Diener's research shows that happy people are more likely to have fulfilling relationships, high quality work performance and good health. They conclude that positive emotions, as well as happiness, are often correlated with the characteristics which lead to success and flourishing. Included in these characteristics are desirable behaviours, thoughts, optimism, high energy levels, originality and altruism.

Strong agreement existed between many authors that the achievement of happiness was a strong motivator and driver for many women, not only in terms of their careers, but in creating a happy and balanced life (Kloot, 2004; O'Neil, & Bilimoria, 2005). Judge, Cable., Boudreau and Bretz Jr. (1995) maintain that the variables which result in objective career success may be different from those which result in subjectively defined success. One of the very subjective impacts on establishing career success is the importance of personal and organisational support in building an environment that is conducive to happiness.

The literature supports the findings of this study which illustrate the phenomenal impact of a positive outlook on a woman's career. Positivity in itself is not a particular driver of success. However, combined with the factors of an influential person driving a career desire, the belief in one's own abilities, and a particular passion motivating action, the only aspects missing from a successful combination to ensure success, are the people who encourage a successful woman to achieve her results.

1.1.5. Support.

The majority of women interviewed within this study acknowledged that they would never have been able to attain their success without their supportive partner. In certain cases the husband's encouragement drove a woman to progress against her beliefs. Strümpfer (2004) states that both sought and received social support, enhance the process of motivational resilience. He quotes Antonovsky (1990), who conceived the concept of social support in a different manner, and discusses the distinction between social support and the perception of availability of support. Strümpfer (p.13) maintains that "the perception that other resources are available may be enough, without any actual support being provided." He quotes Stroebe and Stroebe (1986) as saying that the perception of social support "derives from the general appraisal that individuals

develop in the various domains of their lives, in which they believe that they are cared for and valued by significant others who might be available to support them when and if the need arises." Despite the influence of the father on an actual career, Otto's (2000) research demonstrated that when discussing career, most people seek support from their mothers. The result of this paper indicated that family, friends and male professors have an impact as they support the individual, however, the spousal or partner support was the most beneficial and appreciated.

Imhoff and Phillips (1997) acknowledge the stress and conflict intrinsic to dual-career relationships. They seek to identify coping strategies employed by such couples. The authors discuss the linkage between implementing coping strategies with gender and draw a connection with social support, which they maintain influences coping. They conclude that social support plays a significant assistance to coping. Lee's (2002) study into anxiety and depression levels in career women, drew a negative correlation between anxiety and the support of a husband. Erdwins, Buffardi, Casper and O'Brien's (2001) research focusing on self-efficacy levels among working women, concur with this study, stating that spousal support increased the emotional well-being of these women.

Tangri and Jenkins (1997) state that women who anticipate marital conflict as a result of their career demands, generally asserted their career intentions with spouses, postponed childbearing, and had fewer children. Anna, Chandler, Jansen and Mero (2000) conclude that for many female business owners a spouse or significant other is an important factor in maintaining a successful business, in particular, they highlight the received benefits of emotional support from this person. They conclude that the value of support, whether it be emotional, financial or operational, may be different for non-traditional women business owners than for their more traditional counterparts.

Social support has been seen to be an important factor for most career women (Schneer, & Reitman, 1993; Cornwall, 2002; Niedhammer, & Chea, 2003; McCarty, 1986). As a general observation, women have a greater need for social support than men (Graham, Fischer, Crawford, Fitzpatrick, & Bina, 2000). For the women who have endeavoured careers in traditionally male dominated industries, the support of a significant other is more critical, as these women generally do not have the support of society. McMurray,

Linzer, Konrad, Douglas, Shugerman and Nelson (2000) indicate that the support of a significant other reduces burnout by 40% in female medical practitioners. Brush (1992, p.3) states that most female business owners have strong support groups, and "in particular, a spouse or significant other seems to be an important factor for successful women business owners." Gammie and Gammie (1995) stated that the working wife seeks both her husband's approval and his support. This result is supported by Stevenson (1986) whose study showed that most women entrepreneurs believe that they are dependent on the emotional support given to them by their husband and family.

The support of a husband or significant other spills over into a joint decision-making in terms of altering the traditional family structure (Zvonkovic, Greaves, Schmiege, & Hall, 1996). These decisions are necessary for the survival of many marriages. Blaisure and Allen (1995) conducted a study, where the results confirm a distinction between the ideology and practice of equality within heterosexual marriage. The studies relating to social support and particularly to the support from a significant other clearly indicate the benefits and, for some women, dependence on an emotional aide. However, since working and career-driven women are a new phenomena, so too is the research pertaining to this subject limited and recent. Time may produce a shift in knowledge and the applications thereof.

1.2 Relationship to theory

The shift towards a new family structure and dual-working couples has been examined in great detail for a number of years. However, neither the factors leading to a successful career for a woman, nor the actual impact of this adjustment has been fully explored. When examining the five distinctive factors highlighted above, although a relationship to existing research exists, none of the research found was specific or easily available.

Clear indications are available concerning parental influence on a child's vocational choice, however, although the father's influence on his daughter's career has been acknowledged, there is very little research delving into the true effect exerted by a father. Many successful women grew up without a father figure, yet they reached their level of achievement. In this paper it has been stated that the influence of the father was subconscious. This statement was made as most of the women interviewed mentioned

their father within the first few minutes, or he was the first topic of discussion when looking at their backgrounds. This inspiration as a subconscious factor, may be the rationale behind the limited acknowledgement in research of the impact of a father on his daughter's career. This concept warrants further investigation.

Self-belief, self esteem and self efficacy have all been generally recognised foundations for success. The research supports this notion and further builds on the positive effects of a positive self concept. Personal characteristics such as tenacity and determination were also evident in the interviews, perhaps the applicability of self belief enables these women to be persistent in achieving. Many of the women interviewed stated that entering into a male dominated industry, as a women, did not enter into their heads. Their focus remained on attaining a purpose or ambition. Although very little information exists with particular reference to whether a correlation between a successful woman's career and her passion for her tasks existed, there was relevance in the meaningfulness and purpose of her life work.

The psychology of positive affect has received far-reaching implications for success and personal happiness. The debate exists as to whether happiness results in success, accepting that success generally leads to some form of happiness. Positivity and happiness are both personally defined and measured. For many of the women who participated in this study, meaningful relationships and a healthy family life were a part of their characterisation of happiness. Significant quantities of research have been conducted on the impact and benefits of a support group. However, there appears to be a limited amount of information with specific focus on the advantages of a supportive husband or significant other. This emerged as a critical factor for many women who spoke about their experience of success. The support ranged from an emotional sustenance to house-husbands who run the home, so that the women can maintain their careers.

Certain aspects of the findings in this study were congruent with the existing literatures, others were less evident. Theory and research endeavours to create a realistic discernment of how society and individuals function. There are two elements for consideration when analysing the theory. The first is that there will always be individuals and outliers for whom the theory is not applicable, secondly, the women

who participated in this study are exceptional and therefore common principles are most likely not to be applicable to them. An original development of theory is necessary in order to gain an understanding of this particular experience of success.

1.3 Relationship to practice

The practical experience of success is an individual journey, which is lived in very diverse approaches. This paper has attempted to draw a commonality in both the realm of the experience itself, as well as in the cultivation of the path towards success. Research indicates that one's ability combined with a belief in one's self is further enhanced by society's support. The women who participated in this study shared some commonalities in the practical implementation of their success. Firstly, they indicated specific, rather than general support. Most of the participants were able to list the specific sources of endorsements. Many of the women mentioned a comfort within a male environment. This aligns with the subconscious male influence of their fathers and the support of their male significant other.

These successful women also mentioned their practical implementation of systems and schedules. This acceptance of multiple responsibilities and the capacity or aptitude for executing performance on many domains was a common thread through many women's lives. Personal characteristics varied significantly, however, the drive to achieve a particular goal, regardless of the industry, environment or personal background, remained consistent. This adheres to the theories which focus on the meaning of work in an individual's life.

Many of the observations indicated from the interviews conducted are non-measurable aspects. This leads to difficulties in obtaining conclusive and valid theories. The interviews conducted focused solely on the individual and her experience of success. No account was taken of how each women is perceived by her co-workers, subordinates and colleagues. The possibility exists that factors such as high energy level, positivity and passion, all of which are positive, may have been evident to the interviewer in a contrived interview set-up, yet may not be displayed as frequently in the women's general working environment or personal lives. The interview provided each woman with the opportunity to reflect on herself, her life and her career. This

consideration of self must be accepted in its presented form, and the direct statements drawn from each interview provide the most valid and reliable results possible.

1.4 Methodology

Grounded theory was specifically selected as the tool to classify and refine the data gleaned from the interviews conducted. The ideal of maintaining purity with regards to comments and statements made during the interviews was maintained, throughout the process. Personal interpretations were omitted, and statements were reflected as direct quotes, to prevent elucidation by the researcher. Any observations made by the researcher were included as a separate section, and were integrated into this paper to enhance the experience of success.

1.4.1. Reliability.

Reliability is defined as "The consistency with which a test measures the area being tested; describes the extent to which a test is dependable, stable, and consistent when administered to the same individuals on different occasions" (Reliability, 2007, Wrightslaw Online Glossary). Two techniques have been employed to ensure reliability through this process. Firstly, at the end of each interview, the participant was provided the opportunity to summarise her key point, which was then repeated (to her), to ensure clarity of understanding. Secondly, transcribed copies of individual interviews were e-mailed to each interviewee, to provide her with the opportunity of altering or correcting any misinterpretation represented in her testimony of life and career experience.

1.4.2. Validity.

Validity is defined as the extent to which a measurement instrument or test accurately measures what it is supposed to measure (Validity, 2007, JJEC Online Glossary). In order to ensure validity in this study, the following methods were employed: Interview questions or guidelines were objective and consistent to ensure impartiality through all the interviews; the findings were continually assessed for bias, interpretation, potential judgements, neglect or lack of precision in the research methodology; all procedures followed and any decisions taken have been critically questioned; all interviews were semi-structured interviewing to assist with validity; direct quotes have been utilised to prevent misinterpretations; and finally, the interviews have been verified with the

participants, to ensure the transcripts accurately reflect the interviewee's intended statements.

1.5 Future research

As the interviews progressed, so the evolution of knowledge leads to deeper questioning and more partiality, as opposed to certainty and conclusions. The first sphere of future research surfaces from the broader environment in which the 24 successful women operated. Despite the varying ages of the participants of this study, the large majority of the women interviewed began their careers during South Africa's apartheid era. With this in mind, the question emerges whether or not these women would have excelled if not for apartheid denying opportunities? This question considers that the majority of the South African population, both men and women, were disadvantaged and not able to take advantage of their talents and abilities, in the same way as the White population. The question thus arises whether those women, particularly the older women interviewed, would still have gained respect as exceptional achievers, if they encountered more competition, or if their environments were more populated?

Some of the critical issues, which emerged as being significant drivers of success for the women interviewed, appear to have limited research. The correlation between the success of a woman's career and her passion for a particular purpose or meaningfulness within her work, is an area for future investigation. The other subject of great interest which has risen as a subconscious influencer, is the impact of a father on his daughter's career. This subject, although gaining momentum and interest in studies, is still not a conclusive factor, and therefore requires further investigation. The final area highlighted in this study as an important aid to the successful women interviewed, is the element of having a supportive husband. Particularly as the traditional family structure has been transformed over time, the adjustment and new role of many men, who are not house-husbands, yet are not the sole breadwinners, or main career holders of the family need to be better understood. Further to this, the impact, which this role adjustment will have on the children of these families, is also an area for future research. This statement refers to heterosexual marriages. The majority of the women interviewed (83%) were married or had been married to men. The impact of a significant other or partner in a homosexual relationship, although assumed to have a similar impact, cannot be stated

overtly. Therefore, although most of the persons interviewed were or had been at some time in heterosexual relationships, one would be tempted to hypothesize that the value of a significant partner in other intimate arrangements would possibly have enjoyed the same prominence. Because such relationships become more recognised, one should investigate in the future, beyond the parameters of the traditional arrangements.

Regardless of the role a father chooses to perform when the mother has a successful career, particularly in a male dominated environment, future analysis will be able to determine the true impact on the children. What path will the daughters of successful women choose to take once they have seen the sacrifices their mothers have made? And as far as the sons of successful women are concerned, when they grow up will they want their wives to behave in the same manner as their mother did? In particular, many children of successful career women may feel injured by the time and attention their mother sacrificed with them, to further her career, or purpose.

A few less prominent trends were detected through this study, and although it is difficult to determine whether or not they will lead to valid future research, there is certainly the potential for interesting studies. Some of these topics include: the lack of correlation between academic success and career success; many of the women interviewed had not finished their university degrees; the natural progression of a tomboy into a woman who is more comfortable in male environments, working with domains or in positions which are more frequently occupied by men; an analysis of the sisters of women who have achieved in male dominated industries, who were influenced by the same father, yet chose traditional female dominated environments and professions to work in; and the slight trend of women who have succeeded in male dominated professions having a father who was a professional lawyer. This may infer a possible genetic component of personality or determination, which may be inherited from him, or alternatively possibly that men who are drawn to the legal profession are particularly influential.

The overt display of positivity and passion for life must have a correlation with achieving success, or visa versa. The question arises if it is possible that a positive attitude leads to success. With this in mind, the consideration was made that many of the women interviewed are married to successful men. This begs the question if these

partnerships exist because like attract like? Alternatively perhaps these men are successful in their own right and therefore are not threatened by their wife's success? Or finally, if the husband's success provided a support or incentive for the wife to follow his example, within a limited-risk environment.

Since this study is based on the grounded theory, other qualitative and quantitative research methodologies can be used in future studies to test or verify the theories that have emerged from this study. There will also be a need to research the implementability and benefits or results from the guidelines, which emerge from this study. Finally, the most important realm of future research would be to determine the impact that developing and encouraging women will have on young men. Transformation and advancements are inevitable and natural, however, an active promotion and development of one gender, in some cases, over another, must have certain repercussions and shifts within society, and its natural stability.

1.6 General overview

Career success has been defined as the positive psychological or work-related outcomes or achievements one has accumulated as a result of one's work experiences (Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz Jr., 1995). Feldberg and Glenn (1979) state that work is the central social process linking individuals to industrial society and to one another. However, the study of work has progressed along sex-differentiated lines. This has had the following implications: women are rarely studied as workers; those studies which do include women may provide biased interpretations; and the investigation of work is distorted. Feldberg and Glenn believe that these issues occur from the utilisation of sex-segregated models of analysis, particularly the job model for men and the gender model for women. The authors conclude this study with the proposal of re-conceptualising work to take account of forms of unpaid as well as paid work and for incorporating gender stratification into work analysis.

In their attempt to understand the factors which encourage or hinder women progressing in organisations, Kottke and Agars (2005) identified four underlying processes as being crucial to the execution of organisational practices designed to encourage the advancement of women. They maintain that an empathy of social cognitions, perceptions of fairness, threat, and utility will both individually and

collectively affect the success or failure of processes to advance women. Schein, Mueller and Jacobson (1989) discuss the relationship between sex role stereotypes and characteristics perceived to be necessary for management success. The majority of male management students, comparable to their managerial counterparts in the 1970s and 1980s, continue the male managerial stereotype together with the personal characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general. However, the female management students, parallel to today's female managers, did not sex type the managerial job.

In a study examining how managers define career success for themselves on their own terms, Sturges (1999) focuses on an individual as opposed to an organisational approach. Sturges identifies four categories of succes, as defined by these individuals, these are: climbers, experts, influencers and self-realisers. The author discusses differences in male and female perceptions, as well as in age differentials. In particular, female managers and older managers demonstrated less of a tendancy to define career success in terms of hierarchical and financial progression.

On a broad level, Simon (1995) analysed gender differences in the consequences of combining spouse, parent, and worker roles to enhance mental health. The foundation of his study lies on his premise that work and family roles have different meanings for males and females. This dissimilarity of role meaning may be part of the reason why the mental health advantages of holding multiple roles are fewer for women than for men. The perceived relationship between work and family roles is very different for men and for women. This could possibly account for gender differences in stress levels by enhancing male-female differences in both the degree and nature of work-parent conflicts, responsibility for marital problems, the experience of guilt, and self-evaluations as parents and spouses. Gender differences are considerable in multiple role performance. It is possible that the mental health consequences of multiple role enactments may be positive.

Multiple advancements, changes and societal adjustments have occurred both naturally and been encouraged over the last few decades. Valcour and Tolbert (2003) analysed the adjustments in patterns of long-term employment, which make different career forms increasingly significant to careers research. The authors state that the increase in

the amount of dual-earner families begs consideration regarding how gender and family qualities form careers. The authors discovered great differences in gender in various types of career mobility, and in the impact of family relations on various forms of mobility. They discovered that women experience more inter-organisational mobility, as opposed to men, who experience more intra-organisational mobility. Further to this, having more children positively impacts on men's intra-organizational mobility, yet enhances inter-organizational mobility for women. Each type of mobility has specific effects on both objective and subjective career success factors for both men and women. Generally, inter-organisational transfers tend to decrease earnings, but have no effect on how successful people feel in their careers. Intra-organisational transfers increase earnings, but have a negative effect on perceived success.

Womanism was defined in this paper as the embracement of womankind. The concept refers to an acceptance of distinction between men and women, and an appreciation of the intrinsic differences. By acknowledging a diversity of thought processes, talents and aptitudes a well-rounded and holistic environment is created which welcomes creativity and innovation.

1.7 Conclusion

Women who have excelled in male dominated industries are unquestionably extraordinary. Their defiance of society's judgements and opinions of their actions, projects as an achievement in itself, and stands as testimony to the impetus bred by passion for a dream or accomplishment. Within this paper, it was recognised that gender is clearly detached from biological sex, and the establishment of gender norms, concepts and stereotypes is a society-developed phenomena. The family based development of divisions of labour lay the foundation to economic allotment, leaving women to fulfil the least rewarded and laborious home-related tasks. This restriction to operate within the home triggered the consequence of women losing power over their own bodies, actions and interaction. Society evolved, as it was directioned by men. Women became the bystanders observing events, often within their own lives; men portrayed descriptions of life, and women were unconsidered. A woman was the "other" of men, the "other" who was unable to feel, experience, live or create, except in the realm of her sole purpose, which was predominantly to create a home and the

children within it. The purpose of the "other" was to utilise her natural endowments to give birth, breastfeed and nurture children.

Time has sanctioned a gradual appreciation for the specific gifts, which women possess, beyond their physical form. Spearheaded by a handful of remarkable pioneers, multiple breakthroughs have highlighted certain aptitudes, such as enhanced interpersonal skills, woman's intuition, the ability to multitask, various intelligences, emotional understandings, and non-competitiveness. This statement does not endow all women with these abilities, nor does it deny that many men may have similar capacities, rather that there are specific spheres in which women excel and these may prove beneficial in certain environments.

The emotionality of women was considered, and on the other end of the continuum the increased masculation of women was considered. Women's emotions appear to be more pronounced than men's, or possibly more easily expressed and less contained. Many women who operate in male dominated environments may cultivate more masculine traits, in order to succeed in these environments. The principle of womanism emphasises the lack of necessity of this behaviour. The attitude is not that women are good enough as they are, rather, they are distinctive and therefore able to enrich their environment. It is through this self-acceptance, self-belief and personal confidence that society's progression to accept noteworthy women will become the norm, rather than the exception.

Society's formulated practices and customs encompass culture, ideologies and values, norms and laws. These traditions become deeply entrenched and enable comfortable functioning around accepted behaviours. Any threat or modifications to these habits compel society to analyse their rationale and question their own standards. This can be a difficult process, rejected or resisted by many people. Many facets of culture serve to entrench beliefs, such as the inferiority of women. Religious practices particularly ensconce a hierarchy of superiority, in order to maintain command and formation of the constitution. Great philosophers and leaders of thought have also facilitated the derogation and subordination of women through the ages. All these practices confirm the superiority of men.

The impact of change is perceived to have both positive and negative effects. The potential of emasculating men, the threat to women who are opposed to change, career women pursuing paths with unfulfilled personal lives and the creation of new shackles of society's norms, are amongst the potential dangerous outcomes, which the shift in society may generate. The evolution of society is not always easy for the participants, and not all the outcomes achieved will be perceived to be positive by all people. The benefits of an enhanced female presence in certain environments will require socialisation through many generations.

Striking results within this study, congruent with existing research indicate that self belief, passion, positivity and emotional support enhance the experience of success. This paper progressed with a very clear destination of providing assistance to young men and women embarking on their careers. The essential characteristic to formulate development for other people would be to discover the personal zeal for an area which gives each person a personal sense of meaning, not necessarily with a career path in mind, rather with an ideal of a life accomplishment. This platform is the foundation to fuel a career. The 24 women interviewed clearly demonstrated that regardless of their educational background, original vocational plans or social position, with an ultimate aspiration in their hearts, the path formulated itself. The emulation of the five distinctive characteristics which emerged from this study, namely the influence of the father, the belief in one's own abilities, passion for a particular purpose, positivity, and support of a significant other, can enhance personal development and create a blueprint for success.

The greatest discovery emerging from this study is that there is no template for success. All 24 women who were interviewed shared the commonality of achieving in the face of adversity, however, they embodied varying characteristics, backgrounds, values, intelligences, personalities and outlooks. The commonality uniting them is their passion and belief in their path and destination.

De Beauvoir (1949, p.740) states that to emancipate women asserts a refusal to confine her to the relations she bears to men, not to deny relationships to her. The reciprocity of this relationship will allow each one to remain for the other, as an 'other', without detracting from themselves as a person. It is only through the natural differentiation

between men and women that the unaffected relationships can form, evolve and grow, thereby allowing the natural relations between fellow human beings to exist without competition or superiority.

This study evolved through a path of understanding the origin and development of gender roles, through to a progression of women being seen as an advantage in environments generally considered to be dominated by men. The influence and pressure which society exerts on individuals was acknowledged to be a manipulative and powerful persuader in personal career choice. The experience of career success, as shared by 24 successful women, highlighted multitudinous aspects, which build and enhance the experience of success. Amongst those discussed where personal characteristics, life influences, personal support, sacrifices or regrets, participation in male dominated environments, strategic development, and the meaning of work. The inspiration embodied in each woman, was conspicuous by her self-confidence, passion for her work and immense positivity. As each woman engaged in discussing her personal avenues through her life, so the indication of self-acceptance became evident in each interview. This self-acceptance is the foundation of womanism, wherein a woman absorbs the full extent of her personal prerogative to live this life as a woman, with all the perceived advantages, hindrances and realities that are encompassed in the notion womanhood.

Women have been degraded, subjugated and dominated for centuries. The perceived acceptance of supremacy of one gender over another has encouraged many women to seek comfort within the shackles of societal norms. However, the determination of certain women through the ages, to break through societal concepts of accepted behaviour, professions and social positions serves as encouragement for other women. The key factors highlighted by this study create guidelines for those who aspire to success, whatever they may perceive 'success' to be. Positivity, passion for a purpose, belief in one's own abilities, a supportive significant other, and the influence of a father figure are all elements which have emerged for others to embody an awareness of, or to emulate as a guideline to achieve their success.

The ideal of being the best that one can be is an idyllic hope, which has permeated generations of achievers. Each of the 24 successful women interviewed demonstrated

an essence of accomplishing through being their personal best. Each of the 24 successful women interviewed embodied a salient expression of feminity and self-acceptance. The capacity to embrace their womanism as a blessing or a precious gift accentuated their enjoyment of the personal experience of success. Not one of the interviewees was an "other" in her life. Each woman relished the opportunities presented to her and almost seemed to submerge herself in the experience of this lifetime, and each aspect of it. Womanism is an endowment partly determined by physical form, and partly engaged in as a private journey of self acceptance and self love. Empowerment of the "other" is a redundant statement, as women who empower themselves, are equipped with the confidence, capacity and energy to engross themselves completely in the experience of living their lives. A woman who lives her life according to a womanistic approach, can never be the "other", she can only be herself.

"It is our light, not our darkness, that frightens us.
We ask ourselves 'Who am I to be brilliant, talented and fabulous'?
Actually, who are we not to be?"
Nelson Mandela (Inaugural address, May 10, 1994)

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