

Female teachers' religious and cultural identities and gender equality in classroom practice

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DECLARATION

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

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. J. J. J. J.' with a stylized, cursive script.

Date: September 2013

DEDICATION

For every woman who is tired of acting weak when she is strong, there is a man who is tired of appearing strong when he feels vulnerable.

For every man who is burdened with the constant expectation of knowing everything, there is a woman tired of people not trusting her intelligence.

For every woman who is tired of being called over-sensitive, there is a man who fears to be gentle, to weep.

For every man for whom competition is the only way to prove his masculinity, there is a woman who is called unfeminine when she competes.

For every man struggling not to let advertising dictate his desires, there is a woman facing the ad industry's attacks on her self-esteem.

For every woman who takes a step towards her liberation, there is a man who finds the way to freedom a little easier.

This thesis is dedicated to those women in my beloved South Africa who are constitutionally free, but who experience religious and culturally imposed gender bounds robbing them of living as the human beings that God created them to be...
free and equal in His sight.

SUMMARY

Given the continuing imbalances and current crisis with regard to gender-based violence in South Africa, the education of learners with regard to gender-based issues has been identified as critical. The South African school curriculum includes the compulsory subject, Life Orientation, which explicitly includes human rights issues such as gender equality. While official education policy documents promote gender equality in accordance with South Africa's Constitution and Bill of Rights, the teaching-learning thereof is not adequately articulated in classroom practice. This study seeks to explore this discrepancy.

The study is located within a feminist paradigm, the common aim of which is to challenge gender inequalities in society and contribute to the transformation of the lives of women. Literature was reviewed and provides clarification of the concept of gender equality, and in particular, in the context of education and schooling, and subsequent classroom practices. Sociological theories underpinning the construction of identity, together with a psychological approach, namely the Dialogical Self Theory, complemented by the concept of 'identity capital', construct the theoretical framework and the lens through which to analyse the data.

In keeping with the feminist research paradigm, narrative inquiry is the preferred research methodology. Methods for data collection include self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews. Nine female teachers of Life Orientation, teaching in six different schools, in four provinces in South Africa, voluntarily participated in this study. Employing narrative analysis, the crystallised data are presented in nine individual portraits. Each of these is analysed and discussed according to the concepts of the theoretical sociological and psychological framework.

The data analysis gives insight into the selected teachers' understanding of gender equality, the position in general of women in their religious and cultural discourses, and their own positioning in their personal, social and professional domains.

The findings of this study show that the strength of a teacher's 'identity capital' informs her gender identity transformation. Increased extent and strength of 'identity capital', enabling

the articulation of gender identity transformation in every domain of their lives, has the potential of developing teachers' classroom practice into classroom praxis. Effective teaching-learning about gender equality has the potential of informing the development of their female and male learners and to be transformative for South African society.

This study contributes to research on teacher identity, the development of their normative professionalism, and teaching-learning in classroom practice. The findings also inform a broader international SANPAD¹ research project, (2010 – 2012). Recommendations for further research include issues relating to professional teacher education programmes, focusing on extending and strengthening teachers' 'identity capital' as the core stimulus for the development of teachers' normative professionalism.

Key concepts: classroom praxis; gender equality; gender identity; 'identity capital'; patriarchy; positioning; self-dialogue; self-narrative.

¹ South African Netherlands Projects on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) (2010 – 2012).

OPSOMMING

Gegewe die voortgesette versteurde ewewig en huidige krisis met betrekking tot geslagsgebaseerde geweld in Suid-Afrika, is die onderrig van leerders rakende geslagsgebaseerde vraagstukke as kritiek geïdentifiseer. Die Suid-Afrikaanse skoolkurrikulum sluit die verpligte vak, Lewensoriëntering, waarby menseregte-vraagstukke soos geslagsgelykheid uitdruklik opgeneem is. Terwyl amptelike onderwysbeleid-dokumente geslagsgelykheid in ooreenstemming met Suid-Afrika se Grondwet en Handves van Regte bevorder, is die onderrig-leer daarvan nie toereikend in klaskamer-praktyk verwoord nie. Hierdie studie streef daarna om hierdie diskrepansie te verken.

Hierdie studie is geleë in 'n feministiese paradigma, waarvan die oorkoepelende doel is om geslagsongelykheid in die samelewing uit te daag en tot die transformasie van vrouens se lewe by te dra. 'n Literatuuroorsig is uitgevoer wat opklaring van die begrip geslagsgelykheid voorsien, en in die besonder, in die onderrig- en leerkonteks, en gevolglike klaskamer-praktyke. Sosiologiese teorieë wat die konstruksie van identiteit ondersteun, gepaard met 'n psigologiese benadering, naamlik die *Dialogical Self Theory*, samehangend met die begrip 'identiteitskapitaal', konstrueer die teoretiese raamwerk en die lens waardeur die data-analise gedoen word.

In ooreenstemming met die feministiese navorsingsparadigma is narratiewe ondersoek die verkose navorsingsmetodologie. Metodes vir data-insameling sluit self-geadministreerde vraelyste, geskrewe narratiewe en semi-gestruktureerde, individuele, aangesig-tot-aangesig-onderhoude in. Nege vroulike onderwysers van Lewensoriëntering, wat in ses verskillende skole in vier provinsies in Suid-Afrika onderrig gee, het vrywilliglik aan hierdie studie deelgeneem. Deur narratiewe analise toe te pas word die gekristalliseerde data in nege individuele weergawes aangebied. Elkeen word geanaliseer en ooreenkomstig die begrippe van die teoretiese sosiologiese en psigologiese raamwerk bespreek.

Die data-analise bied insig in die geselekteerde onderwysers se begrip van geslagsgelykheid, die posisie in die algemeen van vroue in hul religieuse en kulturele diskoerse, en hul eie posisionering in hul eie, sosiale en professionele domeine.

Die bevindings van hierdie studie toon dat die sterkte/krag van 'n onderwyser se 'identiteitskapitaal' haar geslagsidentiteit-transformasie vorm. 'n Toenemende mate en kragdadigheid van 'identiteitskapitaal', wat die artikulering van geslagsidentiteit-transformasie in elke domein van hul lewens aktiveer, beskik oor die potensiaal om onderwysers se klaskamerpraktyk in klaskamer-praksis te ontwikkel. Doeltreffende onderrig-leer oor geslagsgelykheid beskik oor die potensiaal om die ontwikkeling van hul vroulike en manlike leerders te ontwikkel en om transformerend vir die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing te wees.

Hierdie studie lewer 'n bydrae tot navorsing oor onderwyseridentiteit, die ontwikkeling van hul normatiewe professionalisme en onderrig-leer in klaskamer-praktyk. Die bevindings lig ook 'n breë internasionale SANPAD² navorsingsprojek (2010 – 2012) in. Aanbevelings vir verdere navorsing sluit kwessies in wat verband hou met professionele onderwysopleidingsprogramme, wat daarop fokus om onderwysers se 'identiteitskapitaal' as die kernstimulus vir die ontwikkeling van onderwysers se normatiewe professionalisme, uit te brei en te versterk.

Kernbegrippe: klaskamer-praksis; geslagsgelykheid; geslagsidentiteit; 'identiteitskapitaal'; patriargie; posisionering; selfdialoog; selfnarratief.

² Suid-Afrikaanse Nederlandse Projekte oor Alternatiewe in Ontwikkeling (SANPAD) (2010 – 2012).

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7. I wish to acknowledge that I grew substantially academically from the role I played as a researcher in the South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) project: *Human Rights Education in Diversity: Empowering girls in rural and metropolitan school environments* (2010 – 2012). My study grew out of and also informed this SANPAD project.

PREAMBLE

Since I was a young girl I have admired people who have been able to capture scenes, whether real or imagined, on paper. In particular, I am referring to people who are able to draw, sketch and paint. This particular art form has escaped me. I have had to resign myself to accepting that I will not be a Rowena Bush, a South African artist renowned for her watercolour landscapes, two of which we are fortunate to have gracing the walls of our home. Nor will I be an Ann Chambers, Elsabé Allen, Sue Edgar, Wendy Renwick or Wendy Röttcher, local artists and friends of mine whose work I find inspiring. This thesis exhibits my application of brushstrokes to a canvas. This explains why I have sub-titled the chapters using terms synonymous with art. In keeping with the feminist paradigm in which I am working, which allows for the crossing of boundaries and for fluidity, I feel a freedom to do so. I trust that you, the reader, will allow me this indulgence.

CHAPTER ONE

Stretching the canvas

This chapter provides an introduction to and overview of the study. A clarification of key concepts is also provided.

CHAPTER TWO

The Artist's lens

This chapter presents the theoretical framework, providing the lens through which the data will be analysed.

CHAPTER THREE

Techniques of composition – media and brushstrokes

In this chapter the research design, methodology and methods used in the study are explained. Composition here refers to the portrait that is to be painted. Media refers to the preferred method to be used, for example, charcoal, pencil, pastels, watercolour or oils. Brushstrokes refers to the actual application of the preferred medium.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gallery: Exhibition of portraits

The portraits of the nine female teachers who participated in this study are presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Gallery: Review of exhibited portraits

This chapter provides an analysis of the data presented in each individual portrait. At the end of each portrait's written analysis, the portrait is reframed in a table providing a visual presentation of the participant's 'counter-positions' to the master narrative of patriarchy.

CHAPTER SIX

The central theme and sub-themes that emerge from the exhibition of portraits

In this chapter the central theme and sub-themes that emerge from the data across all nine portraits are presented and analysed. The 'narrative linkages' as expressed in the sub-themes emerging from the data are reframed in a table providing a visual presentation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Signature

In this final chapter the research question is answered. The research findings and the relevance thereof, as well as recommendations for further research, are presented.

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ACRONYMS

LO	Life Orientation
SMT	School Management Team
SANPAD	South African Netherlands Projects on Alternatives in Development
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
GET	General Education and Training Band
FET	Further Education and Training Band
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
DST	Dialogical Self Theory
CiC	Communities in Conversation
CiD	Communities in Dialogue
CoP	Communities of Practice

CHAPTER ONE

Stretching the Canvas³

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Who the teacher is, that is, not just her professional identity, but specifically her personal identity, informs the gender discourse in her classroom practice. This chapter, and introduction, provide an overview of, and basic orientation to research on female teacher identity and gender equality. The aim of this study is to explore how the religious and cultural identities of female teachers⁴ inform their teaching-learning⁵ of the human right to gender equality in their classroom practice. The broader aim of this study is to contribute to research on teacher identity and teaching-learning. The findings of this study, focusing on the narratives of female teachers, will inform a broader international South African Netherlands Project on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) research project, 2010 – 2012, which explored the narratives of female learners. The SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a, p. xii) focused on human rights education, exploring issues in religious and cultural practices in selected school communities, affecting girls and young women.

In this chapter the rationale for the study (cf. 1.1.) is presented. Included, is an account of the problem to be addressed and formulated. The question to be explored in this study follows (cf. 1.2.). Thereafter the research design, methodology and methods (cf. 1.3.) employed to answer the research question are outlined. This is followed by clarifying the concept of gender equality (cf. 1.4.1.), including gender equality in education and schooling (cf. 1.4.1.1.). The concept of classroom practice (cf. 1.4.2.) is also clarified. A sketch of what to expect in the remaining chapters of this thesis is offered to conclude this opening chapter (cf. 1.5.).

³ Each chapter is subtitled using terms synonymous with art (cf. preamble to the study).

⁴ The term ‘teacher’ as opposed to ‘educator’ (Department of Labour, 1998) has been purposefully chosen. The reason being that the notion of ‘educator’ homogenizes teachers and teaching and is “unable to analytically address the specific realities experienced by teachers or the complexities of their identities” (Carrim, 2001, p. 48).

⁵ This widely accepted concept suggests that successful teaching requires successful learning and vice versa (Jacobs, Vakalisa, & Gawe, 2011).

1.1. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Human rights issues such as gender equality are included explicitly in Life Orientation (LO) curricula (Department of Education, 2003a). It is therefore necessary to contextualize LO as a compulsory subject taught in the South African school curriculum. In terms of the recently introduced Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS), LO is taught in the General Education and Training Band (GET) Grades 4 – 9⁶ and in the Further Education and Training Band (FET), Grades 10 - 12. In Grades 4 – 6 this subject is called Life Skills. The National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, 2003a) which also serves as a guideline, to be replaced by the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS)⁷ (Department of Basic Education, 2011a) in 2012/2013, describes LO as being concerned with the holistic social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical development of learners with a focus on self-in-society (Department of Education, 2008). This compulsory school subject offers possibilities for equipping learners in both government and private schools in South Africa with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to face the challenges they will encounter in life as informed, confident and responsible young people. The broad aim of the subject Life Orientation is to prepare learners for responsible citizenship and a healthy and productive life (Vethe, 2011).

The responsibility of interpretation and implementation of the LO curriculum, however, lies with individual school's governing bodies, school management and the availability of LO teachers. This process is problematic as LO was introduced into the school curriculum before pre-service teaching-learning providers could offer programmes to equip teachers to facilitate the teaching-learning of LO. The result being, that while the Department of Education (2002) envisages LO teachers who are competent and qualified, in reality this is not always the case. A distinction should be drawn between teachers who teach LO without any formal training and who have been assigned to teach LO, and LO teachers who are competent and qualified to teach LO.

⁶ The GET band is divided into the Intermediate phase (Grades 4 – 6) and the Senior phase (Grades 7 – 9).

⁷ This replacement is seen to be necessary because of the failure of Curriculum 2005 (of which the National Curriculum Statement itself was a revision), to address the urgent educational inadequacies of the country. The new CAPS initiative de-emphasises the previous focus on outcomes in favour of a return to educational basics including a reintroduction of subjects informed by syllabus content. This also means that the Outcomes Based Education approach to education is revisited in substantial ways.

Research (Christiaans, 2006; Jarvis, 2008, 2009; Rooth, 2005a, 2005b; L. Wood, 2007) has shown that those teachers responsible for teaching-learning LO in many South African schools, are, in most cases, those who have specialised in either Religion Education, Physical Education or School Guidance and are not necessarily equipped to facilitate the various facets of the LO curriculum. A review of available literature reveals that the majority of teachers involved in the teaching-learning of LO have received no formal preparation to engage with the complex and multi-faceted LO curriculum (Jarvis, 2008; Prinsloo, 2007; Rooth, 2005a; Van Deventer, 2007). Teachers facilitating LO are not adequately prepared for the complexities that arise in multi-cultural and multi-religious school contexts (Jarvis, 2008, 2009). Ahmed, Flisher, Mathews, Jansen, Mukoma and Schaalma (2006) pointed out the high turnover of teachers facilitating LO as a result, and the negative impact that this has had on the quality of curriculum implementation. Teachers' lack of knowledge pertaining to the expectations of the "Policy of Human Rights across the Curriculum" (2003) (Department of Education, 2003b) and the teaching-learning discourses of democratic values as found in the "Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy" (2001) (Department of Education, 2001) is a concern both among researchers as well as stakeholders (Du Preez, 2008; Roux, 2012).

The widely held perception that because LO is about life in general, anyone with any life experience can teach it, needs to be refuted (Prinsloo, 2007; Rooth, 2005b). Roux (2012, p. 41) contends that "teachers cannot mediate or facilitate knowledge and skills pertaining to human rights without understanding their own position, identity and beliefs". There are teachers who could well be uncomfortable teaching-learning about gender equality. According to Drake, Spillane and Hufferd-Ackles (2001, p. 2) "subject matter content areas serve as distinct contexts for teachers in their constructions of identity". This is supported by research carried out by Jarvis (2009), Ratsatsi (2005) and Mattson and Harley (2003) which shows that the teacher's personal values often differ from the policies which direct the ways in which they are supposed to teach. This research also shows that if a teacher feels that a curriculum's content contradicts her beliefs, then invariably that part of the curriculum is disregarded or considerably altered. There are teachers who implement only those aspects of the curriculum that fit well with their beliefs (Jarvis, 2008, 2009; Ratsatsi,

2005). This is endorsed by Prinsloo's (2007) research which showed that many teachers avoided engaging learners on issues in the LO curriculum which they considered to be sensitive or taboo in their families and/or communities. Chirwa's study (2009) in Malawi corroborates these findings, especially with regard to traditional taboos within communities. In Life Skills the learners were taught that initiation practices put their lives at risk. Consequently, children were refusing to enrol at initiation schools and parents and members of the community were incensed. In the South African context also, the notion of gender equality could well conflict with certain religious and traditional community values and this could result in resistance to the implementation of particular sections of the LO curriculum. Drawing on the work of Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mulkoma and Klepp (2009) in the teaching of HIV/AIDS and sexuality and applying this to gender equality specifically, it can be concurred that female teachers facilitating LO do not necessarily have a common understanding of the cultural challenges and diversities they face when teaching about gender issues.

The report of the Commission for Gender Equality (2007) quotes the Curriculum Directorate (South African National Department of Education), stating that the compulsory subject LO⁸ is the 'mother body' for considering gender equality as a learning aim, covering as it does, all issues of gender stereotyping. In response, the Gender Equity Directorate raised questions about the effectiveness of LO given the high incidence of rape and teenage pregnancy in schools, suggesting that whatever is being taught in LO would seem to be lost in the translation into its application (Commission for Gender Equality, 2007). This would suggest that continued research in the field of LO is required. Research, which to date is very limited, has focused primarily on the following: implementation of the LO curriculum and the difficulties associated with this (Christiaans, 2006; Prinsloo, 2007); the status and practice of LO in schools (Rooth, 2005a, 2005b); the plight of Physical Education within LO (Rajput & Van Deventer, 2010; Van Deventer, 2004, 2007); learners' perceptions of aspects of the LO curriculum (A. Jacobs, 2011; Peplar-Chambers, 2006; Theron, 2008; Theron & Dalzell, 2006); teaching Religion Education as part of the LO

⁸ The school curriculum is designed in such a way that especially in the FET band, learners can choose subjects to carry through to matriculation. However, LO is a compulsory subject in the school curriculum from Grade R to Grade 12. The rationale being that LO underpins the whole of preparation for life, namely the learner's personal, social and physical development.

curriculum in multi-religious school contexts (Ferguson & Roux, 2003; Jarvis, 2009; Roux, 1998, 2005, 2007b, 2009b, 2009c, 2010; Roux & Du Preez, 2005, 2006; Roux, Du Preez, & Ferguson, 2007); human rights education in contexts of diversity (Du Preez & Roux, 2010; Du Preez & Simmonds, 2011; Ferguson & Roux, 2003; Roux, 2009a, 2010, 2012; Roux et al., 2006) and the role of LO in addressing HIV/AIDS (Vethe, 2011).

Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukkoma and Klepp (2009, p. 200) contend that “there will always exist differing perceptions, understandings and values among those persons who have been given the task of delivering an [education] programme”. With this in mind, it can be argued that ‘who’ teachers are (their identities), could possibly either resonate with, or conflict with, the LO curriculum content. Understanding identities is “the central factor in [the] quest to secure a meaningful education in a culturally diverse society” (Kearney, 2003, p. xi). As teachers engage with the curriculum, their identities could well play a role in determining the educational experience of the learners (Bell, Washington, Weinstein, & Love, 1997; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Jarvis, 2008, 2009; Samuel & Stephens, 2000; White, 2012). It is reasonable to anticipate that the LO curriculum, and more specifically the discussion of human rights and the right to gender equality, could pose a challenge to female teachers’ values and beliefs as well as those espoused by the community to which they belong.

For this reason, this study may add a layer of meaning to the present body of knowledge by theorizing about how the religious and cultural identities of female teachers shape their gender identity⁹, and how this informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTION

This study therefore seeks to explore the following research question:

⁹ It should be noted that *gender identity* as used in this study does not refer to *sexual orientation*. It refers to the way in which, and to what extent, the female teacher conceptualizes her role as a woman and as a female teacher.

How do the religious and cultural identities of female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice?

In order to facilitate this exploration the following intentions are noted:

- To explore what selected female teachers envisage by gender equality;
- To explore how the religious and cultural identities of selected female teachers shape their gender identity in a multi-religious and multi-cultural context; and
- To determine how the gender identity of the selected female teachers informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

1.3. RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

1.3.1. Research Design

The research question was explored by means of a qualitative, narrative research design (cf. 3.2.). Located within a feminist research paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.), this narrative research begins with the point of view of the people being studied and then explores “how they see the world and define situations” (W. Newman, 2011, p. 177). It “assumes that multiple interpretations of human experience, or realities are possible” (W. Newman, 2011, p. 103) and emphasises an individual’s own thoughts and perceptions, and the internalized thoughts and perceptions of the other¹⁰ (cf. 2.2.2.1.), as being more significant for their actions “than the external, objective conditions and structural forces” (W. Newman, 2011, p. 104). Feminist research, challenging gender inequalities in society, is fitting for this study which explores the construction of female teachers’ gender identities in their religious and cultural discourses. A narrative research design was conducive to the exploration of the ways in which individual teachers construct, interpret and give meaning to their subjective experiences with regard to gender equality. It also provided the space to describe and explore human behaviour and to unravel how people are similar to and also different from one another (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010;

¹⁰ In this research the uncapitalised other without inverted commas is used (cf. 2.2.2.1.).

Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2004). More specifically, the research design was conducive to revealing how female teachers, might possibly shape the gender discourse in their classroom practice.

1.3.2. Methodology

Various scholars have argued for narrative inquiry (cf. 3.3.1.) as a methodology within narrative research (S Chase, 2010; Clandinin, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin, Murphy, Huber, & Orr, 2010; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elliot, 2006; Langellier, 2001; Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Luttrell, 2010; McMillan, 2003; Riessman, 2008; Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2008). This form of research has a strong representation in the field of education (Casey, 1993; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999b), providing as it does, “a voice for seldom-heard individuals in educational research” (Creswell, 2012, p. 505). Narrative refers to “the authentic accounts of real life experiences” (Nothling, 2001, p. 153). Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008, p. 4) add to this idea of narrative contending that it is “always multiple, socially constructed and constructing, reinterpreted and reinterpretable”. Narratives can be used to maintain the status quo, but can also have an emancipatory function, transforming individual lives and the broader culture (Plummer, 1995). In telling their story, the narrative is transforming the story teller. Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008, p.10) would support this saying that transformation is “assumed to be integral to narrative, in the story itself, in the lives of those telling it, even in the researcher’s understandings of it”. Chase (2010) refers to the role played by the narrative in personal identity formation, providing as it does, the opportunity for individuals to shape their identity “through the selection, organization and presentation of personal experience” (Convery, 1999, p. 132).

Feminist research challenges gender inequalities in society and has, as one of its aims, “transforming the lives of women” (Merrill & West, 2009, p. 65). Noting that narrative inquiry is a key feminist research methodology, Chase (2003, p. 211) contends that narratives, while also employed by other types of research, are, however, considered “essential primary documents for feminist research”. These narratives reflect “the subjective meanings that women assign to events and conditions in their lives” (S Chase, 2003, p.

212). In this study, the self-narratives of female teachers offered an authentic voice elaborating on their situated knowledges, (Haraway, 1991; Haraway & Schneider, 2005) in which their narratives were produced. According to Elliot (2006), such narrative is key to the formation of individual identities and in the case of this research, could give meaning to individual teachers' lives (Elliot, 2006). The ontology of the narrative could also assist in compiling and defining the multiple identities and roles of the teachers (Doyle & Carter, 2003) and could be emancipatory and empowering (Nothling, 2001) for female teachers as they explore how their religious and cultural identities inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. In this study, the self-narratives of nine female teachers, in which they shared their lived experience of the position of women in their religious and cultural discourses are presented (Chapter 4), analysed and discussed (Chapters 5 and 6).

The researcher positioned herself within a feminist paradigm. While feminist research is about more than mere interpretation, the interpretive nature of this study, employing written and oral narratives enabling individual women's voices to be heard, is synonymous with feminist research (Renzetti, Curran, & Maier, 2012). With a sensitivity to relations of gender and power (Renzetti et al., 2012), the selected female teachers were approached by the researcher as "subjects rather than as objects" (S Chase, 2003, p. 212). This was done by creating empathetic connections, or, what can be termed a distanced commitment, between the researcher and the teachers. As a feminist researcher, there was a concern with raising "women's consciousness about their situation in a male-dominated society" (Gutek, 2009, p. 167). This was done by recognizing the primacy of women's personal, subjective experiences, and engaging with women's own individual histories, all the while respecting the diversity of women's personal experience. A 'safe space' was created for the selected female teachers to share their self-narratives (Du Preez & Simmonds, 2011; Roux, 2012) not just physically, but also figuratively (Du Preez, 2012b; Redmond, 2010; Stengel & Weems, 2010) in that it was the place where they could feel sufficiently secure to unburden themselves (Jansen, 2009). A description of the interview setting can be found in Appendix J.

The researcher chose to challenge the perception that feminist research is written in the first person. She adopted a committed distance (cf. 3.4.4.) in a demonstration of her commitment to other women and in particular, to foreground and not detract from the voices of the teachers. It is for this reason also that her personal narrative finds its place in Appendix K.

1.3.3. Methods

With the understanding that a research methodology “comprises the strategy followed in collecting and analysing data” (Gay, Geoffrey, & Airasian, 2006, p. 8), certain data collection methods were employed to find answers to the proposed research question. “Primary data” (Mouton, 2001, pp. 71-72) were captured through self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews. A pilot study was conducted to determine whether the data collection instruments were adequate and appropriate (Cohen et al., 2007; De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005; Silverman, 2010). The self-administered questionnaires and semi-structured interview questions were informally¹¹ piloted, or pre-tested, with two participants, both female teachers who facilitate LO. The teachers who participated in the pilot study did not teach at any of the six schools involved in this study. This small-scale piloting of the planned research process helped to bring to the fore possible deficiencies of the empirical research and played a role in shaping the interview schedule for the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews (Appendix C). The pilot study is discussed further in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.4.3).

The collection of primary data took place in four provinces and in six schools in South Africa. These schools, selected and used by the broader SANPAD research project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a), were willing to participate in the research. They were government schools representative of both rural and metropolitan contexts and diverse in terms of cultural, religious and socio-economic circumstances. In each school the teachers who participated were female teachers of LO, teaching in either the GET or FET phase. Permission to engage in the research was sought from, and granted by, the relevant

¹¹ That is, without KZNDEC consent and not in a formal school setting.

provincial Departments of Education (Appendices E – H), as well as school principals. The selected female teachers who participated in the study also signed ethical consent forms (Appendix I). They were assured that any transcribed data could be reviewed by them at any stage during the research process and they were given the assurance of anonymity. The digital voice recordings were destroyed as soon as they had been transcribed so as to protect the identity of the participating teachers. The transcriptions made use of pseudonyms, both for the female teacher and the school at which she taught. The names on the self-administered questionnaires and the written narratives were deleted in favour of pseudonyms (cf. Clandinin et al., 2010).

Female teachers teaching-learning in LO were each asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire. Introductory comments, outlining the focus of the study, were provided. Clear, basic instructions for completion were given (Appendix A) (cf. 3.5.1.). The participants were qualified female teachers with a command of the English language and therefore were able to read and understand the questions and respond accordingly. The questionnaires comprised both closed, and open-ended questions. The closed questions elicited appropriate biographical information from each participant. The open-ended questions allowed participants to respond freely. The focus of these questions included their understanding of human rights and gender equality and their approach to teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

In their written narrative (Appendix B) (cf. 3.5.2.) the participants describe their religious and cultural identity and the position of women in these religious and cultural traditions. They comment on how they think their religious and cultural identity could inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

After reading, re-reading and analysing the completed self-administered questionnaires and the written narratives, issues were identified to probe for further clarification. The self-administered questionnaires and written narratives were subsequently complemented and augmented by semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews (Appendix C) (cf. 3.5.3.). The interview schedule consisted of semi-structured questions to guide the interviews. This was necessary to ensure that each participant completed a comparable set of questions.

Du Preez (2012a) contends that teachers have a responsibility to reflect on their life worlds and belief systems. The semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews provided the opportunity for the participant to reflect upon her experiences and actions. The interviews allowed for the finer nuances of voice intonation, body language and facial expressions to contribute towards the creation of meaning (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010). These interviews were digitally recorded and amplified by field notes (Luttrell, 2010; Silverman, 2010) which were taken during and/or directly after the interview (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; Luttrell, 2010; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010). The digitally recorded interviews were transcribed in preparation for narrative analysis (cf. 3.6.2.).

Drawing on Maree's (2007) work, the responses to the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews were crystallized (cf. 3.6.1.), to lend validity, (Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010) or authenticity (Luttrell, 2010; W. Newman, 2011), a less positivist term, to the data. Newman (2011, p. 214) defines authenticity as "offering a fair, honest and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of the people who live it every day". The original responses to the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and the interview transcripts are presented on a CD which is included with this thesis, in support of confirming authenticity. The crystallized narratives of the nine female teachers are presented as nine individual portraits in Chapter 4. An exploration of the crystallized responses facilitated the formulation of new knowledge constructs regarding the research question. Although data analysis is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.6.), a brief overview is given here to signal the process which unfolded.

1.3.4. Data analysis

Drawing on the work of various scholars (Andrews, Molly, Corinne & Tamboukou, & Maria, 2008; S Chase, 2010; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Lincoln, 1993; Luttrell, 2010; McMillan, 2003; Polkinghorne, 1995; Riessman, 2008; Silverman, 2010; Wellington, 2000; Wolcott, 2009), narrative analysis was employed as a tool of analysis. Following the advice of Wolcott (2009), in order to get an overall sense or feel of the

participants' responses, immersion in the data took place at an early stage, as the participants' responses were read and meticulously re-read. Reflection on the data followed before continuing to explore them, comparing, conceptualising and categorising the data in order to identify, question and explore emerging themes. Preliminary themes were identified and these served in the design of each selected female teacher's individual portrait. Each portrait begins with a biographical cameo, followed by the participant's understanding of her religious and cultural identity, her understanding of the human right to gender equality and her perception of her classroom practice with regard to gender equality. More specifically, each participant reflects on the position held by women in her religion and culture. Polygamy, arranged marriage, virginity testing and contraception are themes which emerged, on which she reflects. Each participant comments on her experience of gender equality in her personal, social and professional domain. Finally, each participant comments on her teaching-learning of gender equality in her classroom practice. Each portrait "is an outline or model for organizing data, but it also serves as a type of explanation" (Silverman, 2010, p. 526) bringing the reality, authenticity and vividness of the participants' responses to the forefront. These portraits, found in Chapter 4, reflect only the voice of the participant.

In Chapter 5 the analysis of each individual portrait is presented. This narrative analysis, in line with a feminist approach, "dissolve[s] the space between [the] researcher and the [teachers] being studied...[making] the researcher an integral aspect of description, discussion and interpretation" (Silverman, 2010, p. 526). Using the theoretical lens of a psychological approach to the notion of self and identity, namely, Hermans' (2001, 2002, 2003, 2008, 2011) Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.), the individual self-narratives are analysed.

In Chapter 6, the theoretical lens of a sociological approach to the notion of self and identity is employed. Silverman (2010, p. 505) says that "qualitative data analysis may be both a description of the story [the individual portraits] and themes that emerge from it". Elliot's (2006, p. 38) notion of "categorical analyses" is useful as a central theme and sub-themes emerged from the data. The data were analysed within these themes, within which similarities and differences in the responses of the participants were then identified in

respect of sub-themes. Throughout the process, the original research questions, aims, methodologies and theoretical underpinnings were considered (Wellington, 2000). The findings (cf. 7.2.) are positioned within the study as a whole, and in line with the research questions and aims.

1.4. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

What follows is a clarification of the concept 'gender equality', focusing on gender equality in education and schooling. The concept of classroom practice is also clarified. 'Gender' consigns cultural or social categories to the biological categories male and female, the concept "most often used to define women as a social group" (McCann & Kim, 2010, p. 7). However, biology alone is insufficient in any exploration of understandings of gender equality. (Renzetti et al., 2012). Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2007, p. 1) contend that "gender can no longer be seen as a simple, a natural fact". This study therefore includes religious and cultural location and the gendered meanings and associations resulting from lived experiences, in the exploration of understandings of gender equality.

"Woman" is not a simple defining category but rather one that is made complex by 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1991, 2003; Shields, 2008). That is, the intersection of social categories or 'organising principles' (cf. Wetherell, 1996) such as religion, culture, class, sexuality, ethnicity, race and other axes of identity intersection (cf. Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005; Ritzer, 2007). In this study the 'intersectionality' between religion and culture, and gender, as well as the influence of religion and culture on gender identity specifically, is explored (cf. 2.2.1.2.).

1.4.1. Gender equality

The research is positioned within a human rights discourse to provide an overarching framework for discussing gender equality, approaching gender equality as a multidimensional concept (Subrahmanian, 2005). Goal Three of the Millennium Development Goals is to promote Gender Equality and to empower women (UNDP, 2003). For this goal to be realised gender inequalities that arise across different arenas of life as a

result of the unequal power relations between women and men must be addressed. In South Africa there has been a commitment to gender equality since 1994 when the country became a democracy. In his opening speech in Parliament in 1994 former President Nelson Mandela said that freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. Gender equality is now an integral part of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996b) and a legal right. Discrimination on the grounds of gender is prohibited. Subsequent acts which address gender equality include the South African Schools Act, 84 of 1996 (Republic of South Africa, 1996c), the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998), and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 4 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa, 2000). The expectation is for all South Africans to be able to identify with the vision of a society that is free from gender discrimination. Christie (2010, p. 3) argues that while “elegant in abstract, rights is often less clear in the complex conditions of the material life”. Nieuwenhuis (2007, p. 186) concurs, contending that the values entrenched in the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) must become entrenched in the hearts of individuals and be lived out in practice “before they will become the standard in our society and especially in our schools”.

The terms ‘gender parity’, ‘gender equity’ and ‘gender equality’ have been used with regard to issues pertaining to gender. Gender parity, which is more quantitative in nature, is concerned, for example, with issues such as an equal number of males and females in a school, the equal expenditure on males and females and equal participation between males and females. An exploration of the body of literature to do with gender reveals that some theorists speak of gender equity (Unterhalter, 2007), defined by the Commission for Gender Equality (2007, p. 6) as

“fairness of treatment for women and men according to their respective needs...This may include equal treatment...in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities...a gender equity goal often requires built-in measures to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages of women”.

Heilman and Goodman (1996, p. 294) refer to gender equity in education as

“not only an equal chance [for male and female] to attain an education, but also an equal chance to question or control the vision, values and ideological substance of education”.

The Gender Equity Task Team (Department of Education, 1997) struggled to differentiate between the concepts of ‘gender equality’ and ‘gender equity’ and finally adopted the term ‘gender equity’ (Department of Education, 1997, p. 40).

The focus of this study, while not diminishing the importance of doing so, does not directly address and redress historical gender injustices (gender equity), nor does it focus specifically on gender quantitatively (gender parity). In this study the term gender equality is preferred, meaning that men and women are equal in quality and identical in value or worth, enjoying a shared humanity, with male and female having the same rights and opportunities (Subrahmanian, 2005). I adopt the position that men and women are both equal in dignity and in terms of their shared humanity, while also being significantly different. The difference and similarity, although paradoxical, need not be mutually exclusive.

The physiological make-up of human bodies is used to determine gender, and society reflects what is biologically determined. An individual is instantly recognised as a woman or man, girl or boy. Everyday business is often arranged around this distinction, for example women and men use separate toilets and generally speaking button their shirts on opposite sides. Any suggestion that postulates that man is the norm or benchmark to which woman is to be equated, entrenches masculinity as the norm. The following definition of gender equality rejects masculinity as the norm for equality and explores new expressions of shared humanity where gender difference is an attribute rather than a basis for discrimination:

“...all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by

stereotypes, rigid gender roles or prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female” (Commission for Gender Equality, 2007, p. 6).

Morrell (2003, p. 50) reports that in South Africa, “despite the gender-friendly policy environment of the late 1990s, patriarchy remains strong and gender relations unequal”. Hartmann (2010, p. 175) contends that patriarchy rests “on all the social structures that enable men to control women’s labour”. In a traditional black African, very male-dominated, patriarchal culture, men are considered to be the primary breadwinners and decision makers in the family. Women are excluded from access to financial resources, their sexuality is restricted and they are expected to fulfil the roles of child-bearers, child-carers and housekeepers (McFadden, 2003). A woman has no voice of her own in the community and her opinions and interests are represented via her husband. She is not allowed to own land in her own right and she has no rights over her children (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Socially, women are defined as being inferior to men. Gender inequality is “created by a system that restricts women’s access to the public sphere by burdening and isolating them with private sphere responsibilities” (Mannathoko, 1999, p. 453). A woman’s work is regarded as “tedious, senseless, unpaid and undervalued” (Mannathoko, 1999, p. 453). The public sphere is considered to belong to men where they enjoy status, power, freedom, money, self-esteem and personal development (Connell, 2002).

Showalter (1997) points out that in many cultures, and in particular patriarchal cultures, sexuality is used as the foundation upon which social relations between females and males are defined. This process of interpreting gender and biological sex as synonymous and gendering identities accordingly, is said to be driven by the interests of men from their position of power (Chege, 2004). In Morrell’s (2003, p. 50) research, a participant expresses this gender domination when he says “...it is a one-man show within a relationship...even the rights to have more than one sexual partner. I, as a man, I’m supposed to have more than one sexual partner because I need sex like all the time”.

Furthermore Connell (2002, p. 6) speaks about there being unequal respect with “whole genres of humour...based on contempt for woman’s triviality and stupidity”. There is a whole sub-culture, ranging from heavy pornography and prostitution to soft-core advertising, which markets women’s bodies as objects of consumption by men.

Subjected to patriarchy, many women, particularly black¹² African women in rural and traditional settings, “remain submissive and silenced”, a symptom of unequal gender power (Morrell, 2003, p. 50). De Wet (2008) corroborates this arguing that many women in South African communities lack power when negotiating gender issues in traditional patriarchal societies. Gender ideologies

“become the basis of social norms, practices and rules; these processes in turn inform masculine and feminine identities....Masked as culture, these identities and ideologies become stubbornly defended as traditional and immutable” (Subrahmanian, 2005, p. 398).

Gender inequalities “affect women across societies and levels of development” (NP Stromquist, 1990, p. 141) and have been historically legitimised by societies and their cultural traditions (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). This has rested on ‘naturalising’ a range of difference between women and men and legitimizing differential treatment and inequality. Social actors have ‘naturalised’ these differences by accepting them as essential to maintain and uphold and so over time these have become entrenched norms that define appropriate behaviours for men and women. An example would be the unequal burdens borne by women in reproductive activities and unpaid home management (cf. 2.2.1.2.). It is assumed that women perform these roles voluntarily and as a result of their natural instincts, rather than on the recognition that the division of labour is socially determined and based on unequal power relations between women and men. The important contribution men need to make towards sharing these burdens and the importance of the

¹² It should be noted that the researcher does not endorse politically racial classifications, the nomenclature of which is shifting with new complexities of race and ethnic groups emerging. The term ‘Black’ has been used by some scholars to refer to ‘Africans’, ‘Indians’ and ‘Coloureds’. In this study, reference is made to ‘black Africans’, so-called ‘Coloureds,’ (as typified by politicians and previous South African governments), and Whites and Indians, whom are racially referred to by those names.

role women play is underestimated (hooks, 1992; Subrahmanian, 2005). Women are being 'invisibilised', their needs ignored and their voices silenced (hooks, 1992; Subrahmanian, 2005). Findings of various research projects in the African context bear testimony to this (Kaganas & Murray, 1994; Khau, 2012; Molapo, 2005; Morojele, 2009; Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Seboni, 1997; UNESCO, 2002).

Measor and Sikes (1992b) suggest that patriarchy is the most important structure supporting male domination. Gender oppression takes place as the result of a direct power relationship between men and women in which men dominate women. In their study, Bhana, De Lange and Mitchell (2009) explored the use of violence as an expression of gender inequality and a means of creating or maintaining such inequality. The findings of their research showed that gender violence is primarily incurred when women show disrespect towards men by challenging their authority (Bhana et al., 2009, p. 50) and "undermin[ing] the entrenched cultural acceptance of Zulu male dominance".

The subject of much feminist research is concerned with investigating just how patriarchy has taken a hold and how it spreads through society (Mannathoko, 1999). The silence around hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity needs to be broken so that new gender relations and identities can be reconstructed (Connell, 1995). According to Kabeer (1999, p. 37) the achievement of substantive gender equality requires the recognition of "the socially constructed disadvantages women face relative to men". Individuals become gendered subjects from their gender performances and the performances of others towards them (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). Learning to be feminine or masculine in socially acceptable ways happens when men and women contest or conform to various gender positionings every time they engage in social discourse (cf. Chege, 2004; Connell, 2002; Wittig, 2003). Kabeer's (1999, p. 37) contention is that to achieve

"substantive equality requires the recognition of the ways in which women are different from men, in terms of their biological capacities and in terms of the socially constructed disadvantages women face relative to men".

Subrahmanian (2005, p. 397) is of the opinion that in order to gauge gender equality, an assessment needs to be made of whether or not fundamental freedoms and choices are equally available to women as they are to men. What also needs to be taken into consideration is the agency and autonomy or lack thereof that is exercised by women. It is therefore important that “assessments of gender equality need to capture the relational dimensions of gender inequality” (Subrahmanian, 2005, p. 397).

UNAIDS (2000, p. 6) says that men should be seen “as part of the solution” to gender inequality. Bhana, de Lange and Mitchell (2009) are in agreement, contending that gender relations affect both women and men and, as such, men have an important role to play in countering gender inequality. This study, however, focuses specifically on women. Mothers can, for example, break gender stereotyping by not preferring their male children and raising their children in such a way as to promote gender equality (cf. C. Brown & Bigler, 2004; Sax, 2005).

Advocating postmodern feminism, and avoiding the essentialist definitions of femininity propagated by modern feminism (cf. Renzetti et al., 2012), in this study, gender is conceptualised as “fluid” and a social script that can be rewritten (Renzetti et al., 2012, p. 23). Drawing on feminist theorists like Butler (1999), gender identity is approached as contextualized by gender relations. This necessitates specifying how gender, as a process, is commodified and shaped within specific socio-historical contexts of domination, and more specifically, by considering religious and cultural discourses. Butler (1990, 1993) refers to ‘performative gender’ expressing the idea that gender is not something that one ‘is’ or ‘has’ but something continually created and recreated and reinforced and re-empowered through everyday social and cultural practices. Gender can therefore be described as “a doing, a stylization of the self that is open to repetition and reinvention” (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn, & Moletsane, 2007, p. 135).

1.4.1.1. Gender equality in schooling and education

The Commission for Gender Equality (2007, p. 63) states that “gender is context- specific and can be modified” and should be taught from early childhood and throughout the

schooling years. Various scholars (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Measor & Sikes, 1992a; Randal, 1982; Smith & Paul, 2000) have pointed out the particularly strong influence of schooling in an individual's life. Schools both reflect and actively maintain and reproduce structures and relationships of power and privilege along with the dominant ideology of society (Mac an Ghaill, 1994).

Globally more women have taken up leadership positions in education (Soberhart, 2009) but the qualitative experience of women in South Africa suggests that stereotypes about men and women leaders are still prevalent, and women in leadership are marginalized and undermined by their male counterparts (Coleman, 2007; Moorosi, 2010; Muzridziwa, 2007; Stratchan, Akao, Kilavanwa, & Warsal, 2010). While there is a need for gender balance on school management teams, with women and men each contributing from their leadership strengths (cf. Gurian & Annis, 2008), the patriarchal norm to dominate women maintains the power imbalance in school leadership. Men “look down upon women” and male leadership is perceived “as the norm” (Muzridziwa, 2007, p. 32).

Children spend a substantial part of their lives in schools and therefore “classrooms can serve as ‘construction’ sites that [can] provide alternative experiences that challenge social norms” (Gosselin, 2007, p. 52). Apart from the family and community, formal schooling is a key place where children develop a frame of reference through which they mediate gender (Gosselin, 2007; Maccoby, 2000).

The findings of various research projects have shown that while teachers maintain that they treat female and male learners equally, this is not always the case. In practice teachers interact differently and often inequitably with their female and male learners (Renzetti et al., 2012). For example, in some instances female learners are favoured, while in other cases, teachers more easily initiate conversations with their male learners. Male learners are more likely than the female learners to get into trouble with teachers and they are treated more negatively than the female learners (Myhill & Jones, 2006; Sommers, 2000; Voyles, Haller, & Fossum, 2007; Zittleman, 2007). Following the thinking of Sadker and Zittleman (2009), it can be argued that separating female and male learners prevents

them from working together co-operatively, and this practice can reinforce gender stereotypes.

Within the broader school context, the term 'gender regime' can be used to describe practices that construct a gendered division of labour within a school, ordering various tasks "in terms of prestige and power" (Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, & Dowsett, 1985, p. 42). The way in which gender is "applied to uniforms, curricular subjects, administrative practices, classroom activities and even the use of space within and around the school" (Kessler et al., 1985, p. 42) re-enforces this 'gender regime'. To this can be added a hidden curriculum (cf. 1.4.2.) of gender differentiation which is provided by stereotypes in textbooks, stories and the like, where females are portrayed as domestic workers and of a lower social standing to men, and girls are "socialised into accepting inferior positions and are guided away from traditional male subjects and career choices" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007, p. 178; Renzetti et al., 2012). The learners also receive messages about gender by the way in which adult jobs are distributed in the school. For example, there is a dearth of male teachers in the foundation and intermediate phases (Grades R – 6) and women are under-represented on the School Management Teams (Renzetti et al., 2012). According to Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006, p. 78)

"the gender regime in school is critical to [learners] as they 'come of age' through rites of passage to adulthood. Gender relations and boundaries within the institution are part of the hidden curriculum and [learner's] informal learning".

In many predominantly isiZulu African schools for example, girls are on the whole responsible for cleaning and boys for digging in the school grounds (cf. 6.3.6.). According to Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006, p. 78), "these activities are key symbols of gender identification and differentiation constantly practiced within schools". Boys may also routinely insist on playing sport during break and refuse to clean or sweep which they see as a girl's job. Mac an Ghaill (1994) and Swain (2004) state that it is this routinised gender-specific behaviour which contributes to the production and regulation of gender identity. Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006, p. 78) warn that "these learned patterns of

performance and interaction become reified to form the basis for gender relations within and beyond the institutional boundaries”.

Research in various parts of the world, such as the examples alluded to below, make the point that gender discrimination is widespread in school cultures and structures. Mirembe and Davies (2001) show that in some Ugandan schools gender-specific stereotypical behaviours are actively encouraged. In Botswana, both male and female teachers have been shown to have a negative attitude to educating girls, particularly at the secondary school and tertiary levels (Fuller, Hua, & Snyder, 1994). Research conducted in Israel by Tatar and Emmanuel (2001) has revealed that teachers demonstrate differential behaviours in relating to female and male learners because of their own perceptions and attitudes in respect of gender roles. Halai's (2010) research in Pakistan shows that there are inherent gender biases and imbalances in classroom practice even in the many girls-only schools. This can be seen to mirror “wider cultural and societal patterns of behaviours and traditional stereotypical gender roles of women and men” (Halai, 2010, p. 1). Teachers showed a lack of ownership of gender issues, taking for granted “gendered lived experiences” (Halai, 2010, p. 6).

Aikman and Unterhalter (2005, pp. 47-48) point out that teachers have to consider their personal behaviour with regard to gender equality, because gender issues touch not only their classroom practice but how they live gender equality in their own lives saying that “change should be situated in the broader social and cultural context of the teacher's lives...to include reflection on social and cultural context as well as pedagogy”. The gendered expectations teachers have of their learners have a great impact on their learners (Korkmaz, 2007; Lindley & Keithley, 1991). Teachers need to be aware of their own beliefs and attitudes and be willing to explore these and make any necessary adjustments (Masland, 1994). This study seeks to explore this very matter.

The Commission for Gender Equality (2007) has as its objective to promote gender equality and to monitor what is happening in education to address gender discrimination. However, Subrahmanian (2005, p. 397) finds “the lack of a universally accepted definition of gender equality in relation to education goals makes measuring progress towards its

achievement hard to...achieve". Spring (2008, p. 2) contends that "...the right to education includes the right to education in human rights". This study draws on Subrahmanian's work (2005), contending as it does that a consideration of gender equality in education needs to be understood as the right 'in' and 'through' education where gender equality is linked to gender justice. This would entail a stronger focus on gender-aware educational environments, processes and outcomes and the identification of discriminatory practices and the violation of human rights.

Christie (2010, p. 8) argues that schooling should be an agency for social change contending that education is a "socio-cultural practice, where young people are given access to formal knowledge codes in mediated relationships by others". In practice, however, Nussbaum (2010, p. 39) refers to the "silent crisis" when she highlights the difficulties involved when speaking about "the possibility [of] teach[ing] children critical thinking and critical approaches to their daily life," especially when it comes to cultural issues.

Taking this into account, in this study it is argued that it is important for the "Policy of Human Rights Across the Curriculum" (2003) (Department of Education, 2003b) and the teaching-learning of democratic values as outlined in the "Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy" (2001) (Department of Education, 2001) to be implemented in the classroom. Discriminatory practices and violations of human rights need to be identified (cf. Roux, 2012). For any meaningful implementation of the "Policy of Human Rights Across the Curriculum" (2003) and "Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy" (2001) to take place, a distinction should be drawn between universal and local/particular rights and the interrelatedness between these concepts (Du Preez & Roux, 2010). Such a discourse should include participation by teachers and learners. Human rights education within the LO curriculum presents the opportunity to deal with possible tensions and can assist in creating shared values in diverse contexts (Du Preez, 2008; Du Preez & Roux, 2010; McCowan, 2010). The teaching-learning interaction (lesson) can be a meeting place of culture, religions, belief systems and world views. It is the place where value systems that coincide (and collide) with human rights values, including gender equality, can be dialogued (cf. Du Preez, 2012b). Research in multicultural societies (Jarvis, 2008, 2009;

Roux, 2007a, 2012) has shown that a teacher's religious and cultural identities influence the meeting space (classroom) and determines the outcome of teaching-learning. Drawing on the work of social constructivist theorists like Cornbleth, Grundy and Slattery,(1990; 1987; 2006), Roux (2012, p. 36) contends that the “[c]ultural and religious practices and the experiences of its recipients will impact on how the curriculum is interpreted and the hidden curriculum is portrayed”. Hence the importance of this study, since it considers the relationship between teachers' religious and cultural identities and their classroom practice.

It is possible that a tension could develop between teachers, as agents of teaching-learning and as representatives of their own religions and cultures, and learners in the classroom (Chege, 2004; Roux et al., 2006). Female teachers need to step out of their teacher role and look at themselves as “socially constructed unfinished human beings” because any attempt “to transform the ‘gender regime of truth’ in schools must begin with themselves” (Heilman & Goodman, 1996, p. 260). Roux (2012, p. 41) supports this saying that “teachers cannot mediate or facilitate knowledge and skills pertaining to human rights without understanding their own position, identity and beliefs”. Du Preez (2012a, p. 57) concurs, contending that teachers have to reflect on their “own life worlds and belief systems”.

Epstein and Johnson (1998) maintain that teachers have been instrumental in pressurising their learners to assimilate the dominant categories of power in society by the expectations and practices they portray, in addition to their formal teaching-learning in their classrooms and on the sports fields. They (Epstein & Johnson, 1998) contend that teachers have been geared to the reproduction of power relations, thereby maintaining the gender discriminatory status quo. Okin (2007) refers to research that reveals that schools reflect and perpetuate gender inequality and injustice, contending that learners should become aware of gender inequality and discrimination in both the formal and hidden curriculum. In addressing this situation, Weiler (1988, p. 71) maintains that, changing people's consciousness is not enough, saying that

“real relationships and forms of power must be changed...it is not enough for the oppressed to recognize their own oppression. The recognition is only the

starting point for a movement to destroy that oppression and to become free in fact, not simply in mind”.

This would entail “re-enactment and re-enforcement of [new gender equal] relational rules” (Dunne et al., 2006, p. 78).

In this study it is argued that in the same way schools have taught gender discrimination in the past, they have the potential to right this by adopting and enforcing an ethos of gender equality in school policy and practice. This is supported by Mac an Ghaill (1994) who argue that schools can be sites of deviance and resistance to gender equality, since they have residing within them, power which has productive capacity. Adams (1997, p. 35) agrees, adding that the unfavourable effects of socialisation can be countered if the educational endeavour is set up as a “consciousness raising process”. Noting that this has also been a key feminist strategy, Adams (1997) asserts, and here she is supported by Mitchell (2004), that getting learners to tell their stories (and in the case of this research study, getting female teachers to tell their stories) is an important initial step in awakening personal awareness, and leading, eventually, to critical self-reflection, which can potentially, be followed by action. Discussion pertaining to the self-narrative and the role it plays in the on-going project of identity formation is discussed in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.3).

1.4.2. Classroom practice

Research conducted by Carrim (2001), Soudien (2001) and Matheson and Harley (2003) indicated that a disparity often occurs between what is expected of a teacher by the Department of Education, and teacher identity, namely who the teacher is. Costello (2004) refers to this as identity dissonance. This can also translate into a difference between what teachers claim they are doing in their classroom practice¹³ and what is actually taking place. More specifically this could point to a difference between talking about the human right to gender equality and actually internalizing this concept and promoting gender equality in classroom practice.

¹³ While classroom practice refers primarily to a technical skill, classroom praxis refers to the teacher’s ability to be reflective and to engage with new knowledge so as to inform new knowledge (cf. 7.2.3.2.).

According to Gosselin (2007, p. 24), teachers influence children's social development "through the ways they construct classroom practices" and so it is important for female teachers to be able to observe and engage in reflection of their role in shaping gender communication, attitudes and skills. Teachers need to have explored their own religious and cultural identities with regard to gender equality in order to create 'safe spaces' for meaningful teaching-learning to take place with regard to gender issues. By doing so they would not be teaching about the human right to gender equality in a reductionist way, but rather meaningfully, creating a 'safe space' for their learners for exploration, as opposed to what Du Preez (2012b, p. 60) refers to as "empty space". 'Safe spaces' refers to the space where private and public lives intersect and does not only refer to literal or physical safety, rather denoting the figurative and discursive use of the notion (Du Preez, 2012b; Redmond, 2010; Stengel & Weems, 2010). 'Safe spaces' can be places of uncertainty with possible conflict between private and public lives. However, despite possible discomfort these spaces are safe because they are the place where learners can unburden themselves (Jansen, 2009).

A teacher's approach to gender equality in her classroom practice can happen in different ways. 'Infusion' refers to the 'mode' in which gender equality is addressed in the curriculum, either implicitly or explicitly. It also refers to whether gender equality is addressed as part of the curriculum, or incidentally (Du Preez, 2008). If teachers address gender equality as part of the LO curriculum, they are doing so explicitly. This could be referred to as "maximum infusion" (Du Preez, 2008, p. 111) (cf. Carrim & Keet, 2005). The "Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement" (CAPS) for Life Skills (Grades 4 – 6) (Department of Basic Education, 2011d), more specifically under the sections "Personal and Social Wellbeing" and also "Social Responsibility", investigates in Grade 5 for example, issues of gender including the responsibilities of men and women in different cultural contexts. In Grade 6 the effects of gender stereotyping on personal and social relationships are considered. In the LO curriculum for the intermediate senior phase, Grades 7 – 9 (Department of Basic Education, 2011c), in the sections "Development of the Self in Society" and also "Constitutional Rights and Responsibilities", the Grade 7

curriculum includes a section which examines gender constructs. In the second term¹⁴, Grade 7 learners consider the application of human rights as well as the world of work. In both these topics there is space to investigate gender equality as an applied human right and more specifically the attitude towards women in the workplace. In Grade 8, in term 3, the curriculum includes a section discussing the contribution made by women and men towards nation building, and in term 4, there is a focus on gender equity as a concept, which includes gender issues in sport, defining gender-based violence, and considering prevention of violence against women. The term 4 curriculum also includes a section which emphasises respect for cultural, religious and gender difference. The inclusion of cultural diversity in SA as a topic, presents the opportunity for interrogating the position of women in various cultures and religions. The FET (Grades 10 – 12) Life Orientation curriculum (Department of Basic Education, 2011b) and specifically the sections “Development of the Self in Society” and also “Democracy and Human Rights”, in grade 10, focuses on gender discrimination and gender stereotyping as a human rights violation. In Grade 11, examining gender roles and their effects on health and wellbeing, and also unequal power relations and power inequality between genders and the abuse of power, clearly provide the curriculum space to address issues of gender equality.

Gender equality could also be addressed implicitly in casual conversation or reading texts, but it remains part of the curriculum. This can be referred to as “minimum infusion” (Du Preez, 2008, pp.112-113; cf. Carrim & Keet, 2005). Should an incidental situation occur where a teacher is, for example, required to explicitly sensitise learners to violation of gender equality, this could be referred to as “overt infusion” (Du Preez, 2008, p. 112). “Covert infusion” takes place when teachers implicitly, i.e. without direct reference to gender equality, refer to it in an incidental situation (Du Preez, 2008, p. 112). Du Preez (2008) would consider this form of infusion as ideal for addressing human rights values, such as gender equality. An example of ‘covert infusion’ could be when a teacher gets her female and male students to work together, co-operatively (cf. Sadker & Zittleman, 2009). In this study it is argued that both ‘overt’ and ‘covert infusion’ are important in dealing with

¹⁴ The South African school year is divided into four school terms.

issues pertaining to the value and dignity of the other. This notion of the other is further discussed in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.2.1.).

In addition to being aware of the design principles discussed above, teachers need also to be aware of their own 'hidden' and 'null' curricula. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (2001) suggests that a culture of human rights should be infused in the classroom (Department of Education, 2001). This act of infusion, especially when addressed implicitly, might form part of a school or teacher's 'hidden' curriculum. The 'hidden' curriculum "...refers to student learning that is not described by curriculum planners or teachers as an explicit aim of instruction even though it results from deliberate practices and organizational structures" (Boostrom, 2010, p. 439). An example would be if a teacher, through her intentional actions and classroom organization, favours her male learners above her female learners. By favouring the boys she is promoting a 'hidden' curriculum, and promoting gender discrimination.

Closely related to the 'hidden' curriculum, is the 'null' curriculum which refers to that which is "absent, excluded and disregarded when a curriculum is constructed" (Quinn, 2010, p. 613). In this particular study, a 'null' curriculum would refer to a teacher who purposefully omits addressing issues related to gender equality either implicitly or explicitly in her classroom practice. An example of this could be the teacher who chooses not to consider contraception and protected sex with her learners, because she is entrenched in a cultural discourse which prohibits females from using contraception. In this case, her cultural identity overrides curriculum expectations as outlined by the Department of Basic Education (Panday, Makwane, Ranchod, & Letsoalo, 2009), to educate learners about the responsible use of contraception (cf: Varga, 2003). According to Kaufman, de Wet and Stadler (2001) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report (Panday et al., 2009, p. 69), female learners often feel pressure from friends to maintain multiple sexual partnerships "as a means to gain peer group respect." By not engaging with the issue of contraception, the 'null' curriculum in this instance, would present a disservice to her female learners. The 'hidden' and the 'null' curricula could play a role in the way in which gender equality could be promoted or ignored in classroom practice.

In this study, the relationship between the religious and cultural identities of female teachers and how this informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice, will be considered. This will include exploring whether or not the teachers are able to create 'safe spaces' for their learners to consider issues of gender equality. The way in which gender equality is addressed, be it with maximum or minimum infusion, will also be explored.

1.5. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to frame this study by outlining the rationale (cf. 1.1.) as well as presenting the research question (cf. 1.2.) and the research design, methodology and methods that would be used to answer this question (cf. 1.3.). A review of literature provides clarification of key concepts, including, gender equality (cf. 1.4.1.) and also classroom practice (cf. 1.4.2.).

This chapter introduces the argument that the teaching-learning of gender equality, could be challenging for those teachers who have not reflected on their own gender identity. Based on previous research (Bell et al., 1997; De Wet, Roux, Simmonds, & Ter Avest, 2012; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Jarvis, 2008, 2009; Samuel & Stephens, 2000; White, 2012) which shows that teacher identities play a role in the teaching-learning context, this study contends that it is important to explore the relationship between teachers' religious and cultural identities and their classroom practice. More specifically, this research explores how the religious and cultural identities of female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

An outline of the remaining chapters in this thesis is provided:

Chapter 2 reviews literature related to this study, presenting a theoretical framework which includes modern (cf. 2.2.1.) and postmodern approaches (cf. 2.2.2.) to identity and the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.). The self-narrative and the dialogical-self are discussed in terms of gender identity formation and a model is offered for fragmenting the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 2.5.).

Chapter 3 offers a detailed description of the narrative research design (cf. 3.2.), narrative inquiry research methodology (cf. 3.3.) and data collection methods (cf. 3.4.) employed in this study. This chapter includes the selection of participants, pilot study, researcher's role and positionality, crystallization of data and narrative analysis of the data. Limitations of the study and ethical considerations are also included.

Chapter 4 presents a crystallization of the data collected from the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews with the selected female teachers. A portrait of each of the selected nine female teachers is presented. The analysis of these self-narratives is found in Chapters 5 and 6.

In **Chapter 5** each individual portrait (as presented in Chapter 4) is analysed using a psychological approach to the self and identity, namely, the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.), as the lens for analysis. The 'dialogical self in action', namely the negotiation of the female teacher's internal and external *I*-positions in her 'society-of-mind' can lead her to voice and/or practice a 'counter-position' to the master narrative of patriarchy.

In **Chapter 6**, a sociological approach to the self and identity is employed. Drawing on the conceptual framework provided in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.) and the theoretical lens presented in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.), the central theme of patriarchy and sub-themes which emerge from across the nine self-narratives are analysed and discussed.

In **Chapter 7** a conclusion to the study is presented and the research question (cf. 1.2.) is answered. A summary of the research findings as they are drawn from the data analysis and discussion in both Chapters 5 and 6 is provided and the relevance thereof discussed. Recommendations for further research are suggested.

CHAPTER TWO

The Artist's lens

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter an overview of the study as a whole is presented. In this chapter theories are considered that inform the design of the empirical research and provide a framework for the analysis and interpretation of the data. The researcher argues in this study that teachers' identities are not fixed but rather in a state of flux. Their identities are influenced by both socially determined positions and personally constructed positions, with individuals not only living in external spaces, but also engaging in the internal space of their 'society-of-mind'. Identity theories (cf. 2.2.1., 2.2.2.), and more specifically modern and postmodern identity theories, are considered as sociological approaches to the self and identity. Hermans's Dialogical Self Theory (DST), a psychological approach to the self and identity, is presented and critiqued (cf. 2.4.).

Drawing on modern identity theories (cf. 2.2.1.), the concept of identity takes account of bounded identities and socially constructed fixed identities. Postmodern identity theory (cf. 2.2.2.) considers the on-going, subjective, collective and interactive construction of identity. Power relations between targets and agents are considered (cf. 2.2.2.1.). The DST considers various *I*-positions, both internal and external, within the 'society-of-mind' (Hermans, 2002), and possible identity re-creation resulting from the 'dialogical self in action' (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). The above-mentioned sociological and psychological theories are applied specifically to understand ('Verstehen') the self-narratives of the selected female teachers participating in this study.

Samuel and Stephens' research in the field of teaching-learning (2000, p. 477) informs us that the "cultural and personal baggage" teachers take with them to the classroom has an impact on the teaching-learning experience. Recent empirical research endorses this (Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Jarvis, 2008, 2009; White, 2012). It is therefore important to explore the various identity theories as outlined above and elaborated upon below, in order

to understand how teachers, and in the case of this research study, selected female teachers, construct their gender identity¹⁵. This exploration, undertaken from a feminist perspective (cf. 3.3.2.), works on the premise that women can consciously unpack “their cultural and personal baggage” (Samuel & Stephens, 2000, p. 477) and transform gendered power relations. In this study it is argued that self-dialogue and self-narrative are key in the fragmentation and undermining of master narratives such as that of patriarchy.

2.2. IDENTITY

Identity is a powerful construct that allows individuals¹⁶ to draw strength from their affiliation with social groups (Brewer & Hewstone, 2004), and it also explains destructive behaviours, including oppression (Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2011), which have been at the root of much suffering through the pages of history. Many are the identity-based political movements that have fought, and continue to fight, for human rights on the basis of race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, culture, nationality, disability, age and other forms of socially recognized identity.

An individual's life-history is the central organiser of an individual's identity. In order to understand individual lives, reference needs to be made to key markers including gender, race, religion and culture (Alcoff & Mendieta, 2003; Hall, 1996, 1997; Kearney, 2003; Vignoles et al., 2011; Wetherell, 1996). The British sociologist, Giddens, (2002, p. 53), refers to self-identity or personal identity, as that which is “understood by the person in terms of his or her own biography”. ‘Biography’ is defined by Popkewitz (1997, p. 132) as “particular, historically formed knowledge that ensures rules and standards” by which the individual reasons about the world and herself as a member of that world. Identities are both personal and social “in the processes by which they are formed, maintained and changed over time” (Vignoles et al., 2011, p. 5). Giddens (2002, p. 75) suggests that “the self, forms a trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future”. The

¹⁵ It should be noted that *gender identity* as used in this study does not refer to *sexual orientation*, but rather to the gender with which an individual identifies. It refers to the way in which and to what extent the female teacher conceptualizes her role as a woman and as a teacher.

¹⁶ In this chapter when reading ‘individuals’ or ‘persons’, read female and male individuals and persons.

individual would thus appropriate her past (her biography) by filtering through it in the light of what is anticipated for the future.

Modern and postmodern discourses in academia differ in respect of their understanding and experience of social identities. What follows is an introduction to modern identity theory (cf. 2.2.1.) focusing specifically on socially constructed identities (cf. 2.2.1.1.). Gender identity, especially, is discussed as a social construct (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Postmodern identity theory (cf. 2.2.2.) and the role of the self-narrative (cf. 2.3.) and self-dialogue (cf. 2.4.) in the process of empowerment follows (cf. 2.5.).

2.2.1. A modern approach to identity

A view which enjoyed currency up until the 1980s saw identity as a part of human consciousness which remains static and fixed throughout an individual's life. Those who subscribed to it, such as prominent 'Enlightenment' thinkers including Locke (1632 – 1704) and Descartes (1596 - 1650), caught little of the dynamic nature of identity, tending to produce, instead, 'static portraits' of their subjects with no appreciation of how change over time might occur (PJ Burke & Stets, 2009; Hardiman, 1982; Kearney, 2003; Vignoles et al., 2011).

Individuals who have fixed individual identities and unproblematic relationships with their cultures and communities could be said to have bounded identities (Hardiman, 1982; Kearney, 2003). The Canadian philosopher, Taylor (1989, 2007), defends this notion of modern subjectivity saying that it has its roots in ideas of human good, an affirmation of what he refers to as an ordinary life. Taylor (1989) contends that identity cannot be considered separately from moral subjectivity and commitment to what he refers to as "hypergoods" (Taylor, 1989, p. 63) or moral criteria which enable the individual to discriminate right from wrong. Taylor contends that self-identity is shaped by "knowing where we stand" within a moral framework (Calhoun, 1991, p. 234). Taylor draws the distinction between modernity, which advocates a fixed identity and postmodernity which speaks of a fluidity in identity construction. In his book "Multiculturalism" he maintains that the realisation of an individual's sense of self depends on recognition from others and he

emphasises the importance of negotiating self-identity by dialoguing both overtly and internally, with others (Taylor, 1994). In the following section, the construction of self-identity in relation to others, as advocated by social identity theorists, is discussed.

2.2.1.1. Socially constructed identities

From the end of the 19th century scholars began to question the notion of the self-contained persona and the continuity and sameness position of those who were locked into bounded thinking about identity. The writings of the German philosopher Marx (1818–1883), Austrian psychologist Freud (1856–1939), American sociologist Mead (1863–1931) and Swiss linguist Saussure (1857–1913) approached identity from different fields of study, contending that helping individuals to make sense of ‘who’ they are required an understanding of the relationship between individuals and the society to which they belonged. This thinking ushered in a transition from a preoccupation with personal identity, to a recognition and understanding of the significance of social identity. Social Identity Theory thereafter became significant in debates around identity (H. Brown, 1996; Kearney, 2003; Spears, 2011).

Erikson (1968) could be considered as one of the forerunners of socially constructed identities, emphasising as he does the interrelatedness of psychological and social factors in identity development. He contends that an individual has a singular, unitary identity (Erikson, 1950) which is not static (Erikson, 1968) but changing, in response to what he refers to as “identity crises” (Erikson, 1970, p. 730).

Tajfel and Turner (1986), who began their work on social identity during the 1980s, focused on the role of group identity processes and they were largely responsible for formulating a Social Identity Theory. They saw social identity as referring to an individual’s knowledge of belonging to a certain social group. Building on this notion, Newman’s (1997) description of identity as the individual’s definition of the self in terms of social group and category membership, is useful. He maintains that identity consists of the traits displayed by the individual and the traits ascribed to the individual by others. Further to locating the individual in the social world, Newman (1997) contends that an individual’s identity

thoroughly affects everything an individual does, feels, says and thinks and the converse also holds true.

Harro's (2000) theory of the "Cycle of Socialization" describes how socialisation begins when individuals are born into a particular set of social identities and are shaped into particular identities by already existing structures such as history, traditions, beliefs, prejudices and stereotypes, and influenced by powerful social, religious and cultural agents including schools and religious institutions. Hogg and Vaughan (2002) suggest that apart from the self, a person has multiple social identities given and derived from perceived membership of social groups. Individuals are labelled in society, and label themselves, by using social categories such as black African¹⁷ (race), Teacher (occupation), Xhosa (ethnic group), Christian (religion), and Female (gender). Harro (2000) describes how an individual's sense of self is influenced by powerful socializing forces, all of which are predisposing to "the unequal roles [in the dynamic] system of oppression" (Harro, 2000, p. 15). Social Identity Theory rests on the three interconnected pillars of social categorisation, social identification and social comparison (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002).

Social categorisation occurs when individuals are brought together by others into groups and as a result see themselves less as individuals and more as members of groups as they try to understand their social environment (Francis, 2005). Turner (2000) contends that at the level of self-categorisation, individuals end up seeing themselves more as interchangeable representatives of their social group. Spears (2011, p. 212) suggests that a key contribution made by the self-categorisation theory is the inclusion of "intergroup as well as intragroup processes". While formed by the intergroup context, within the intragroup, there is an implied out-group, represented by those with less agency (cf. 2.2.2.1.) than the in-group (Heyting, Kruithof, & Mulder, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2002; Spears, 2011). Social identification builds on social categorisation and is the process whereby individuals themselves internalise the categorisation and actually become part of

¹⁷It should be noted that the researcher does not endorse politically racial classifications, the nomenclature of which is shifting with new complexities of race and ethnic groups emerging. The term 'Black' has been used by some scholars to refer to 'Africans', 'Indians' and 'Coloureds'. In this study, reference is made to 'black Africans', so-called 'Coloureds,' (as typified by politicians and previous South African governments), and Whites and Indians, whom are referred to by those names.

a particular group which, at the same time, becomes part of the individual's conceptualisation of themselves. Meaning is constructed and exchanged by people within a cultural circuit. People of the same culture learn to see and interpret the world in similar ways which can be understood by other group members. Individuals become attached to the culture in question, constructing their identity accordingly (Hall, 1996). Distinct personal and social components are involved, each weighing in differently, depending on the circumstances in which the individual finds herself. Social comparison occurs when individuals compare their groups with others, in decisive 'in-group' and 'out-group' terms (Heyting et al., 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2002; Spears, 2011). Status hierarchies and inequalities are an inevitable result, invariably impacting on an individual's endeavours to maintain a positive social identity (Francis, 2005; Spears, 2011).

Social identity theorists advocate that social life is segmented and that segmentation includes the differentiation between the public and private domains, referred to as "lifestyle sectors" by Giddens (2002, p. 83). Giddens (2002, p. 83) proposes that individuals have "multiple identities" (cf. Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005). Which of these identities is dominant and appropriate for an individual at any one time would vary according to the social context (PJ Burke & Stets, 2009). Each identity informs the individual of who she is and what this identity entails. This could lead to discomfort as individuals move between these different domains in their daily lives. Individuals could experience what Costello (2004) refers to as identity 'consonance' or identity 'dissonance'. Identity 'consonance' relates to those individuals who experience a harmony, or congruence, between the various segments, and/or contexts of their life, providing a sense of stability. Those who experience identity 'dissonance', experience "an identity crisis that may cause them to feel uncertain about their values, ambitions, abilities and their very self-worth" (Costello, 2004, p. 141). Costello (2004) contends that those individuals experiencing 'identity dissonance' have to manage not only their internal anxieties but also the reactions of significant others to the alteration of their identities. Nias (1985, 1989) advocates that an individual has to undergo a process of 'identity negotiation' between her 'substantial' self (or personal, inner self) and 'situational' self (or contextual self, for example, profession self), in order to regain 'identity consonance' (cf. 2.4. where this sense of identity stability is complemented by a sense of dynamic flexibility as alleged by Herman's (1992) Dialogical Self Theory).

2.2.1.2. Gender identity construction in context

Gender identity is “part of the broader conception of the self” (Bussey, 2011, p. 607). It is not simply an expression of biology (Bussey, 2011; Connell, 2002; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Showalter, 1997), but rather socially constructed using language to construct versions of masculinities and femininities. Gender identity is also determined by a pattern in social arrangements and the activities or practices those arrangements govern. Learning to be female or male, and to what extent, in socially acceptable ways happens when men and women contest or conform to various gender positionings every time they engage in social discourse (cf. Bussey, 2011; Chege, 2004; Connell, 2002; Wittig, 2003). De Beauvoir’s (1949) famous dictum, ‘women are not born but made’, underscores this.

Gender intersects with what the British social psychologist Wetherell (1996) refers to as ‘organizing principles’. These can include, amongst others, ethnicity, race and class. This study specifically considers the intersection between religion, culture and gender within a multi-religious and multi-cultural South African context. Roux (2012, p. 38) contends that “cultural and religious practices seem to be supported by the processes of traditionalism and the notion of enculturalism”¹⁸.

Cultural contexts

Culture is an historically created system of beliefs and practices in which human beings understand and regulate their individual and collective lives, providing a sense of continuity with the past (De la Rey, 1992; Parekh, 2006; Taylor, 1989). Jobson (2005, p. 16) asserts that “...culture can be seen as the ways a group of people perceive and make sense of the world as a collective and how they organise to meet their needs as a group”. According to De la Rey (1992, p. 85) culture “also functions to control and limit individual behaviour so that one conforms to the predominant values and norms”. Booth and Dunn (1999, p. 7) contend that it is the exclusivity of cultures that “privileges traditional values at the expense of emancipatory ones”.

¹⁸ Enculturalism refers to the process of an individual assimilating into her own culture.

A multi-culturalist ideology, while celebrating a multiplicity of voices, does not primarily challenge the dominant narrative (Iversen, 2012; Skeie, 2009), for example that of gender, in each of the represented religions and cultures. Iversen (2012) points out that multi-culturalist policies have tended to benefit traditional elites, reifying identities and traditions, putting power in the hands of traditional leaders who act as gatekeepers to the cultural group (cf. Baumann, 1996, 1999), thereby endorsing the status quo. Drawing on the work of Kymlicka (1995), Iversen (2012, p. 22) argues that multi-culturalism should have as its goal, “to grant the individual a right to culture, not give rights to cultures”. Beckett and Macey (2001, p. 311) argue that multi-culturalism, through its creed of respect for cultural differences and its emphasis on non-interference and community consultation (usually with male leaders), has resulted in “women being invisibilised, their needs ignored and their voices silenced” (cf. hooks, 1992) (cf. 1.4.1.).

In an interview with Reddy (2004) referring to her gender identity, the American feminist philosopher, Judith Butler, says that women are interpreted by social means. She deliberated that even in their “most intimate encounters” or “moments of disclosure” women have to “call upon a language that [they] never made to say who [they] are” (Reddy, 2004, p. 116). Butler’s view is that there are norms into which women are born, and therefore gender inequality could be considered a normal phenomenon (cf. Sen, 2009). Subramanian (2005, p. 398) maintains that a range of differences between women and men have been “naturalised” and that differential treatment and inequality have been “legitimised”. Socially entrenched norms of gender identity have been masked as culture and have “become stubbornly defended as traditional and immutable” (Subramanian, 2005, p. 398). Entrenched social norms, practices and rules determine behaviours for women and men. In particular cultural contexts, for example, women are expected to take responsibility for caring for offspring and managing their homes. The assumption is made that women have a natural instinct to voluntarily perform these roles. Subramanian (2005, p. 398) contends that this assumption “invisibilises the importance of the role that women play and the important contribution that men need to make towards sharing these burdens”.

South African cultural contexts¹⁹

Magwaza (2006, p. 76) (cf. also Landman, 2012) illustrates this in black African culture when she indicates that

“[black African] culture is not written down but passed from generation to generation, usually through communal social activities and folklore. The uncoded character of culture makes it susceptible to abuse and misinterpretation”.

According to Mugambe (2006, p. 73), “a culture can be a force of liberation or oppression. Male-dominated ideologies in Africa have tended to justify oppressive gender-relations in culture...” Magwaza (2006) contends that black African men appropriate and interpret African traditions and culture in selective ways so as to entrench their power and authority. Interviews held in a metropolitan context with black African Zulu men indicated that Zulu males are raised in a way which “positions women as being always under, and the men are always above” (Bhana et al., 2009, p. 57). This is still upheld and part of the cultural make-up and understanding of gender in their social communities. Showalter (1997) also points out that in many patriarchal cultures sexuality is used as the foundation upon which social relations between females and males are defined. This process of interpreting gender and biological sex as synonymous and gendering identities accordingly, is driven by the interests of men from their position of power (Chege, 2004) (cf. 1.4.1.).

In black African Zulu cultural discourses, without a husband, a woman has no voice in the community. She is accorded no respect or value as she is considered to be strange and promiscuous. Women are not permitted to own land in their own right and they have no rights over their children. The practices of ‘lobola’, wife inheritance and polygamy illustrate

¹⁹ There are different interpretations of ‘culture’. The researcher does not adopt an essentialist view of culture, nor does she intend to conflate culture with race, religion and language, but rather, the dynamic and variable nature of culture is recognised. It is with this understanding that the concept is used. However, simultaneously, recognition is given to the traditional norms and practices that are evident in different cultural discourses. Specific traditional norms and practices are included here to provide a background to the analysis in chapters 5 and 6. These are: polygamy (cf. 6.3.4.1.), arranged marriage (cf. 6.3.4.2.), virginity testing (cf. 6.3.4.3.), and the use of contraception (cf. 6.3.4.4.).

prevailing patriarchal attitudes. Mugambe's (2006) research shows that cultural traditional norms and practices relate as much to the educated and uneducated, the rich and poor, professional and unskilled. It is not unique, contends Mugambe (2006), to find a professional insisting on polygamy or wife-inheritance for example. He says that "such is the complexity of culture" (Mugambe, 2006, p. 73).

While bridewealth systems vary (cf. Kuper, 1982), 'lobola' (or 'ilobolo', an isiZulu term meaning bride price/wealth) is referred to in this study in a Zulu cultural context where it was originally intended to establish a bond between two families, but has, for many women, been exploited. Women bought with 'lobola' payment feel like commodities owned by their husbands, with little control over their own bodies both sexually and in terms of their labour (Ansell, 2001; Commission on Gender Equality, 2000). When a woman gets married, her reproductive capacity is transferred from the house of her father to that of her husband. There is no notion of marital rape as wives cannot refuse to have sex with their husbands (Jobson, 2005). Females are also not permitted to use any form of contraception. Negative peer norms around condom use, and false beliefs that contraception reduces sexual enjoyment for the man, have been internalised, dissuading men from using condoms, and placing their wives/partners at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (cf. McPhail & Campbell, 2001; Morejele, Brock, & Kachieng'a, 2006). Women do not have the power to negotiate safe sex (cf. Maharaj, 2006; Morejele et al., 2006; Panday et al., 2009; K. Wood & Jewkes, 1997).

Within the strict confines of certain cultural contexts divorce is not permissible. In the event of a woman being widowed, wife-inheritance dictates that her late husband's brother or other male relative should be appointed to marry the widow. Women who succumb to this do so primarily as a result of economic vulnerability. This particular practice assumes that women cannot decide or choose to live without a husband or to get remarried to someone of their choice. Polygamy or polygyny, the custom of taking more than one wife, is practised in many traditional communities in South Africa. The Customary Marriage Act (1998) allows black African males to have more than one female sexual partner. There is ambiguity in response to this particular practice of polygamy. There are black African men and women who are opposed to this practice, while many support it. Those who support it,

do so according to their cultural bias which maintains that a woman's identity is only fully secured through her husband. For this reason some women would rather be in a polygamous relationship than unmarried. Such is the ambiguity in the attitude to polygamy that the 2003 Woman's Protocol in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, while endorsing monogamous marriages, no longer contains a clause prohibiting polygamy (Jobson, 2005).

A widespread cultural practice especially in the rural areas of Africa, endorsed primarily by the women in certain African cultures, is that of virginity testing which is a public ceremony to ascertain female sexual purity and worthiness. A female is believed to be a virgin and, therefore, sexually chaste if her hymen is intact (De Wet, 2012). The women who perform virginity testing claim that it is a traditional practice that curbs the incidence of teenage pregnancy and the spread of HIV/AIDS. According to Scorgie (2006, p. 20), "as a 'traditional' African practice...virginity testing is further seen as a way of encouraging pride in local heritage and identity...and indigenous cultural knowledge...". Scorgie (2006, p. 20) furthermore points out that "[t]he legitimacy of virginity testing has been fiercely contested within South African public discourse". Activists representing human rights such as gender equality and children's rights, argue against the practice, raising concerns about how the practice infringes upon girls' rights to bodily integrity, dignity and privacy (cf. Vincent, 2006). They point out that

"girls' security and freedom [is] compromised by such public displays of virginity, and that the testing procedures [are], in any case, unreliable and lacking in basic awareness of anatomy and hygiene" (Scorgie, 2006, p. 20).

Those who oppose this practice argue that virginity testing reinforces gender stereotypes by emphasising girls' responsibility for preserving sexual morality. This practice is also challenged because it endangers girls who pass the virginity test. There is a belief among many men that sleeping with a virgin is a cure for HIV/AIDS (cf. Connor, 1999; Flanagan, 2001; Scorgie, 2006; Zulu, 2007). Not only cultural, but also religious beliefs position women in society.

South African religious contexts

Religion has been described by Baez (2000, p. 117) as a “discursive field which consists of competing ways of giving meaning to the world and of organizing social institutions and processes”. He points out, however, that “not all discourses carry equal weight or power” (Baez, 2000, p. 330). As a discursive field, religion contains many, often conflicting, types of discourse that seek to define and shape an individual’s worldview.

A diversity of religions is practised in the South African context. According to the 2001 national census²⁰ (Statistics, 2001), Christians accounted for 79.8% of the population. This includes Zion Christian, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Dutch Reformed, Anglican and members of other Christian churches. Muslims accounted for 1.5%, Hindus 1.3%, .3% African Traditional Religion and Judaism .02% of the population. 1% had no religious affiliation, 2.3% were other, and 1.4% was unspecified. African Independent Churches (also known as African Initiated Churches) were the largest of the Christian groups.

Socialisation, as has been noted previously (cf. 2.2.2.), is the process by means of which the structures and relationships of the hegemonic culture and religion are learned and, more than this, eventually internalised. What is also internalised is the implicit or explicit way in which the majority or minority relate to each other as well as different contexts in which the individual may be a member of a majority or minority group. This means that targeted groups may come to accept their subordinate positions and may even collude with the agents of their oppression in various ways, while the latter come “...to think and act in ways that express internalised notions of entitlement and privilege” (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997, p. 21).

²⁰ The latest National Census in South Africa which took place in 2011 did not ask questions about religious affiliation. The only religious affiliation national statistics that are available are taken from the Census in 2001.

Intersectionality of cultural and religious contexts

An individual's religious identity and cultural identities could be intertwined or different. For example, a teacher could be isiZulu-speaking, adhering to the Zulu culture but simultaneously be a Christian believer. This teacher would then be contending with the different discourses of her religion and culture. Conversely, the teacher could be isiZulu-speaking, adhering to Zulu culture and African Traditional Religion. Alternatively, the teacher could be a black African adhering to Western values and a non-believer. The religious identity would be imposed by a particular religious organisation and the cultural identity by the culture with its particular traditions, values and practices.

Tierney (1993b) adds to this understanding by noting the powerful role of, in the case of this study, religious and cultural ideology in shaping and marginalising gender identity. He (Tierney, 1993b, p. 129) observes that "...the force of society is not towards freedom and liberation", being rather to silence those who do not conform to the norms of society and who have not internalised what is required of them by the socialisation process.

In response to religious/cultural ideologies and diversity and in the case of this study, the position of women in religious and cultural discourses, Parekh (2006) maintains that there are three possible responses, namely 'communal diversity'; 'perspectival diversity'; and 'subcultural diversity'. He defines 'communal diversity' as that which is sustained by long-established communities wishing to preserve and transmit their existing patterns, thereby upholding patriarchy as the dominant social system. 'Perspectival diversity' refers to a perspective different to that of the dominant religion/culture and this perspective is either altogether rejected or accepted in theory but rejected in practice. This would translate into gender equality being accepted in theory but in reality only gender parity being practised, with women having no real power. The response most promising in terms of liberation, and self-identity construction, is what Parekh (2006) calls 'subcultural diversity'. This refers to that which is embedded in an existing religion/culture but which diversifies from it. Women who belong to an existing religion and culture but who dis-identify (Pecheux, 1982) (cf. 2.2.2.) with patriarchy would respond in this way.

African contexts and Human Rights

Cultural and religious practices can be in conflict with basic human rights (Almqvist, 2005; Christie, 2010; Ter Haar, 2007). While the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) supports the rights of individuals to freedom of religion, belief and opinion, it articulates these rights with the proviso that they cannot violate other rights as defined in the Constitution. Similarly, cultural practices are deemed to be invalid should they be inconsistent with human rights (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000; Magwaza, 2006) as defined by the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996b). Ironically, religious and traditional leaders insist on the Constitutional right to express their beliefs, yet justify gender discrimination based on those same beliefs. Often this justification serves to preserve patriarchy, which can be defined as “a type of gender structure in which men dominate women” (Renzetti et al., 2012, p. 3), and the discrimination against women (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000). The Commission (2000) reminds South Africans specifically that the country’s liberation struggle was not only for a non-racist society, but also for a non-sexist society with the eradication of all forms of human rights discrimination. The Commission (2000), further contends that no gender discrimination can be allowed, whether ‘divinely’ inspired or not, and while acknowledging that many people argue that addressing gender inequalities would be interfering with culture, nevertheless calls “for changing gender relations...claim[ing] that no culture is unchanging” (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000, p. 83). Connell (2002, p. 10) endorses the notion that cultures can change saying that while

“gender patterns may differ strikingly from one cultural context to another, [they are]...still ‘gender’. Gender arrangements are reproduced socially (not biologically) by the power of structures to constrain individual action, so they often appear unchanging. Yet gender arrangements are in fact always changing, as human practice creates new situations and as structures develop crisis tendencies”.

The German sociologist and philosopher, Habermas (1979) believes in the presence of universal, basic human rights which he suggests can be agreed upon by all through

rational discourse. He criticises modern communication describing it as ‘distorted’, saying that it consists of a consensus arrived at through coercion, manipulation and domination by the power elite (cf. Held, 1980). He contends that the specific interests and goals of the power elite must be set aside in pursuit of the common good in order for marginalised and oppressed people (in the case of this study women who experience gender inequality) to establish the necessary power base to confront the governing elite (in the case of this study men who continue to treat women as less than).

Habermas’ (1984) theory of Communicative Action refers to those actions which lean towards mutual agreement. It is action based on what is right and good, ethical and moral (cf. Baumeister, 2003; Outhwaite, 2003; Welton, 2001). Habermas (1984) contends that moral arguments alone are sufficient to show that human rights are equally good for everyone (cf. Flynn, 2003). He (Habermas, 1984) describes the public sphere as allowing and promoting discussion and debate by ‘all’ members for the purpose of identifying common social interests to serve the public good, giving rise to the authority and rule of reason. While this may be the ideal, the reality is that there are on-going interest and power interplays. As discussed previously in this section, access and participation in the public sphere are not universal but rather based in the value system of the dominant culture and the power elite (Butler, 1997). Habermas’ (1984) essentialist approach underestimates the challenge of incorporating cultural diversity into one public sphere which presupposes contexts of equal representation and participation. This approach can also deny equal participation to members of society whose conceptualisations of right, good, ethical and moral are inconsistent with those of the majority (Baumeister, 2003). In effect, what has transpired, is that multiple public spheres have emerged in which marginalised groups provide the space and opportunity for participation for those excluded from the discourse of the dominant culture (Kellner, 1997). Women constitute one of these marginalised groups.

Nussbaum (2010, p. 44) contends that “people behave badly when the human beings over whom they have power are dehumanized and deindividualized”. This happens, when power relations are linked to positionality and one of the consequences is gender disempowerment (Satterthwaite, Watts, & Piper, 2008). Nussbaum’s (1999) “Capabilities Approach”, based on Sen’s (1999) concept of substantial freedoms, has promoted the

analysis of women's human rights. Nussbaum (1999, pp. 41-42) lists ten capabilities: "Life; Bodily Health, Bodily Integrity, Senses, Imagination and Thought; Emotions; Practical Reason; Affiliation; Other Species; Play; and Control over One's Environment". The Human Development and Capability Association (founded by Nussbaum in 2003) continues to further the theoretical development of this approach as well as to consider the practical implementation thereof. Nussbaum (2000, 2002) maintains that traditional cultures and religions are sexist and she questions the extent to which sexist practices and the voices of powerful men are endorsed by citing a religious basis. In the interests of a life with human dignity for women, promoting a multi-dimensional notion of well-being, she proffers her "Capabilities Approach" to trump any cultural and religious mores. Justice, for Nussbaum (2011), is the attainment of a minimum threshold of ten "capabilities or substantial freedoms", based on personal and social acceptance.

A critique of the role played by social identity in personal identity construction follows.

2.2.1.3. Critique of Social Identity Theory

Social Identity theory has been critiqued to the extent that it overstates the social nature of identity and underplays the individual's role in constructing an own identity (H. Brown, 1996; Francis, 2005; Kearney, 2003). Alcott and Mendieta (2003, p. 5) suggest that the theory is inclined to want to reduce individuals to social objects which can gain "...their intelligibility and force only within the social realm". Francis (2005) develops this, agreeing with Bhaskar's (1979) assertion that while society provides the necessary conditions for intentional action by individuals, such action is also a necessary condition for society. Francis (2005) also notes Campbell's (1992) contention that Social Identity Theory takes insufficient account of the dialectical nature of the interaction between individual and society. In this study it is argued that while individuals might be obliged to submit to social structures and demands in various ways and to various degrees, they are also able to resist these and build this into an understanding of who they are.

Campbell (1992) maintains that Social Identity Theory reduces society to the notion of 'the group' without taking into account social hierarchies and unequal power relations based on

social divisions which include ethnicity, gender, class and religion. This is endorsed by Francis (2005, p. 17) who contends that “social contexts can either enable or hinder the degree of agency that individuals have to construct identities”. Campbell (1992) further contends that Social Identity Theory is wrong to reduce society to a decontextualized group. She posits this as reductionist in that there is no recognition of the real nature of society. Campbell (1992) argues that society is constituted around unequal power relationships in which groups compete to exercise control over the institutions of society and remove any challenges to a status quo which keeps them in power. This can only be recognised if the individual-society interaction is studied within its historical and socio-political context. Thinking about power forms part of a particular way in which individuals view others. This thinking develops and shapes individuals in historically embedded contexts that have important implications for future identity, especially with regard to their concept of freedom and responsibility.

Campbell (1992), Bhaskar (1979) and Leonard (1984) contend that Social Identity Theory takes insufficient account of social change and the dynamic nature of identity formation. They argue that there can never be a perfect fit between the individual and society and that it is simplistic to assume that individuals will go on responding to society’s structures and demands in such a way as to reproduce the same social order. Having acknowledged the limitations of Social Identity Theory, a postmodern approach to identity is offered.

2.2.2. Postmodern approach to identity

Postmodernist thinking about identity began to emerge from the 1970s in a global environment of rapid and considerable social, cultural, political and technological change. In the sphere of identity politics certainties could no longer be relied on as individuals sought to understand who they were. A particular area of change came with the emergence of an array of new global forces which rendered the nation-state, a powerful modernist identity anchor, weaker and undefined. Traditional notions of community were also undermined, this serving to unsettle individuals at the local level as well. In addition, attempts were rejected that sought to control individuals in any way and to subject them to the master narratives of those who happened to wield power in society (Alcoff & Mendieta,

2003; Bauman, 1996; Kearney, 2003). Social Identity Theory was considered to be restrictive and oppressive because it positioned individuals in relation to social groups and saw their identity formation as being group dependent to varying degrees. Postmodernism contributed to the liberation of individuals from the “grand stories of societal institutions” (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 95). In line with postmodern thinking, Pecheux (1982) contends that while individuals can identify with gender discrimination, they can also counter identify, and dis-identify with gender discrimination by rejecting the culturally dominant meanings ascribed to gender and looking for new or alternate meanings for experience.

Jenkins (1996), considered to be a post-symbolic interactionist²¹, advocates that individuals choose the identity they wish to embrace. This choice of identity takes place as individuals move actively between private and public, personal and cultural, past and present as well as possible shifts within each of these over time. Ramson (2006, p. 61) supports this, stating that the individual

“...is seen to determine the nature of [her] own identity through exerting conscious choices, not bound by fixed and culturally determined positions, but increasing autonomy and control”.

Wetherell (1996) refers to this on-going project of identity formation as the ‘narrative’ (cf. 2.2.2.3.), suggesting that it is the choice of the individual whether or not to move into a particular social identity or to consciously engage in the process of identity construction. She refers to incongruence and contradictions between an individual’s biography, the identity she has been exposed to, and what she has become (Wetherell, 1996).

Individuals need to learn how to become members of the society in which they live and they do so via a process of socialisation (Giddens, 1993). According to Foucault (1990), this process takes place as individuals assume different identities and functions within a variety of discourses and relations of power. He interprets power as diffuse and invisible,

²¹ The symbolic interactionists, like Harter (1997), Adams (2003), Burke and Stets (2009) emphasized that the attitudes of significant others exercise a substantial impact on the formation of identity.

regulating behaviour silently and pervasively, disciplining individuals as they approach the everyday practices of their lives (Foucault, 1980). There is always a strong societal pressure to conform and it is generally the case that the force of society "...is not toward freedom and liberation" (Tierney, 1993a, p. 129). Foucault (1980) contends that individuals are created by systems and networks of power in society and in this sense are 'made' to varying degrees by the dominant relationships and structures of society. However, they also have the capacity to 'make' themselves according to the extent to which they respond to what society would make of them by resisting the forces of society and chartering new directions for themselves. Identity needs to be considered in terms of a balance between structural factors and agency or subjectivity (Alcoff & Mendieta, 2003; Connell, 1987; Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1996; Hardiman, 1982; Mendieta, 2003; Wetherell, 1996; White, 2012).

2.2.2.1. Agents and targets

Biesta (1998) contends that an individual is rooted in a past which was not written by herself. He argues that some individuals are born into 'agent' groups and have more social power, while others are born into 'target' groups that are victimised by various types of prejudice such as those based on gender (Biesta, 1998). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) describe 'targets' and 'agents' as those who are oppressed and those who are oppressors respectively. 'Targets' are individuals who belong to social identity groups that are "...disenfranchised, exploited, and victimised by the oppressor and the oppressor's system of institutions" (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997, p. 20). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) contend that 'targets' are kept in their place by the 'agent's' ideology which supports oppression by denying its existence, and blames the condition of the oppressed on themselves and their failings. 'Agents' belong to dominant social groups who exploit, knowingly or unknowingly, members of 'target' groups. They are confined to the roles and behaviour expectations of their group and benefit from the oppression of 'targets' (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997).

It needs to be borne in mind that since identities are multi-faceted, many individuals are likely to possess both 'agent' and 'target' identities, this adding a further layer of complexity to an understanding of the nature of identity. I argue that while women are 'targets' of male

hegemony in particular contexts, women could simultaneously be ‘agents’ in other contexts, such as taking the lead in their children’s education, or raising their children in such a way so as to promote gender equality. Another example of this would be women who are ‘targets’ of gender discrimination on the one hand but who are simultaneously ‘agents’ of their own gender discrimination by not challenging male hegemony, and thereby perpetuating it (cf. Khau, 2012).

Identity, in this sense, emerges at the meeting point between practices and discourses which position individuals as social subjects, and processes which produce subjectivities. A measure of articulation is involved as individuals are both ‘made’, to varying degrees, and have the power and ability to respond, in various ways, to the organising principles in society (Wetherell, 1996), also referred to as ‘intersectionality’ (Crenshaw, 1991, 2003; Shields, 2008) (cf. 2.2.2.1.), which include, amongst others, gender, religion and culture. A patriarchal social pattern may, for example, decide that a woman’s gender identity is that of a subservient female. However, it does not decide it once and for all (Butler, 1999). Butler (1999) contends that individuals are neither restrained nor free but rather, experience a tension between both. In an interview with Reddy (2004, p. 119), she begs the question:

“What is the dilemma of what it is to be constructed? To live that construction? To be part of an on-going process of constructing? What is done to me, and what is it I do with what is done to me?”

Identity construction and power

Arendt (1969) contends that power, based on the ability to persuade, coerce or dominate others, will fail. She considers power to be a relationship between those belonging to a particular group, saying that power is not something stable, implying that power can be undermined. Arendt (1969) identifies authority as the source of power. This authority is dependent for its strength and persuasive power on respect and legitimacy granted by others. Applying this theory in response to Butler’s question “what is it I do with what is done to me?” (Reddy, 2004, p. 119), women can either empower dominant men by

maintaining a position of female subjugation, or, they can undermine and fragment patriarchy by challenging it.

Crenshaw (2003), supports the British cultural theorist, Hall (1996), when she argues that the naming process is never unilateral, in that those who are subordinated can subvert the naming process in empowering ways. By declaring that they are Muslim or Women or Traditionalist, for example, individuals can effectively provide an anchor of subjectivity for themselves (Crenshaw, 2003). They can make a statement of resistance and at the same time, engage in a positive discourse of defining themselves. Bell, Washington, Weinstein and Love (1997), together with Hardiman and Jackson (1997), contends that it may also be the case that the ‘targets’ of oppression may act to reinforce the relations of domination by consenting to them (cf. Khau, 2012). This might occur when the dominant group is so effective in entrenching itself that its worldview comes to be acknowledged by all as accepted practice. In such cases ‘target’ members internalise the roles and attitudes that maintain oppression to such a degree that they become brokers of their own oppression (Bell et al., 1997; Khau, 2012). It may take appropriate consciousness raising experiences for those who are oppressed to gain awareness of the power they actually have (Adams, 1997).

Postmodernist theorists like Bendle (2002, p. 5) reject any idea of a core identity, contending that identity is “fragmented, multiple and transcient” and a product of discourse in given historical and political contexts. In this study, it is therefore argued that the individuality of individuals needs to be celebrated and that a diversity of individual voices should have the opportunity to be heard in society. This is precipitated through the rise of movements in society intent upon the achievement of social justice (not least movements that promote gender equality).

Identity construction and the need for the other

Power, dominance, inclusion and exclusion are integral to Hall’s (1996) conceptualisation of identity. He contends that identities are not constructed outside of difference but rather

‘through’ or amidst difference. This necessitates the existence of the ‘Other’²² (Hall, 1997). Drawing on scholars such as Derrida (1981), Laclau (1990) and Butler (1993), Hall’s (1996) assertion is that an identity can only be constructed “...through the relation to the ‘Other’, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been termed its ‘constitutive outside’...” (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Hall (1996) explains that since identity, in this sense, functions as a point of attachment because of its capacity to exclude that which is different, a polarity, such as, for example, that between black and white, or woman and man, emerges. The consequence could be that identity could be reduced to crude either/or terms and become almost essentialised as a result. The self could become dismissive of or indifferent to the needs of the ‘Other’ (Hall, 1996), for example, men in a patriarchal society being indifferent to the needs of women, as the ‘Other’.

The French feminist theorist, Simone De Beauvoir (1949) points to a male dominated and defined society in which women are defined as the ‘other’ sex, or aberration of maleness, which is considered to be the Absolute. She refers to the ‘other’ as the minority or least favoured or valuable one when compared to a man who “represents both the positive and the neutral, as indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative” (McCann & Kim, 2010, p. 33). She speaks of deconstructing the word woman and reconstructing it so that women do not have to be rationalized by male dominance. When women accept that they are ‘others’, they are reinforcing subjectivity and subjugation. De Beauvoir (1949) (in McCann & Kim, 2010, p. 766) looks forward to a future in which men and women are equals “recognizing each other as subject, [in which] each will remain an ‘other’ for the ‘other’...”

The French, Jewish philosopher, Levinas, in his works “Totality and Infinity” (1961) (translated by Lingis, 1979) and “Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence” (1974), (translated by Lingis, 1998) advocates that the Other eludes construction and categorisation. This capitalised Other refers to the ‘Altogether Other’, or ‘Transcendental’. Uncapitalised, other is a translation of the French word ‘autrui’ which means the other person or other than oneself. Levinas (1961) contends that the identity of the self is created

²² Hall (1996, 1997) refers to the ‘Other’ (with a capital first letter), and De Beauvoir (1949) to ‘other’ (with a lower case first letter) both using single inverted commas. Levinas uses other (without capitalization or single inverted commas). In this research the uncapitalised other without inverted commas is used.

‘in’ difference (cf. Levinas, 1969; Todd, 2001), and that the other is important in any understanding of the self. There is no private ownership of the self and it is the responsibility of the self to the other that shapes the identity of the self (Matušík, 1991). Levinas (1961) uses the notion of ‘totalization’ to describe the limitations placed on the other when the self employs a set of rational categories, for example, race and gender, and in a sense stereotypes the other before the other has even spoken. When the self interprets the other, the otherness of the other is denied. This is very much the case when patriarchal men stereotype women as the other. Levinas (1974) introduces the notion of ‘proximity’ to describe the move of the self to that of responsibility for the other. Ter Avest (2011a, p. 228) expresses this ‘proximity’ as the I being receptive to the needs of the “other, transforming the I into a creature offering a response to the other, and who through the response becomes responsible for the other”. However, in this study, and with particular reference to the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 2.2.1.2.), if the self (man), is not receptive to the needs of the other (woman), offering only male dominance as a response, then it could possibly be contended that Levinas’ theory of ‘proximity’ does not achieve its mark.

Women construct their identities in relation to their other (men) and are also constructed as the other. Either way they are ‘targets’ and not ‘agents’. As individuals engage with their on-going identity projects, it is possible that they might deal with the boundaries between them and their others in various ways. Individuals might elect to maintain the boundaries between them and their others in different ways, and they might do so in some areas of their lives and not in other areas, because identity is multifaceted in nature, a point which is well made by Hall (1996). Individuals may also choose to cross boundaries and enter an “empty space” of encounter (Du Preez, 2012a, p. 60) (cf. Ter Avest, 2006) where neither the identity of the individual nor that of their other, is fixed. Individuals may successfully cross some frontiers of difference, for example, as they link with their others in the pursuit of new common interests. This has the potential of breaking down difference in other key areas and possibly even enabling altogether new identities to emerge in time

While such a realignment of identity may be only temporary, it has the potential to undermine the boundaries of otherness that individuals experience in their personal

domains and thus facilitate the emergence of a less bounded gender identity. History abounds with cases where people have formed alliances with their others in the pursuit of interests which serve another identity, as when women of all races have found common ground in the pursuit of specific women's rights, for example, or when workers, as workers, have united to form a bond with other workers who are resisting exploitation. Difference and otherness should be cast as being sufficiently permeable to be capable of accommodating frontier hybridity (cf. Hall, 1997).

Identity construction in context

To develop and refine this further it is useful to draw on Nuttall's (2009) contention that the absoluteness of difference (such as that between man and woman) as a theoretical construct needs to be reconsidered. She believes that social markers are not immutable in time and space and that to confine one's thinking to the lens of difference is to limit the pursuit of social justice. Nuttall (2009) argues that boundaries between people are actually quite flexible and porous and sees individuals as being 'mutually entangled' as distinct from occupying opposite poles all the time. This, she adds, could well affect the distribution of power amongst them.

Wetherell (1996) concurs with Hall (1996) that power relations play a definite role in identity formation. Using gender as an example, this would mean that while an individual is born female, she should have the power to design her own femininity in responding to the organising principle called gender. Butler (1990, p. 33) advocates that 'woman' itself is a term in process, "a becoming...an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification" (cf. De Beauvoir, 1949).

Wetherell (1996) draws the distinction between the collective identity or social message, and individual identity, stressing that it is about 'how' people respond to the organising principles of society and that the individual can choose how to respond and make choices and decisions that mould her identities. Individuals, and particularly in the case of this study, female teachers, would need to deconstruct 'collective identity' (in this case a particular view of gender as conferred by religion and culture) and aspects of their

‘individual identity’ (their own gender identity) to establish the (gender) identity they would choose for themselves.

Sideris’ research (2004) indicated that teachers emerging from rural settings live in social contexts where ideas and social values affirm gender inequalities. Rigid notions of masculinity are defended by invoking the patriarchal content of Zulu culture (Bhana et al., 2009; Bhana et al., 2007; Morrell, 2003; Morrell, Epstein, Unterhalter, Bhana, & Moletsane, 2009). Female teachers who are active members of the Zulu culture would have to deconstruct and reshuffle the collective identity of patriarchy (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.), in order to establish their own gender identity as professional females who promote gender equality in their classroom practice (cf. Department of Education, 2001).

2.2.2.2. Identity as a subjective formation

Self-identity, rather than being viewed as a fixed set of characteristics or traits, is better understood as multiple and continually under construction (Elliot, 2006). It can be considered to be a subjective formation, the focus of which is “...the endlessly performing self” (Hall, 1996, p. 1). The construction of identity is not made in a single moment in time, but is dynamic and forever in the process of formation as individuals try to build what has gone before in their lives into making the present and the future more meaningful and understandable (Butler, 1990, 1993; Giddens, 2002; Wetherell, 1996).

It is to concede that although individuals have inherited “sets of paradoxes and ambivalences”, their identity is not “fixed or predetermined” (Kearney, 2003, pp. 2, 4) but rather an on-going project. Identities “are unfinished and in process” (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 2001, p. vii). It is to appreciate that “...far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, identities are subject to the continuous play of history” (Hall, 1996, p. 225). White (2012, p. 19) concurs maintaining that “a person’s identity is unfinished and fluid, always in a state of becoming rather than something that can be permanently constructed and singly situated”. It is to acknowledge, this being the case, that one can never really come to know everything about individuals (Wetherell, 1996). It is to recognize that identities are fragmented and that there are shifting understandings and

constructions of personality (Mendieta, 2003). It is to acknowledge that as identities are constructed a certain degree of conflict and contradiction is inevitable as individuals weave their way through a range of societal practices and themes which do not always tie neatly together (Connell, 1987; Vignoles et al., 2011; Wetherell, 1996).

Confirming this point, Wetherell (1996) notes that identity is often too readily and simplistically presumed to be homogenous. Individuals are marked off in clear-cut 'either/or' terms, for example, black or white, man or woman, homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual, working class or middle class. She asserts that "...identity is not necessarily evenly distributed in this way" (Wetherell, 1996, p. 307), it being more of a mix of roles, with some combinations sometimes proving particularly difficult to accommodate.

2.2.2.3. Critique of a postmodern approach to identity formation

Kearney (2003), a British educationalist and sociologist, offers a critique of postmodernist thinking about subjective identity formation. He says that while diversity and individuality can be celebrated on the one hand, there is little evidence of an interrogation of the degree to which new master narratives have emerged sustained as they are, by big business, fashion, pop culture and, not least, the media. Kearney (2003) contends that such new master narratives combine to create "branded" lifestyles and "off the peg" identities (Kearney, 2003, p. 47) as they unleash powerful consumerist forces and require new forms of homogenisation. He cautions that the realities of social injustice are also often left unaddressed. The 'branded' clothing that goes with the 'off the peg' identities to which he refers are promoted by the fashion industry in the west at the expense of the exploitation of workers in places such as Indonesia and Mexico (Kearney, 2003). Kearney (2003, p. 51) contends that postmodern thinking has "...an ethical vacuum at the heart of it which depoliticises and weakens it as an approach". In this vacuum it is entirely possible for certain of the voices which exist to emerge as stronger than others and to grow into new master narratives and these may impact the development of individual identities in various ways.

In line with a postmodern approach to the social sciences, Stones (1996) argues for flux and openness. However, the real challenge of a more decentred, multiple and fluid sense of self, lies in the individual's ability "to make sense of past and present lived experiences in ways that support more coherent actions in the future...it requires more rigour to negotiate meaning internally and with others" (Goodson & Gill, 2011, p. xii).

In developing the theoretical framework for this study, the researcher highlights patriarchy as a social construction. By adopting postmodern thinking she advocates that the gender identity of women is not fixed by socially constructed categories, but rather that it is fluid and that women can construct their own gender identity. She is aware that this is not necessarily a simple process. In the next section, in line with postmodern thinking, the role of the self-narrative in identity formation and in the fragmenting of socially constructed dominant master narratives is considered.

2.3. THE SELF-NARRATIVE

The self-narrative plays a central role in identity formation (McAdams, 2011; Riessman, 2008). The self-narrative also plays a role in fragmenting master narratives, and in the case of this study, the master narrative of patriarchy (Lincoln, 1993; Spry, 2001) (cf. 2.2.1.2.). As individuals tell their stories they create an alternative to a master narrative, by constructing their own meaning through what they write (Brink, 1998; Tsang, 2000).

Self-narrative, also referred to as 'personal narrative' (Riessman, 2008), is learned and developed within particular cultural settings and is dependent on memory which is an important organiser of consciousness. When individuals remember, they project a value and meaning onto the events and experiences of their lives and become active in their identity formation "...through the narration of the self" (Kearney, 2003, p. 53). As individuals author themselves in self-narration they are engaged in a "dialogic experience that encompasses the multitude of discourses that shape life experiences" (White, 2012, p. 30). Referring to this act of becoming, Mishler (1999, p. 19) contends that "[n]arratives are identity performances" in which individuals explain who they are and who they imagine themselves to be. According to Paul, Christensen and Frank (2000, p. 17), as individuals

tell their story, they reclaim themselves, in that through their story they are able to identify and understand “the seeds and structures of [themselves], the foundations and walls of [their] beings, why [they] are the way [they] are”.

Various scholars (Gonçalves & Ribeiro, 2012; Hall, 1996; Kearney, 2003; Nothling, 2001; Nuttall, 2009; Wetherell, 1996; White, 2012) make the link between narrative and agency, arguing that self-narration can help individuals to make sense of their lives, past and present. As they use what they know in the present to make sense of the past they employ agency to reconstruct themselves (Ellis, 2004; Paul et al., 2000). Their story exposes new senses of consciousness and a greater sense of control over their lives in the present and in the future (Paul et al., 2000), thereby also enabling them to resist the possible manipulation and exploitation by the powerful. While self-narratives may not change the master narrative they can undermine it by fragmenting it and re-interpreting it. Langelier (2001, p. 700) puts it this way:

“Embedded in the lives of the ordinary, the marginalised, the muted, personal narrative responds to the disintegration of master narratives as people make sense of experience, claim identities, and ‘get a life’ by telling and writing their stories”.

Working from a feminist perspective, Nuttall (2009) maintains that ‘self-narrative’ has a role to play in enabling individuals to discover the degree to which they are entangled with each other and, furthermore, the extent to which it might be possible to become disentangled from each other and thus be freed to build new identities. She further describes this disentanglement as a process by which “the self becomes displaced even from itself and finds other linkages and possibilities of being” (Nuttall, 2009, p. 81). In this sense the self-narrative can be emancipatory and empowering.

Identities, according to Hall (1996), are furthermore, invariably fragmented and fractured. They are constructed across different discourses, positions and practices which are often antagonistic and intersecting. They are “...subject to radical historicisation and are constantly in the process of change and transformation” (Hall, 1996, p. 3). They are

constructed within discourses and are about using the resources of history and language and culture to fix meaning, relating “...to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself and arising...from the narrativization of the self” (Hall, 1996, p. 4). While identities are always linked to a historical past of some sort, Hall’s (1996) focus is strongly on what individuals might become and how they might represent themselves in their self-narrative. They “...belong as much to the future as they do to the past” (Hall, 1991, p. 225).

In this study, it is therefore argued that sharing self-narratives can be empowering. Lawler (2008) contends that identity narratives, while speaking of the individual, also incorporate the life stories of others, and that by considering identity in terms of narrative, “it is possible to see past and present linked in a spiral of interpretation and reinterpretation” (Lawler, 2008, p. 19). The exploration which narrative allows could potentially create the opportunity for the selected female teachers in this study to consider issues of gender within their religion and culture. Their self-narrative has the potential of empowering them to redress male hegemony (cf. 2.5.).

A narrative of what has transpired in an individual’s past could help to identify possible tensions, distrust or suspicion with regard to the present reality on the part of female teachers who might be recipients of, or have been recipients of, gender discrimination. The narrative can facilitate a conversation between the female teachers’ social identities and the Life Orientation curriculum (cf. 1.4.1.1., 1.4.2.). It can explore what it means to belong to a particular gender, race, religion, and culture or ethnic group (and the intersection and interaction between these ‘organizing principles’) and how this brings to bear on an understanding of gender equality. MacIntyre and Dunne (2002) suggest that narrative has a practical aspect to it. As female teachers shape a discourse about gender equality, informed practice would entail a shift from a focus on the self to a focus on the outcome for the self, and the common good. According to Kearney (2003, p. 55), for example, female teachers can make sense of their past and present by “constantly updating their narratives to produce coherent narratives of self”. By engaging with the way in which they have

constructed their gender identity, there is the possibility that female teachers could avoid approaching gender equality hegemonically, complicitly, marginally or subordinatedly²³.

In keeping with postmodern identity theory which claims that the self is fluid and unfinished and in a state of becoming (cf. 2.2.2.2.), self-narration plays a role in empowering individuals as they engage with the unfolding, life-long project of their personal identity. Gonçalves and Ribeiro (2012, p. 301) contend that “self-development is regulated by processes of construction and reconstruction of meanings which occur in the context of narrating oneself to others”, to an external audience, in an external space. Hermans (2003) maintains that “each narrative account, [while having] external audiences...[also has] internal audiences”. In order to further sharpen the focus on identity and the particular lens through which identity is viewed in this study, the Dialogical Self Theory which focuses on these internal audiences, in the internal space of the mind, is presented.

2.4. THE DIALOGICAL SELF

The Dialogical Self Theory (DST) (Hermans, 2002, 2003; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2004, 2007; Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992) offers a psychological approach to understanding self-identity, integrating a plethora of multidisciplinary understandings of the self into a single, comprehensive theory, the most recent version being that articulated by Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010). The dialogical self is not to be confused with self-talk (Morin, 2005) which is mono-voiced and entirely private. By contrast the dialogical self is multi-voiced, private but also collective, with the other an intrinsic part of the self.

In his Dialogical Self Theory (DST), Hermans (2002) draws on the work of James (1890) and his distinction between the *I* which is equated with the self-as-knower and the *me*, equated with the self-as-known. The self-as-knower is expressed in a sense of personal

²³ Wetherell(1996) uses the organizing principle of gender, and more specifically, a social message of hegemonic or dominant masculinity which sets the standard for society, to explain these categories which originated with Connell (1995). Marginal masculinities are masculinities departing from the hegemonic standard. Complicit masculinities are those which reject the hegemonic ideal but which do not openly challenge it. Subordinated masculinities refer to those that are overwhelmed by that which is hegemonic. These categories can be applied to various organising principles.

identity and a sense of sameness and continuity through time. The self-as-knower is also an active processor of experience. *Me*, the self-as-known, is made up of all that the individual can call her own, or *mine*. This paved the way for theory in which other people and groups defined as *mine* become part of a dynamic, multi-voiced self. Bakhtin's (1973) "polyphonic novel" (McAdams, 1997, p. 50) is a narrative translation of James' (1890) *I* and *me*, where *I* is the author and *me*, the actor. While James (1890) was interested in the social aspects of the individual self, namely, the multiplicity of the self, Bakhtin (1973) focused on the notion of multivoicedness.

This metaphor of the 'polyphonic novel' opened the possibility of populating the internal space of the individual's mind with a multiplicity of voices which agree with, and oppose one another in dialogical ways. The many individuals that make up society at large resonate with voices in the individual's mind. While individuals live in an external space, namely their society and culture, they also live in the internal space of their minds, thinking about and valuing several people, either when they are with the individual, or when the individual is alone. Bhaktin (1981) introduces the notion of 'surplus vision' contending that in the internal space of her mind, the self needs to see the other from the place of the other, as well as seeing the other as the other, and seeing the self as the self. Hermans (1992) refers to this as the 'society-of-mind', contending that there are many voices in an individual's 'society-of-mind' and at the same time the individual is part of the larger society. The self is considered as "emerging from social, historical and societal processes that transcend any individual-society dichotomy or separation" (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 1).

DST describes the mind's ability to imagine the different positions of participants in an internal dialogue, in close connection with an external dialogue, providing a possible understanding of the interconnection of self/selves and society. What happens in the larger society can also happen in the self. What happens between people externally can also happen internally within the individual. In the same way that people externally can conflict, criticise, agree and consult, for example, so also, in the 'society-of-mind' there can be self-conflict, self-criticism, self-agreement, and self-consultancy. This composite concept of the dialogical self goes beyond the 'self/other' (cf. Hall, 1996; Levinas, 1969) (cf. 2.2.2.1.)

dichotomy discussed previously, by introducing the external to the internal and vice versa. The other is not simply the actual other outside the self but rather an intrinsic part of it, the imagined other who is entrenched as the 'other-in-the-self' (Hermans, 2002; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

Hermans (1992) conceptualises the self as a dynamic multiplicity of *I*-positions, where the *I* has the possibility of moving from one spatial position to another in accordance with changes in situation and time. The *I* can move between different positions and give each position a voice so that dialogue can be established between these varied and multiple positions. There are essentially two *I*-positions, namely internal and external, because they are part of a self that is intrinsically extended and responds to domains perceived as *mine*. The internal positions are experienced as part of the self and refer to spatial movement within the individual, for example *I* as a woman, *I* as an ethnic, middle aged worker, *I* as a mother, *I* as a wife, *I* as a target, *I* as an agent of change. These internal positions receive their relevance from their relation with external positions. Different emotional internal *I*-positions need also to be acknowledged, for example *I* as a pessimist and *I* as an optimist, *I* as feeling angry or sad or frustrated. These different internal *I*-positions react to each other (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) and when emotion and reason are in dialogue with one another the outcome of this dialogue could be an evaluation of a particular position.

External positions can have both individual voices (the 'other-in-the-self'), and the 'collective' voices of the 'outside' position (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Individual voices would include that of *my* colleagues, *my* husband, *my* children, *my* parents, that which is *mine*, referring to the "extended domain of the self" (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007, p. 37) and gaining relevance from the perspective of one, or more, internal positions. A feature of 'collective' voices in the dialogical self, belonging to groups and institutions in the 'outside' world, including religions and cultures, is that they organise and constrain the worldviews and convictions that emerge from dialogical relationships. Sampson's (1993) contention is that societal relationships are governed by social dichotomies such as that of male and female. These opposites are loaded with power differences with the voices of some groups having more opportunity to be heard than others, as in the case of male hegemony which colours, organises and determines the meaning of female. The 'collective'

voices of male dominance may constrain and even suppress the meaning system of a female who would need to respond in her 'society-of-mind' (internal space) as well as in society at large (external space). Hermans (2001, p. 263) says that social roles

“are governed and organised by societal definitions, expectations and prescriptions, whereas personal positions receive their form from the particular ways in which individual people organise their own lives”,

and respond to roles, sometimes in protest to societal expectation. An example to illustrate this point could be that of a female whose particular culture defines her in a specific way as a woman. This social position carries with it certain expectations regarding, for example, her dress and behaviour. From her personal point of view, she may feel that as a female she would like to dress in a particular way, but the society in which she lives, thinks differently. In this case there is a tension that is created between her social position and one or more of her personal positions.

The self can both be positioned, and position herself in her 'society-of-mind'. For example, she may be positioned as a white female, this position is determined by birth, but she can also choose to position herself as an independent, capable person.

Self-dialogue can take place between various internal positions, for example, a dedicated mother, who may chide herself for being an ambitious school teacher, while still having to work and run the home. It could also eventuate between internal and external positions, for example, this same mother who does not want to have more children and the external position of the individual voice of her husband who does not believe in using contraception. Negotiation could also take place between her internal *I*-position and her external *I*-position which internalises and assimilates, for instance, the 'collective' voice of the male leaders in her religion and culture. This same mother might, for example, want to change gender discriminatory attitudes in her workplace. She has to negotiate her internal *I*-position as an educated, independent woman with the external position of the 'collective' voices of her male colleagues who insist that as a woman she should remain silent and not challenge male hegemony. Self-dialogue could also take place between external positions. An

example could be that between the external position expressed by the individual voice of her small child asking her to stop working, and the external position of the 'collective' voice of her learners in her class asking her to give extra lessons after school hours.

Hermans (2007, p. 38) contends that there is "a multiplicity of cultural positions or voices [that come] together in the self of a single individual". Identification with and negotiation of internal and external (and external and external) *I*-positions, leads to what Hermans refers to as "a dialogical self in action" (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007, p. 38). The 'dialogical self in action' results in movements from one position to another in the self as a way "of gaining understanding about the self in relation to the world" (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 8). Negotiation between different parts of the self is considered to be essential in problem solving, as well as the recognition that at times some parts of the self become more dominant than other parts (Bertau, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). As these self-positions enter into dialogue with each other, possibilities arise for tension or harmony (Hermans, 2002). When some positions in the self silence or suppress other positions, then a "monological relationship" prevails (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 6). Cooper and Hermans (2006) contend that there is a need for the self to develop capacity to deal with its own tensions, contradictions and uncertainties (cf. 'identity capital' in 2.4.1.). This, in response to the increasing tensions in the social context, which in turn result in increasing differences in the self (Collero, 2003).

When positions in the self are recognised and accepted with their differences, both within and between the internal and external (extended) domains of the self, then dialogical relationships emerge with the possibility of developing and renewing the self (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) as an individual and as a professional teacher in the classroom. In this way the dialogical self has the potential of being both transforming of the self and also transformative in society.

Emotion and valuation are essential to self-dialogue. Self-dialogue can express negative emotions of anger and even hate, while positive emotions can have the effect of loosening "boundaries between cultures, groups and traditions" (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007, p. 60). Wertsch (1991) suggests that cultural voices can become incorporated into a dialogical

view of the self. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007, p. 40) add that “[b]oth the cultural groups to which one belongs and those to which one is emotionally opposed can be part of an extended, multi-voiced, tension-laden dialogical self”. The postmodern dialogical self has the potential of liberating herself from “masculine ideals and patriarchal social structures of modernism” (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 6) as she repositions the ‘collective’ voice of patriarchy. Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010, p. 97) refer to this repositioning as “dominance reversal”.

In addition to the internal and external positions previously discussed, Hermans (2010) refers to other possible positions in the dialogical space in the ‘society-of-mind’. These include core position, promoter position, shadow position, third position, ‘counter-position’ and ‘meta-position’ (cf. Raggatt, 2010, p. 31). Two of these positions in particular, are considered for purposes of this study, namely the ‘meta-position’ and the ‘counter-position’. The ‘meta-position’ (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 11) refers to the *I* being able to engage in an act of self-reflection as she considers different internal and external positions from a distance and how they relate with one another. A ‘meta-position’ provides a broad perspective. This ‘meta-position’ does not refer to notions of the core self, but “is typically influenced by one or more internal or external positions that are actualised” (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 148) at a particular time. An example of adopting a ‘meta-position’ would be a female teacher who reflects on the position of women on the School Management Team, or the ways in which the boys and girls are treated at the school at which she teaches. Different ‘meta-positions’ emerge in different social situations (Bahl, 2012).

The dialogical self is always tied to its particular position in space and time. The self has the potential of renewing its identity by adopting a ‘counter-position’ (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p. 108) to positions within the self. Hermans (2011, p. 660) explains this ‘counter-position’ saying the dialogical self is a

“dynamic multiplicity of relatively autonomous *I*-positions...involved in processes of mutual dialogical relationships that are intensely interwoven with external dialogical relationships with actual others...When positions emerging

from social interactions are interiorized, the self is able to respond to these positions in the form of counter-positions. In the interplay between positions and counter-positions the agency of the self comes to its full expression”.

In line with adopting a ‘counter-position’, Gallagher (2012, p. 493) speaks of “self-agency” which he considers to be dialogical both in the ‘society-of-mind’ and in the “context of social interaction”. He contends that “we learn to act, and we learn our own action possibilities, from watching and interacting with others acting in the world” (Gallagher, 2012, p. 493).

Both these concepts, ‘meta-position’ and ‘counter-position’, are used in the analysis of the data in this study (cf. Chapter 5). These concepts raise an awareness of and lead to reflection on the position of ‘me’ and ‘the other’. The ‘meta-position’ adopted by the selected female teachers will afford an understanding of how they understand gender equality and also how they, from a distance, view the position of women in their personal, social and professional domains. The way in which they negotiate their internal and external *I*-positions within the self in response to gender discrimination, can be seen in their voicing, implicitly or explicitly and/or practising (cf. Chapter 5) a ‘counter-position’.

The DST gives a perspective from which it is possible to articulate a relationship between that which happens in society at large and in a similar way, that which takes place within the ‘society-of-mind’.

2.4.1. Critique of the Dialogical Self Theory

Burkitt (2010) critiques DST, and especially the capacity of the *I* to move between various positions animated by its own agency. Burkitt (2010, p. 306) contests the idea that all the voices with which individuals dialogue or that shape their consciousness have the position of *I* or *me*. He says that

“from the earliest years our sense of self is intertwined with the voices of others, and...these voices can have their own autonomy, intruding into our

self-consciousness and our responses to others, often in unwanted, unplanned, unwilling and surprising ways”.

Burkitt (2010, p. 306) contends that the *I* is just one character and voice among other voices in the self-dialogue, “allowing for an understanding of ‘mind’ as the dialogue among imagined self-images, and opens the possibility of moving towards a conception of the ‘dialogical unconscious’”. Burkitt (2010, p. 306) describes this ‘dialogical unconsciousness’ as “a semi-autonomous otherness enveloped in us and within our voice”. Hermans (2001, p. 250) (cf. Verhofstadt-Denève, 2001) does acknowledge that “other people occupy positions in a multivoiced self” and that they can be partly or completely imaginary, subconscious voices that can come to the fore when triggered in a particular context, but this otherness is still conceived of “as a position that I can occupy”, rather than as an alien element of the self.

Burkitt (2010) introduces the notion of “micro-dialogue” to refer to “a silent and invisible series of dialogues that we intermittently hold with ourselves or with the images or voices of others, which can emerge in surprising and unwilling ways” (Burkitt, 2010, p. 307). He says that this ‘micro-dialogue’ is conditioned by memory and imagination. Burkitt (2010, p. 308) contends that “miscommunication, misunderstanding, and conflict can occur...in the micro-dialogues of a dialogical self”. Drawing on Shotter (2003, 2008), who maintains that historical and cultural milieus function as invisible backgrounds to the self, Märtsin (2010, p. 440) says that “we are called by others and othernesses around us to act in certain ways, to which we respond spontaneously, without noticing it”. This resonates with Burkitt’s (2010) notion of ‘dialogical unconsciousness’.

Zittoun (2007) introduces the notion of a ‘rupture’ which takes place when the callings of others suddenly stop making sense and cannot be responded to spontaneously, or they react in an unexpected way bringing to the fore an unconscious voice. Zittoun (2007, p. 191) contends that periods of transition may follow this ‘rupture’ which “aims to restore one’s sense of continuity and integrity of self beyond the rupture”. This can only happen, however, if the individual recognises the ‘rupture’ as a ‘rupture’ and reflects on it. What was ‘other as part of me’ becomes ‘otherness beside me’ calling for a response so that the

otherness can again become 'part of my being' and *I* can move beyond the 'rupture'. The transition period can be conceived of as a period of active self-dialogue providing the opportunity for identity renewal. For Zittoun (2007) this 'rupture' is pre-conditional for an identity development or transformation to take place. Märtsin (2010, p. 442) refers to this self-dialogue about identity as a way of "working through a rupture...gathering up different facets of personal sense and collective meanings".

In this study it is argued that for any gender transformation to take place the individual has to have resources, or strengths, to draw from. Informed by the French sociologist Bourdieu's (1992, p. 119) concept of "social and symbolic capital", Canadian sociologist Côté introduces the concept of 'identity capital' (Côté, 1996, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002) which can be a source of self-agency. The term 'identity capital' refers to the stock of resources, or "set of strengths" individuals have when constructing, framing and presenting their identity in social circumstances (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. 164). 'Identity capital' comprises two assets, namely tangible resources such as social group membership and intangible resources which could include the ability to reflect, and negotiate self-identity (Côté, 1996, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002). The accumulation of successful "identity exchanges", namely the social interaction of an individual with others, increases an individual's "identity capital" (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. 143).

It becomes apparent from the presentation of the theories that the DST does not sufficiently take into account the extent and strength of the 'identity capital' individuals have at their disposal in the external space in which they live, and also in the internal space of their 'society-of-mind'. It can also be argued that individuals need 'identity capital' in order to move amongst the various *I*-positions as identified by Hermans (2002). It can be contended that the lived experience of patriarchy of certain females could be so traumatic or conditioned by repetitive forms of male dominance and feelings of inferiority that their 'identity capital', to various degrees, does not hold much weight. This could render them unable to effectively engage dialogically in both external and internal spaces. There is a growing awareness of a developmental aspect in the negotiation of the internal and external *I*-positions, namely the 'dialogical self in action'. It can be argued that as the individual's 'identity capital' increases, she will be able to voice and practise in increasing

measure and with increasing confidence, 'counter-positions' to, for example, the external position of male dominance in her 'society-of-mind'.

The dialogical engagement within internal spaces (to an internal audience, the 'society-of-mind') as well as in external spaces (to an external audience), is referred to in this study as the 'society-of-self'.

2.5. SELF-NARRATIVE AND SELF-DIALOGUE OF TEACHERS

In alignment with postmodern identity theory, scholars (S Chase, 2010; Gonçalves & Ribeiro, 2012; Hall, 1996; Kearney, 2003; Langellier, 2001; Nothling, 2001; Nuttall, 2009; Riessman, 2008; Wetherell, 1996) maintain that the self-narrative helps teachers to make sense of their lives, past and present, and plays a central role in the process of identity formation. An individual's identity, says Giddens (2002) is to be found in the on-going story about the self. Her self-narrative is one aspect of the process of identity construction as it helps her to make sense of her life. The dialogical self provides a link "between self and society" (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2008, p. 5). In this study, it is contended that a teacher's self-dialogue, in her 'society-of-mind', in response to questions which trouble her comfort zone, play a pivotal role in her identity construction. It is in her mind that the female teacher possibly finds agentic power by voicing implicitly or explicitly, and/or practising, a 'counter-position' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) to gender discrimination in her personal, social and professional domains.

Gender identity is not something an individual is or has but something continually created and recreated, reinforced and re-empowered through everyday social and cultural practices (cf. Butler, 1990), self-narrative and self-dialogue. While a social pattern may decide on an individual's gender identity, it is never the social pattern alone that makes this classification and nor does it do so once and for all. For the female teacher, telling her story is empowering, as is her self-dialogue in which she is able to negotiate between different internal and external *I*-positions, engaging with what she does (*I* as 'agent') with what is done to her (*I* as 'target'). Self-dialogue (to an internal audience) and self-narration (to an external audience) add to the valuation of a female teacher's positioning in responding to

the situated knowledges (Haraway, 1991) of her life. It is in the ‘society-of-self’ (cf. 2.4.1.) that the female teacher finds agency that can be personally transformative and potentially transformative in her classroom practice. Fragmenting the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.) takes place on three levels.

Table 1: Levels of narrative

Levels	Process	Audience	Result
1	Self-dialogue	‘Society-of-mind’ Internal Audience	Negotiation of various <i>I</i> -positions and re-position voices in the ‘society-of-mind’
2	Self-narrative	Writing for the self, ‘writerly’ text	Production of own meaning and knowledge through a therapeutic process, reclaiming the self.
3	Self-narrative	External audience	Co-production of writer/storyteller and reader of knowledge

On the first level, fragmentation of the master narrative of patriarchy takes place as the individual voices, implicitly or explicitly, and/or practices ‘counter-positions’, challenging the master narrative of patriarchy to an internal audience, in her ‘society-of-mind’ (cf. 2.4.).

On the second level, the undermining of the master narrative of patriarchy takes place for the individual as she writes her self-narrative (cf. 2.3.). Referring to the work of Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995), Gonçalves and Ribeiro (2012, p. 302) contend that this self-narrative is “the outcome of dialogical processes of negotiation, tension, disagreement, alliance and so on, between different voices of the self”. The self-narrative, or writerly²⁴ text, writing for the self (Bochner, 2000; Ellis, 2004), can be therapeutic as it causes the individual to pause and to work through pain and hurt (Ellis, 2004; Van Manen, 1990). This can also be empowering. By telling her story she renews herself, as the story exposes new

²⁴ The self-narrative could be both written and/or oral.

senses of consciousness and a greater sense of control over her life in the present and for the future (Paul et al., 2000).

On the third level, there is the potential for the self-narrative to be transformative. Modernist interpretations of reality imposed universal standards of truth and unitary versions of identity, silencing individuals who did not conform to cultural and societal norms (Tierney, 1993b). To dislodge any lingering effects of such control, there is a need for individuals to sit down and write their stories. The self-narratives of female teachers “are able to unfix, unsettle and subvert the totalizing narratives of domination” (McLaren, 1993, p. 205), dislodging how they (the female teachers) have internalised the master narrative of patriarchy (Tierney, 1993b). When women share their self-narratives they are empowered by gaining a voice (Ter Avest, 2011b). Sharing their self-narratives enables them to individuate as “equal...dignified partner[s] in constituting reality and constructing the world” (Becker, 2012, p. 89). Individuals’ stories build a case against society’s master narratives which over the years have sustained, for example, the ability of hegemonic males to dominate women (cf. McLaren, 1993). At this third level, the self-narrative requires the reader and the writer to engage with one another. Together, the writer and the reader become co-producers of knowledge. This happens when the reader recognises and identifies with elements in the self-narrative of the writer. The reader then re-visits and reconstructs aspects of her past in the light of this self-narrative. As women share their self-narratives with other women, “linkages” are made “between [their] own stories and the stories of cultural others” (Perumal, 2012, p. 75). The potential is there for these linkages to build a solidarity which is powerful and out of which social justice can be born (Biaggio, 2000; Bussey, 2011; Ellis, 2004). Bussey (2011, p. 624) contends that women can, by drawing on their collective gender identity, or project identity (cf. Mennell, 1994; Perumal, 2012), “challenge the status quo” so as to “exercise greater agency over their identity and life course”. By doing so, they are resisting and disinvesting in “the absolutising tendencies of a...patriarchal world that found itself on the notion of a fixed essentialist identity” (Perumal, 2012, p. 75).

The concept of Communities in Conversation (CiC) (De Wet & Parker, 2013; Roux, 2012) emerged from the research in the SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a) to which

this study makes a contribution. A CiC (Roux, 2012) provides the opportunity for an informal sharing of information in conversation with both non-practitioners and practitioners in teaching-learning. Drawing on Locke (1944), Green (1999) refers to this as cross-difference conversation, negotiation and collaboration. Crossing borders and informally exchanging perspectives and personal experiences, can foster respect, trust and tolerant understanding as “divergent ways of thinking and speaking” (McCormack & Kennelly, 2011, p. 522) are reflected upon. Reflection is defined by McCormack and Kennelly (2011, p. 517) as the examination of responses, beliefs and premises resulting in the integration of new understandings into experience. This process of reflection is very relevant within CiC where it is anticipated that as women reciprocally share their self-narratives they will reflect on the master narrative of patriarchy and the position of women in their religious and cultural discourses. This exchange has the potential of being transformative.

2.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter both modern and postmodern identity theory is considered. The Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.) finds itself on the cusp of both. On the one hand it acknowledges that an individual’s position is determined by birth and also by the general rules of her religion and culture (cf. 2.2.1.). On the other hand, the individual can renew her identity (cf. 2.2.2.). In her ‘society-of-mind’, she can negotiate both her internal and external *I*-positions as she engages in ‘dialogical self in action’. By voicing, implicitly or explicitly, and/or practising ‘counter-positions’ she can exercise self-agency. Her ‘micro-dialogue’ and instances of ‘rupture’ can contribute to her gender identity renewal. The Dialogical Self Theory provides the theoretical lens for the analysis of each individual’s self-narrative, focusing especially on her negotiation of her internal and external *I*-positions, and her ‘counter-positions’ to the master narrative of patriarchy.

Self-narratives, as discussed in this chapter (cf. 2.3.), can be empowering as they have the potential of fragmenting and undermining the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 2.2.1.2.). In the previous section (cf. 2.5.) the fragmentation of this master narrative is reflected as taking place on three levels. This model (Table 1, pg. 70) illustrates the role played by self-

dialogue and the self-narrative in this process of empowerment. The third level reflects the potential for social justice.

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter will be used as the framework for data analysis and discussion in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 5 the Dialogical Self Theory will be used to analyse each individual participant's self-narrative. In Chapter 6, the conceptual framework provided in chapter 1 and the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2), together with narrative analysis as the analytical tool (cf. 3.6.2.), will be used to analyse and discuss the central theme and sub-themes that emerge from the data.

In keeping with the theoretical framework in this study, in the following chapter, Chapter 3, the narrative research design (cf. 3.2.), narrative inquiry as a research methodology (cf. 3.3.1.) and the methods employed for data collection (cf. 3.4.) are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

Techniques of composition – media²⁵ and brushstrokes

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Having presented the theoretical framework for data analysis in the previous chapter, this chapter, provides the research design of the study (cf. 3.2.), and the methodology (cf. 3.3.) and methods (cf. 3.4.) employed to facilitate the collection of data.

Social research has been described as “the systematic observation of social life for the purposes of finding and understanding patterns in what is observed” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p. 81). Unlike other types of scientific inquiry, such as the epistemic research model, with its emphasis on the search for truth, or the economic research model which focuses on the production of knowledge, or the management model where research has project management as its primary focus, the sociological research model encompasses research which is a problem-solving social activity (Silverman, 2010).

This study, which falls within the domain of research in teaching-learning, took the shape of the sociological model and as such manifested itself as a social process. Porter (2002) contends that the role of social science is not only to uncover structures and relations, but also to use the information gathered to inform further action. This study aimed at exploring how the religious and cultural identities of selected female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality, and could therefore be described as a problem-solving social activity. It was anticipated that the data gathered would inform further action that will be defined in a later chapter of this thesis.

While research can be classified as essentially theoretical, empirical or applied (Mouton, 2001), in this chapter, the empirical nature of the research design, methodology and methods are discussed in detail.

²⁵ Inspired by the date to do something differently in the writing of this thesis, subtitles are used for each chapter. A comprehensive list of these can be found in the preamble to the study. In the subtitle to this chapter, reference is made to the preferred method to be used for the artist's composition of a portrait. For example, she may choose to use charcoal, pencil, pastels, watercolour or oils.

For purposes of clarification the terms ‘methodology’ and ‘methods’ are defined here. ‘Methodology’ describes and analyses methods so as to clarify their presuppositions, limitations and consequences. Methodologies are mainly concerned with comprehension of the research processes underlying specific methods (Cohen et al., 2007). ‘Methods’ refers to the variety of techniques and procedures used in educational research in order to gather data which is to be used for inference and analysis (Cohen et al., 2007). The methods of sampling, data collection and analysis of data are determined by the choice between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. This study falls into the ambit of qualitative research which, by its very nature, can “provide important insights into different perceptions of reality” (McKie, 2002, p. 264). According to Gerson and Horowitz (2002) qualitative research can also comprise an encounter with the world and the ways in which individuals construct, interpret and give meaning to their experiences.

In the remainder of this chapter the research design (cf. 3.2.), research methodology (cf. 3.3.), methods of data collection (cf. 3.4.), instruments used for data collection (cf. 3.5.), methods of data analysis (cf. 3.6.), limitations of the study (cf. 3.7.), and ethical considerations (cf. 3.8) are discussed.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design involves asking what kind of study will best answer the research question:

How do the religious and cultural identities of female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice?

This question is explored by means of a narrative research design (Creswell, 2012) which focuses on the self-narratives of selected female teachers. Empirical research (Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010) provides a suitable point of departure for this qualitative, interpretive study. Gerson and Horowitz (2002, p. 199) contend that “qualitative research always involves some kind of direct encounter with the world” and that it is concerned “with the ways that people construct, interpret and give meaning to events or

experiences in their lives". It begins with the point of view of the people being studied and then explores "how they see the world and define situations" (W. Newman, 2011, p. 177). An interpretive approach to research is primarily concerned with how people construct their own meaning of their subjective experiences (Terre Blanche et al., 2004). This approach is relevant for this study which is concerned with the individual female teacher with the central aim of understanding the subjective world of her experience and "to get inside the person and to understand from within" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 21). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 22) are of the opinion that

"[t]he data...yielded will include the meanings and purposes of [the female teachers] who are their source...[as] theory becomes sets of meanings which yield insight and understanding of [teachers'] behaviour".

The qualitative, interpretive approach used in this study "assumes that multiple interpretations of human experience, or realities are possible" (W. Newman, 2011, p. 103), and emphasises individuals' thoughts and perceptions as being more significant for their actions "than the external, objective conditions and structural forces" (W. Newman, 2011, p. 104). This study comprises an encounter with the ways in which selected female teachers construct, interpret and give meaning to their experiences.

A narrative research design provides for the exploration of selected female teachers' understandings, beliefs, attitudes and prejudices and provides the space to describe and explain human behaviour and to unravel how individuals are similar to and also different from one another (Cohen et al., 2007; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010; Terre Blanche et al., 2004). More specifically, the research design is conducive to exploring the ways in which the participating female teachers construct, interpret and give meaning to their subjective experiences. It also has the propensity to reveal how these female teachers, might possibly shape the gender discourse in their classroom practice.

3.3. METHODOLOGY

3.3.1. Narrative Inquiry

Various scholars working in social psychology have argued for the central place of narrative inquiry in qualitative research focusing on human experience in the world (Clandinin, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al., 2010; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elliot, 2006; Langellier, 2001; Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Luttrell, 2010; McMillan, 2003; Riessman, 2008; Squire et al., 2008). This form of research has a strong representation in the field of education (Bloom, 1998; Casey, 1993, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Conle, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999a; Goodson, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Goodson & Gill, 2011; Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). Commencing with the work of Nias (1985, 1993), various studies used narrative inquiry to specifically explore teacher identity. Research focusing on the teachers' unique voice includes that conducted by Goodson (1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2008, 2011).

Chase (2010) identifies five possible tracks to narrative inquiry, firstly, by identifying the relationship between individuals' life stories and their psychological development; secondly, with focus on how individuals communicate meaning through linguistic practices; thirdly, using an anthropological approach called narrative ethnography which focuses on individuals and small groups, including the researcher; fourthly, an autoethnographical approach which can be compared with the approach used in the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a); and fifthly, the sociological approach favoured in this study, which highlights personal identity formation, and the construction of the self within specific contexts. Convery (1999, p. 132) suggests that their self-narratives provide opportunities for individuals to shape their identity "through the selection, organization and presentation of personal experience".

The written and oral self-narratives of selected female teachers were collected. In their self-narratives they share their lived experience, their stories of their cultural and religious identities and their understandings of gender equality. They were asked to express how they thought their cultural and religious identity informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. Their self-narratives "serve as schemata through which

[they] interpret and make sense of their worlds” (Drake et al., 2001, p. 2). These self-narratives are “diachronic” (Phoenix, 2008, p. 65) in that they present various time frames (small stories or particularities) as opposed to one chronologically unfolding story. The ordering of these particularities has the potential to not only produce “local knowledges” but they can also “enter into dialogue with each other and produce...larger and more general, though still situated, narrative knowledges” (Squire et al., 2008, p. 12). Commenting on the relationship between these small stories and the broader cultural contexts, Wetherell (2005, p. 170) contends that “personal standpoints [small stories] are built from often deeply contradictory and fragmented patchworks of cultural resources”. Expressed in another way, individuals “understand and construct meaning using their experiences” and these experiences they narrate in story form to “make sense of the world and how they perceive it” (Knowles, Nieuwenhuis, & Smit, 2009, p. 335). The self-narratives are, typically, “...contextualised in social relationships, communities of discourse and culture” (McAdams, 2011, p. 104). According to Becker (2012, p. 86), relating life-stories and experiences enables people to individuate themselves as “equal partners” and “dignified partner[s] in constituting reality and constructing the world”. The self-narratives of the selected female teachers could therefore be said to offer insights about the world and/or an individual’s experiences (cf. 2.3., 2.5.).

Elliot (2006) argues that the importance of the narrative for social constructs should be understood as constituting individual identities and how the interpretations thereof give meaning to individual lives. Paul, Christensen and Frank (2000) pursue the theme contending that individual’s stories help them to reclaim themselves. Through their self-narratives it is possible for them to identify and understand, potentially at least, “...the seeds and structures of [them]selves, the foundations and walls of [their] beings, why [they] are the way [they] are” (Paul et al., 2000, p. 17). New levels of consciousness are exposed and, from this, a greater sense of control over their lives has the potential to emerge. Individuals are enabled, to engage in the process of their own identity construction. Hall (1996, p. 4) succinctly captures the essence of what is involved when he says that identities arise from “...the narrativisation of the self”. This is a process which builds on what individuals might become and how they might represent themselves.

Narratives locate, display, evaluate and impart information to social sciences (Clough, 2002). The ontology of the narratives could also help to compile and define the multiple identities and roles of female teachers (Doyle & Carter, 2003). Nothling (2001, p. 153) defines the narrative as “the authentic accounts of real life experiences”. Nothling (2001) and Elliot (2006) would agree that the self-narratives of the selected female teachers, in this study, offer an authentic voice through which to gain sociological insights which could elaborate on the social context in which their stories were produced and on the processes involved.

The self-narratives of selected female teachers are used in this study to make explicit the meaning of gender equality as a human right from their perspective. Their self-narratives are helpful in exploring how the religious and cultural identities of these selected female teachers shape their gender identity in a multi-religious and multi-cultural context. Their self-narratives serve to clarify how their cultural and religious identities inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

In exploring the self-narratives of the selected female teachers, this study requires a more subjectivist approach rather than a predominantly positivist or objectivist approach. This subjectivist approach “stresses the importance of the subjective experience of individuals in the creation of the social world” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 8). The principle concern is with an understanding of “the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which... she finds...herself” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 8).

3.3.2. Feminist research paradigm

As referred to in the introduction to Chapter one, this study feeds into a broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a) which employs an auto ethnographic, feminist research paradigm (Roux, 2009a, 2012)²⁶. This study is, similarly, located within a feminist research paradigm. In this study, together with feminist researchers, the common aim is shared, of challenging gender inequalities in society and contributing to the transformation

²⁶ “Ten woman academics, post-doctoral fellows and researchers” (Roux, 2012, p. 39), of whom the researcher in this study was one, participated in this international research project

of the lives of women (cf. Merrill & West, 2009). According to Humm (1992, p. 1), feminism depends on the premise that “women can consciously and collectively change their social place...a belief in sexual equality combined with a commitment to eradicate sexist domination and to transform society”. For the transformation of gendered power relations to take place, Paechter (1998) contends that the deconstruction and elimination of the power imbalance that currently exists between women as the subject and men as the other needs to take place. Or, alternatively, as contended by De Beauvoir (1949), deconstructing and eliminating maleness presented as the ‘Absolute’, dominating and defining society in which women are defined as the other, or aberration of maleness (cf. 2.2.2.1.). Griffiths (1992) claims that for feminists, gender is less about the sex of the individual than it is about the meaning that the individual attaches to her individual being.

Aware that there are many feminisms (Gannon & Davies, 2012), in this study, the researcher positions herself as a postmodern feminist. In line with postmodern feminist thinking, the focus is on the practical, personal lived experience of the selected female teachers who represent a diversity of individual lives. The notion that there is only one way to be a woman is rejected, recognising that there are as many different women’s experiences as there are types of women. Stromquist (1996, p. 408) comments on how postmodernism has contributed to feminism “by the use of diverse voices, deconstruction of dominant discourses, and contestation of such binary categories as ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’”. The French feminist theorist, Monique Wittig (2003), is an example of a postmodern feminist. She advocates that women need to come to know and experience that they can ‘make’ themselves, seeing themselves as identity ‘subjects’ rather than as mere ‘objects’ (targets) of oppression. Disagreeing with Wittig (2003, 2010) that ‘men’ and ‘women’ as categories have to disappear, the researcher accepts the male/female binary as a categorizing force in society, but criticizes the structure of society and the dominant patriarchal order. The focus in this study is on the liberation of the individual rather than the polarization of the sexes. It is argued that women and men are equal in quality and identical in value or worth, having a shared humanity. Women and men are significantly different (peculiar), yet they also have similarities. This difference and similarity, although paradoxical, need not be mutually exclusive, but can coexist. As has been argued

elsewhere, all stereotyped social roles for women and men need to be abolished (cf. 1.4.1.).

In this study, there is a concurrence with particular aspects of contemporary standpoint feminism (cf. Narayan, 1989). The aspect referred to in this study is that which challenges the idea of an 'essential truth', especially that which is hegemonically created and imposed by those in power (Harding, 2004). Contemporary standpoint feminism makes the case that as a subordinated group, women are allowed to see and understand the world in ways that are different from, and challenging to, the existing male-biased conventions. From their standpoint, from the perspective of their own gendered experience, women can, for example, observe patriarchy as a phenomenon. However, all standpoints are partial and an individual can have several standpoints at one time. What the individual is encountering, and from what point of view that individual is experiencing the phenomenon of patriarchy in a given situation, is considered paramount.

This study serves several of the principles of feminist research as they are expressed by Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2007). The interpretivist nature of the study is synonymous with feminist research. The employment of written and oral self-narratives is in line with feminist approaches enabling women's voices to be heard. Hierarchies in social research have been replaced with the recognition of the equal status between the participants and the researcher. This study raises the consciousness of the disempowerment, inequality and exploitation of women by recognizing the primacy of women's personal subjective experiences and engaging with women's own individual histories. Furthermore, the study endeavours to promote the interests of women by privileging the voice of individual women, all the while respecting the diversity of women's personal experience.

Another feature of feminist research is that it is collaborative, collectivist research undertaken by women. This is very much the hallmark of the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a) to which the findings of this study make a contribution. All the researchers in that project are women. In this study, the researcher and the selected teachers are also all female. As the selected female teachers share their self-narratives, they become participants in the study. Together with the researcher they become co-

constructors of data. This combining of researcher and researched is an endeavour to break hierarchical, non-reciprocal relationships.

From a feminist research point of view, the aim of engaging with narratives, says Roux (2012, p. 42), “is to create safe spaces for a caring disposition”. Drawing on some aspects of Noddings’ (1984) ethics of care, a ‘safe space’ was created for each participant to share her self-narrative. Each portrait, as presented in Chapter 4, is framed by a ‘safe space’, in which the relationship with the participant was prioritised, “rooted in receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness” (Noddings, 1984, p. 2), creating “safety for the participants in a moment in time and space” (Roux, 2012, p. 33). A ‘safe space’ refers to the space where private and public lives intersect and does not just refer to literal or physical safety but denotes the figurative and discursive use of the notion (Du Preez, 2012b; Redmond, 2010; Stengel & Weems, 2010). The ‘spaces’ created for the participants in this study could be considered ‘safe’ because they were spaces in which the participants felt sufficiently at ease to share their self-narrative (Jansen, 2009). Considering Du Preez (2012b) and also Jansen’s (2009) contention that a space is safe if risks can be taken in it, the participants in this study felt safe enough to share their narrative even if it ran contrary to their religious and cultural mores.

Lather (1991) calls for feminist researchers to be concerned about the political consequences of their research, or consequential authenticity. The final chapter of this thesis concludes with recommendations in this vein. Implicit in this discussion is the way in which this study can contribute to research on teacher identity, the development of normative professionalism²⁷ for teachers and teaching-learning in the classroom.

3.4. METHODS

In order to find answers to the proposed research question (cf. 1.2.), a scholarly investigation is undertaken to inform the methods used to collect data, with the understanding that a research method “comprises the strategy followed in collecting and

²⁷ A concept which arose in the 1990s in the University of Humanistic Studies in The Netherlands (cf. Klaassen & Maslovaty, 2010). The concept relates to professionals’ own life world, including dimensions such as gender and the personal assimilation thereof in the context of the professionals’ personal life stories.

analyzing data” (Gay et al., 2006, p. 8). The methods and processes discussed below assist in the exploration of the research question (cf. 1.2.). The discussion of methods includes the elaboration of various techniques and procedures used in this study. The methodological aspects underlying these methods are also addressed for the sake of completeness.

3.4.1. Literature review

In reviewing literature relevant to this study, a variety of academic genre has been considered. The genre was both broadly and specifically related to the research focus. On-line databases such as Ebscohost, Google Scholar, Eric, Academic Search Premier, HSRC Publications, Sabinet Online (Index to South African Publications), and JSTOR were consulted.

It is important to locate this study in the context of what had previously been undertaken in the fields of identity and gender equality. In order to do so, the research inquiry is carried out in such a way as to facilitate a more in-depth exploration of the literature. In the literature review, as advised by the work of De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005), existing knowledge that is both directly and broadly related to the research focus of this study, is considered. The scope of existing studies (cf. Wellington, 2000) is extended, by investigating specifically how the religious and cultural identities of selected female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. Literature is reviewed to provide conceptual clarification (cf. 1.4.) and to inform the theoretical framework as presented in Chapter 2.

3.4.2. Selection of participants

The selected female teachers are referred to as participants in the analysis chapters, Chapters 4 – 6, as together with the researcher they are co-constructors of the data. Wellington (2000) advocates that the strategy for selecting participants depends upon the purpose and focus of the study and the researcher’s judgment has to come into play when deciding which approach to take in order to yield the clearest understanding of that which is

under study. It could also be argued that, to some extent, time and geographical and material constraints may well influence the strategy of participant selection. In this study, non-probability, purposive sampling (Cohen et al., 2007) was employed. As previously stated this study is located within a broader SANPAD research project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a). Eight schools were purposively selected by the SANPAD (2010-2012) researchers, two schools in each of four provinces, namely, KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape, Gauteng and the North West Province. The selection criteria include the following: accessibility and willingness to participate in the project; accommodation of the Senior Phase of the GET band (Grades 7 – 9) (cf. 1.1.); schools which could be viewed as typical government schools (as opposed to independent schools²⁸); and schools that are diverse in terms of their culture, religion, economic and social circumstances. The nine female teachers who participated in this study are located in six of the eight rural and metropolitan schools used in the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a). They are teachers of LO²⁹. The teachers of LO in the remaining two schools used in the project are males and this study focused on female teachers.

Pseudonyms are used for both the participating teachers and the schools at which they teach. The following table indicates the name of the participant, the school at which she teaches, the province in which the school is situated, as well as an indication of whether the school is a rural or metropolitan school and whether the school is co-educational or single sex in composition.

Table 2: Participants and schools

Name	School	Rural/Metropolitan (Province)	Co-Educational/ Single sex
Purity	Midlands Comprehensive School	Rural (KwaZulu-Natal)	Co-educational

²⁸ Independent or private schools enjoy autonomy in respect of decision making concerning the school policy and school ethos.

²⁹ One of the teachers is not currently teaching LO but has done so in the past. In her current role as a Grade 7 registration teacher she includes LO-related issues, such as gender equality, in the class discussion during the daily registration period.

Thabi	Midlands Comprehensive School	Rural (KwaZulu-Natal)	Co-educational
Jabu	Beachwood Primary	Metropolitan (Gauteng)	Co-educational
Amy	Clifford Primary	Metropolitan (Gauteng)	Co-educational
Bongi	Breakthrough High School	Metropolitan (KwaZulu-Natal)	Co-educational
Kate	Outreach High School	Metropolitan (North West)	Single Sex
Ruby	Outreach High School	Metropolitan (North West)	Single Sex
Annie	Coastal Primary School	Metropolitan (Eastern Cape)	Co-educational
Merlot	Coastal Primary School	Metropolitan (Eastern Cape)	Co-educational

Following the vein of Patton's work (2002), it is anticipated that these purposively selected participants will provide insights and in-depth understanding to illuminate the questions under study, and that the findings of this study, in turn, will contribute to the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a).

3.4.2.1. Description of the participants

The nine female teachers, who are participants in this study, range in age from their mid-twenties to 50 years of age (cf. biographical detail given in response to the self-administered questionnaire and semi-structured interview questions)³⁰. With the exception of one non-practising participant, they describe themselves as Christians and as practising members of one of the following: the Catholic Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, the Ekuthuleni Apostolic Church in Zion³¹, and the Apostolic Faith Mission Church³².

³⁰ These details can be found in Appendix A and in the original interview transcripts found on the CD included with this thesis.

³¹ An African Initiated Church, also known as an African Independent Church.

³² The Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM) is a classical Pentecostal Christian denomination in South Africa.

Cultures represented include Tsonga³³, Bhaca³⁴, Zulu³⁵, and Afrikaans, as well as that of English-speaking South Africans. The majority of the participants regard their religious identity and cultural identity to be the same or similar to one another. Two of the participants are married, one is engaged, two have partners and the other four participants are single. With the exception of one participant, they all have children. They teach at rural and metropolitan schools, some better resourced than others. Eight of the teachers teach LO, five in the GET phase and three in the FET phase. The ninth teacher, while not currently teaching LO, addresses issues in the LO curriculum with her registration class, and in her Social Science classes. Two of the participants are members of the School Management Team. None of the participants had received any formal initial or in-service teacher education in Life Orientation (cf. Jarvis, 2008; Prinsloo, 2007) (cf. 1.1.).

3.4.3. Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted before the main research was undertaken in selected schools. The piloting of a study refers to the drafting and assessment of methods to ensure comprehensibility and effectiveness of the methodological instruments to be used (Cohen et al., 2007; De Vos et al., 2005; Silverman, 2010; Wellington, 2000). This small-scale implementation of the planned research process endeavoured to bring to the fore possible deficiencies in the design of the empirical research. The self-administered questionnaires and semi-structured interview questions were informally³⁶ piloted, with two participants, both female teachers who facilitated LO, not at the selected six schools involved in this study, but for whom the questions were nevertheless relevant. Both had experience teaching at schools similar to the participating schools. Each was a member of a different ethnic and language group. This was done in order to assist the researcher in eliminating ambiguous and unclear questions (Cohen et al., 2007; De Vos et al., 2005; Silverman, 2010; Wellington, 2000). The pilot study assisted in estimating the time it would take to

³³ The name given to a diverse group of people, Ntu-speaking groups, living in south-eastern Zimbabwe and the eastern parts of South Africa's Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces.

³⁴ Belonging to the Southern or Cape Nguni traditional society which is made up of different groups, including the amaXhosa peoples. The Bhaca group traditionally live near the Eastern Cape's border with KwaZulu-Natal.

³⁵ Belonging to the Northern Nguni traditional Society, speaking isiZulu.

³⁶ That is, without KZNDEC consent and not in a formal school setting.

interview participants as it also provided the opportunity for pre-empting the problems that may have arisen during the actual interviews.

Unfortunately, the responses from the participants in the pilot study to the self-administered questionnaires were submitted too late for changes to be made to the questionnaires which had already been disseminated by the research assistants for the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a). Had the pilot study participants' feedback been timeous, adjustments would have been made to the self-administered questionnaire to include the streamlining of the following terms which were used interchangeably: religion and culture; belief system or practice; belief system and value orientation; and worldview or religion. A note was made of this, and the possible difficulties that could occur when analysing the data are considered.

The pilot study of a semi-structured, individual interview took place before a round trip of the four provinces was embarked upon. In response to the feedback received in the pilot study, the questions dealing with religion and culture are separated into two separate questions so that the influence of religion and the influence of culture, if they are indeed different, can be reflected on separately. Several additional poignant questions to those asked in the pilot study are included, based on feedback from the participants in the pilot study. These additional questions focus on how the participants consider they are treated as women in their homes and communities and also, whether they have children, and how their female and male children are treated in their personal domain³⁷.

3.4.4. Researcher positionality

The position of the researcher needs to be explicitly stated and defined in any academic study, because the position of the researcher could influence the outcome of the analysis of the research data (cf. Creswell, 2012; Fonow & Cook, 1991; McCutcheon, 1999; Reay, 1996; Roux & Du Preez, 2005). According to Greene and Griffiths (2005) the matter of positioning and situatedness is central to feminist discourses. The researcher is therefore positioned in this study as a white, middle-aged, middle-income, female, who is a

³⁷ This refers to the home environment.

wife, mother, daughter, daughter-in-law, grandmother, sister and friend to many. She is an English-speaking South African and a practising Christian. Her profession is that of a university lecturer and she is shaped by Western feminist sensibilities (cf. 3.3.2.). During the data collection process, and more so during the data analysis process she was acutely aware of her positionality as she simultaneously engages with her own gender identity. She adopts what Schwandt (2000, p. 192) refers to as “Verstehen”, and, through a process of “empathetic understanding” (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 13), she distances herself from her present context to uncover the meaning that exists in the participants’ self-narratives. As an addendum to the data analysis process her own self-narrative is included (Appendix K).

The female teachers who became participants in this study are situated in schools determined by the broader SANPAD project (2010 - 2012) (Roux, 2009a) and in most instances these schools are geographically distanced from the researcher’s place of residence. It was therefore difficult to establish a relationship with the participants. The researcher would have liked to have built a more substantial relationship so as to operate more in line with the feminist paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.) in which this study is located.

Taking heed from Grimshaw (1986) sufficient distance was maintained so as not to see the participant as a projection of the researcher or the researcher as a continuation of the participant. McCutcheon and Thapar-Björkert and Henry (1999; 2004) suggest, that the categories of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ are not consistently clearly defined. They contend that researchers are both ‘subject’ and ‘object’ and those being researched are both ‘observed’ and ‘observer’. This is what happened in this study. In particular instances, once the planned interview was over and the digital recorder switched off, the ‘observed’ (participant) started asking the ‘observer’ (the researcher), questions. What ensued was what Duncombe and Jessop (2002, p. 111) refer to as a “quasi-therapeutic situation”. Working within a feminist research paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.), the researcher felt comfortable with this role reversal which illustrated the reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the participants and underlined an equality of status between them.

According to Stanley and Wise (1993, p. 161), “research...involves the presence of the researcher as a ‘person’. Personhood cannot be left out of the research process...” On the

one hand it is important for the researcher to immerse herself as a researcher in the narratives of the participants by listening attentively and respectfully. On the other hand, it is important to achieve some form of detachment so that she is able to think carefully about what is happening. Merrill and West (2009, p. 182) speak of the capacity to listen combined with a capacity to think, saying that there is place for the “awareness of [how] the other interacts [while also] considering how [I as researcher] might be feeling”. They contend that it is helpful to feel something of what the other (the participant) is experiencing, such as doubt, anxiety, confusion or distress. By adopting a committed distance, the personal care of both researcher and participant is valued.

Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997) says that some resonance should exist between the life of the researcher and that of the participant. The researcher’s involvement in initial teacher education in the discipline of Life Orientation Education helped to establish that resonance. The researcher is, however, also aware that the nature of the researcher/researched relationship could be affected by issues such as ethnicity.

Participants were made to feel at ease and the common ground of being women in education was used to establish rapport. An empathetic stance was adopted, in order to gain the participants’ trust and to set them at ease. This was done by upfront the purpose of the study and assuring them of anonymity and that there is no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ response to the interview questions. Noting the importance of participants being made aware that they are playing a role that is valuable and meaningful, they were reassured that, by participating in this study, they are contributing to research in the domain of teacher education (cf. 3.8.). They gave the impression that they were pleased to have an opportunity to have someone listen to what they had to say.

Having received ethical clearance from the North-West University (Appendix D), consent from the relevant provincial Education Departments (Appendices E – H) and the selected participants (Appendix I), the data collection commenced. The role of the researcher during the data collection process was that of collector and interpreter of the data. To achieve this, the participants were contacted and they were asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire and also to write their narratives as directed by the questions framed for

them. The questionnaires were disseminated on behalf of the researcher in the provinces other than in KwaZulu-Natal (where she resides.) The dissemination was undertaken by assistant researchers in the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a) who live in the Eastern Cape, Gauteng and the North West Province. The completed questionnaires and written narratives were posted to the researcher who subsequently travelled to all six schools to conduct the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews.

For the research to be reliable and credible, field notes were taken and the responses from the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews crystallised (Maree, 2007). This is done to lend validity (Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010) or authenticity (Luttrell, 2010), a preferred, less positivist term, to the data. In support of confirming authenticity, the original responses to the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and interviews are presented on a CD which is included with this thesis. With regard to field notes, short notes were made at the time of the individual interviews, followed by expanded notes based on the researcher's observations (Silverman, 2010). This enabled her to provide a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the school context and also the space in which the interview took place. These observations can be found in Appendix J.

While a participant was speaking, notes were taken of what people, events or situations were mentioned and what the main themes or issues were that were raised or emphasised. These notes were made either during, or as soon as possible after each interview session. As advised by Reddy (2000, p. 43), "the biases, silences and exaggerations" as the participants shared their narrative, were recorded and these are implicitly reflected in the presentation of the participants' portraits in Chapter 4. A reflection journal (cf. 3.4.4.1.) was used in which to record problems and ideas that arose during each stage of the fieldwork. Following the advice of Wolcott (2009) the reading and re-reading of the data commenced at an early stage of the fieldwork and a running record of analysis and interpretation was embarked upon.

3.4.4.1. Reflection journal

Fairly regular entries were made in a reflection journal. These entries allowed the researcher a personal space in which to capture her thoughts, challenges and observations. The intention was that this journal would be purely for her purposes as the author, and not for more general consumption.

Initial writings proved to be frustrating and the process painful. As she became more comfortable with the research process she was able to pen more easily, her thoughts and ideas as they occurred to her. Central to feminist research methodology is the issue of reflection which involves a process of self-awareness and self-consciousness (Fonow & Cook, 1991). The journal provided the place for reflection on the ways in which her own “social identity and values affect the data gathered and the picture of the social world produced” (Reay, 1996, pp. 59 - 60). In rereading her journal she also reflected on the extent to which her whole life had been caught up in the research process. The researcher concurs with Burke (2002, pp. 4-5) who describes, in her experience, the various roles she plays as “overlap[ping], clash[ing] and reinforce[ing] each other”. In a similar vein to Burke (2002, pp. 4-5), the researcher found her research to be influenced by her position as a feminist and “the many other dynamics that determine [her] perspectives and identities As the participants were interviewed and their responses analysed, the researcher simultaneously reflected on her own position with regard to the issue of gender equality and the outworking of this position in her personal life. At times this reflection was painful as she recalled experiences of gender inequality in her own life, and at times challenging as she reflected on her own cultural and religious identities and how this has informed her perceptions of gender equality. In keeping with a feminist research paradigm, included in appendix K, is the researcher’s self-narrative and an analysis thereof, using the same theoretical lens used in Chapters 5 and 6, to analyse the self-narratives of the participants in this study.

3.5. DATA COLLECTION

In order to explore the proposed research question, a scholarly investigation was undertaken to inform the methods used to collect data with the understanding that a

research method “comprises the strategy followed in collecting and analyzing data” (Gay et al., 2006, p. 8). The following data collection instruments were used: self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews. These specific instruments were used in the pilot study (cf. 3.4.3.) and they proved adequate and appropriate. These instruments were consistent with the research design and methodology.

3.5.1. Self-administered questionnaires (Appendix A)

After consulting the work of various scholars in research methodology (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010) self-administered questionnaires were designed, the layout of which was clear and uncluttered. Introductory comments outline the focus of the study. The questions are numbered and clear, basic instructions for completion are provided. In the introduction to the questionnaire, participants are assured of their anonymity and encouraged to respond to the questionnaire as honestly as possible. Both closed- and open-ended questions are used. Closed-ended questions require the participants to select an answer from a given list of responses. The closed-ended questions elicit the contact details and basic biographical information of each participant. The open-ended questions are less restrictive and allow the participants to reply freely (Appendix A).

The participants were competent to answer the questions. They are all qualified teachers who are in service, teaching in the medium of English and therefore able to read and understand the questions and respond accordingly. The selected female teachers each have their own biography and are able to respond to the questions relating to this aspect of the research, and they are also able to respond to the questions relating to the school context in which they were teaching.

Questions 1 – 10 of the self-administered questionnaires are closed-ended questions eliciting basic biographical information including the age of the participants, years of teaching experience and religious affiliation, if any.

The next category, **questions 11 – 13**, focuses on religious biographical information. These questions investigate the role, if any, played by the religion of the participants' parents in their formative years, and whether or not their experience of any belief systems may have influenced them positively or negatively, if at all. The participants were also asked at what stage they embraced the belief system they currently held, if applicable, and how this process occurred.

Human rights and gender equality are key concepts in this study. **Questions 14 – 16** required the participants to clarify their understanding of these concepts. They were also asked how they thought their religious and cultural affiliation, if any, might have affected the way in which they viewed gender equality as a human right.

Questions 17 – 19 focused specifically on curriculum and classroom practice. The participants were asked what human rights issues they had taught as part of the LO curriculum and also about the value of including gender equality as a human right within the LO curriculum. Specifically they were asked whether they had ever taught an actual lesson which focused on gender equality and if so, to comment on any challenges they faced in doing so.

Questions 20 – 23, focusing on contextual information, required the participants to give their perspective of the extent to which, if at all, gender equality was affirmed in their particular school context. They were asked what their school policy was with regard to gender equality and whether or not they thought gender equality was promoted in their school. One of the questions focused on the voice of the participant and whether or not she felt her voice was heard in the school with regard to gender issues.

Question 24 required participants to comment on personal experience they may have had of gender discrimination in both the community and the school context.

In accordance with what Gerson and Horowitz (2002) advise, the self-administered questionnaires, in which each participant is asked a comparable set of questions, provides

an orderly and structured experience to the participants. They all returned completed questionnaires and this facilitated an organised process of data analysis.

As explained above (cf. 3.4.2.), the self-administered questionnaires were disseminated by the researcher in KwaZulu-Natal only. In the other three provinces they were disseminated by research assistants for the broader SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a). If what Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) contend is valid, then the absence of the researcher was helpful in that it enabled the participants to complete the questionnaire in private taking as much time as they needed, in familiar surroundings of their choice, and avoiding the potential threat or pressure to participate caused by the researcher's presence. The converse is that the researcher wasn't present to address any queries or give clarification to the questionnaire in any way, and she had no way of verifying that the participants themselves answered the questions. However, crystallization (Maree, 2007) of their written responses with those from the semi-structured individual interview settled this issue. The completed questionnaires were returned by the research assistants in each province, via the post.

3.5.2. Written narratives (Appendix B)

Chase (2003, p. 79) explains that narrative is a “way in which people make sense of experience, construct the self, and create and communicate meaning”. Drawing on Hutto's work (2007), written narratives is considered to be an adequate method to use in this study, as the responses contributed to the reflection, evaluation and orientation of each of the participants with regard to gender equality.

Written narrative material in this study refers to female teachers describing their religious and cultural identity, and the position of women within their religious and cultural discourses. The participants were also asked to express how they thought their religious and cultural identities could influence their teaching-learning of gender equality. Furthermore, they were asked to comment on how they thought this understanding influenced their classroom practice. The intention of gathering this experiential written

narrative material was that it could serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon, namely gender (Hutto, 2007).

3.5.3. Semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews (Appendix C)

Conducting interviews requires “substantial forethought and advanced planning” by the researcher (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002, p. 204). This entails clarifying the purpose of the interviews, laying out the process, conducting the interview, transcribing, analysing and verifying the data, and conducting the reporting.

Gerson and Horowitz (2002, p. 215) suggest that “interviewing provides a way to uncover the motives, meanings and conflicts experienced by individuals as they respond to social and interpersonal situations and conflicts”. The participant is required to recall the past, grasp the present and think about the future (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). It was thus the responsibility of the researcher as interviewer to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual commitment with the participant in a limited period of time. In preparing for the interviews the work of various scholars was consulted (Breakwell, 2000; Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; Kvale, 1996; W. Newman, 2011; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Silverman, 2010) all of whom emphasise various aspects of the interview process, including the opening of the interview, pacing and timing, location, keeping the conversation going, rounding off and ending.

In this study, semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews were conducted. This means that the interviews took place with individual female teachers and that they were conducted, not remotely via telephone or via Skype, but rather face-to-face in an environment known to the female teacher. The semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interview served a vitally important role in the collection of data. The interview responses complemented the responses to the self-administered questionnaire and written narrative. Participants may have skipped questions in the self-administered questionnaire and they could not be probed for clarification or further explanation. The finer nuances of voice intonation, body language and facial expressions that contributed towards the creation of meaning were also absent from the written responses. The interview, however, while providing a site for information exchange, was not just this, but rather also a social encounter (Cohen et al., 2007). The interview is different from an everyday conversation,

however, in that it has a specific purpose and is most often question based, with responses as explicit and detailed as possible. In short, it has a structure. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 349), “interviews enable participants to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view”.

The interviewer, as researcher, established rapport and a relationship of confidentiality with the participants, so as to eliminate possible fear and anxiety. Each participant was put at ease, in an attempt to make the interview experience enjoyable. The researcher dressed in a way that was unthreatening, and addressed the participants as colleagues, emphasizing the value of their input in the research process.

The once-off, semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews were approximately one hour in duration. These were conducted in an available venue on the school property, either after school or during a free period in the female teacher’s timetable. At the end of the interview the participant’s email address and contact details were procured, as well as her permission for the researcher to contact her via e-mail should there be a need for any clarification of the interview responses.

The interview schedule consisted of semi-structured, open-ended questions to guide the interviews. This was necessary to provide an orderly experience to the participants and to ensure that each participant responded to a comparable set of questions (cf. Cohen et al., 2007). A clear list of issues was addressed and the participants were given the opportunity to develop ideas and speak more widely on issues as the researcher responded to, probed for further response, prompted, empathised, clarified, and summarized responses, avoiding censure. ‘Don’t know’ responses to questions were minimized by the rephrasing, redirecting and clarification of the question. The interviews allowed for the finer nuances of voice intonation, body language and facial expressions to contribute towards the creation of meaning (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010). The interviews were digitally recorded and amplified by field notes (Luttrell, 2010; Silverman, 2010) which were taken during and/or directly after the interview (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; Luttrell, 2010; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010). Transcription of the

digitally recorded interviews formed a substantial part of the method of interviewing, bringing the researcher 'close to the data', which was easier to analyse in text rather than in digital form. The transcriptions also facilitated the process of crystallization (Maree, 2007) in preparation for narrative analysis (cf. 3.6.2.).

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) caution that transcriptions have the potential of being solely a record of data rather than a record of a social encounter as they can lose data from the original encounter. The researcher was aware that the transcript was already interpreted data (Kvale, 1996). In transcribing the interviews it was important to record the exact answer without attempting to summarize, paraphrase or correct bad grammar. Field notes recorded non-verbal responses as well as any interruptions during the interview. The digital recording was listened to several times while reading the transcriptions to check the accuracy of the transcription. Doing so provided the opportunity to highlight and underline key sentences and words, in order to provide a context for the emergence of specific themes (Cohen et al., 2007), all the while keeping the research question (cf. 1.2.) in mind. As advised by Merrill and West (2009), the transcripts were sent to the participants soon after the interviews had taken place for them to see if they considered these to be an accurate reflection of their responses.

The interviews provided the opportunity for the participants to step back and reflect upon their experiences, actions and situations (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002) and to explore and interpret their world and find their place therein (Du Preez, 2005).

3.6. DATA ANALYSIS

3.6.1. Crystallization of the data

According to Richardson (2000), crystallization is more suited to the emerging reality in the data which is being described and analysed in this study, unlike triangulation, which is more positivist in nature, based on a fixed point or object which can be triangulated. Maree (2007, p. 81) contends that "rather than examining or measuring the observable features of a phenomenon, qualitative research sets out to penetrate the human understandings and

constructions about it” and she therefore considers the term crystallization “a better lens through which to view the components in qualitative research” (Maree, 2007, p. 41). Maree (2007, p. 81) contends that “...there are multiple realities that people have in their minds, the different insights gained describe different perspectives that all reflect the unique reality and identity of participants”. She therefore proposes the concept of crystallization which allows a variety of “shapes, transmutations, dimensions and angles of approach” thereby providing “a complex and deeper understanding of the phenomenon” (Maree, 2007, p. 81). According to Maree (2007), the findings of this study, will crystallize from the data which were collected, making use of different instruments of data collection, as well as from the data analysis. This crystallization enhances the authenticity of the study (cf. 3.6.3.).

3.6.2. Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis, which has been established in the social sciences since the 1990s (M. Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008), is a “suitable tool for...develop[ing] an explanation of how people interpret their social locations and personal histories through the discourses and material contexts to which they have access” (McMillan, 2003, p. 111). The narrative analysis started with transcribing the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews. Paralinguistic or non-lexical utterances were, by and large, removed and a fairly clean, punctuated transcript³⁸ was provided (Elliot, 2006). By doing so, the focus remained on the content, namely ‘what’ was said, as opposed to ‘how’ it was said. This was done in the interests of “deepen[ing] the reader’s understanding of the meaning conveyed in [the] story” (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 13).

Ellis (2004) cites Frank’s (1995) distinction between thinking ‘with’ a story and thinking ‘about’ a story to further clarify the ways in which narrative analysis can occur. In the case of thinking ‘with’ a story, the story is taken as being complete in itself (cf. the participants’ portraits as presented in Chapter 4). In the case of thinking ‘about’ a story, the story is reduced to its content and then analysed (cf. Chapters 5 and 6). Focusing on the content of the narratives captures the chronology of events and also some of the evaluative elements

³⁸ The transcripts can be found on the CD included with this thesis.

(Lingis, 1979) In this study, the participants interpreted their past as they recounted their self-narratives and forged a connection between the past, present and future and a connection between their personal biography and the social structures in which they are located (cf. M. Andrews, 2002).

Drawing on the work of Chase (2010), Gubrium and Holstein (2009), Holstein and Gubrium (2000), Lincoln (1993) and Polkinghorne (1995), five lenses for narrative analysis are employed:

- The self-narratives are treated as retrospective meaning making, helping the participants in making sense of their lives as they told of their lived experience of gender discrimination in the past and in the present.
- The self-narratives are viewed, not as factual evidence, but rather, as a version of the self and lived experience as produced by the participant.
- “Similarities and differences across [self]-narratives” (Chase, 2010, p. 214) are attended to and this facilitated the emergence across the nine self-narratives of the central theme and sub-themes which are analysed in Chapter 6.
- That the self-narratives are flexible and shaped by interaction with the researcher and in a particular social context, was taken into account.
- As the self-narratives were analysed, the researcher’s own voice in response to the research question was developed (cf. 1.2.)

Chase (2010) advises that when analysing narrative data, the researcher should begin with the participants’ voices and stories as opposed to initially looking for themes across narratives. The influence of the researcher at this stage was to have crystallized the responses (cf. 3.6.1.) and to organize them into a coherent presentation. What Chase (2010, p.223) refers to as a “supportive voice”, was adopted, when presenting portraits of each participant, in several instances, using their words verbatim. This made room for the reader’s alternative interpretations (cf. Riessman, 2002) in thinking ‘with’ the story. A “respectful distance” (Chase, 2010, p.224) was created between the voice of the researcher and that of the participants. These portraits are presented in Chapter 4.

Having presented the portraits of the nine female teachers, a more “authoritative voice” (Chase, 2010, p.222) in thinking ‘about’ the story was adopted, as their self-narratives were analysed (Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter 5, using the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.) as the theoretical lens for analysis, the analysis of each of the nine self-narratives, is presented. Both the internal and external / positions voiced by the participants, and their expression of ‘meta-positions’ and ‘counter-positions’ in their ‘society-of-mind’ are identified.

Elliot (2006, p. 38), in her discussion of various approaches to narrative analysis, speaks of “categorical analyses” whereby short sections of the text are extracted and placed into categories, or themes, for analysis. By employing a thematic analysis, the emphasis is placed on ‘what’ is said in the self-narratives. This kind of analysis is helpful for finding common thematic elements across the self-narratives of the participants (cf. Lingis, 1979). The themes help to “focus on the social and cultural environment that shaped the story’s life events and the meaning attached to them” and revealed “the impact of the social and cultural setting” on individuals’ lives (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 13). Deciding on which sections to analyse is the researcher’s interpretive decision (Lingis, 1979).

Holstein and Gubrium’s (2000, p. 108) notion of creating “narrative linkages”, refers to individuals making linkages between different elements in their own self-narratives. There is evidence of this in the analysis of the individual self-narratives where participants referred to past events and made the ‘narrative linkage’ with a more recent event in their lives (cf. Chapter 5). In Chapter 6, less of an internal ‘narrative linkage’ is made. In this study, the notion of creating ‘narrative linkages’ is extended to include the linkages that can be made across the participants’ self-narratives within the central theme and sub-themes that emerged from all nine self-narratives (cf. Perumal, 2012). Establishing ‘narrative linkages’ in this manner, allows for identifying similarities and differences across the self-narratives. In the case of the ‘thematic analysis of narrative’ the researcher steps back from the text to use the story as data (Ellis, 2004). Themes that illuminate the text are identified, as the focus moves from the story itself to abstract analysis. As women share their self-narratives with other women, “linkages” are made “between [their] own stories and the stories of cultural others” (Perumal, 2012, p. 75). The potential is there for these linkages to

build a solidarity which is powerful (Biaggio, 2000; Bussey, 2011; Ellis, 2004). Social justice can be born out of this solidarity.

3.6.3. Authenticity and trustworthiness

For the research to be reliable and credible, field notes are recorded to provide a description of the interview context and to capture detailed descriptions of the participants' responses which included more than the words they spoke (Luttrell, 2010; Silverman, 2010). The responses to the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews were crystallized (Maree, 2007), to lend 'validity' to the data. (Creswell, 2012; W. Newman, 2011; Polkinghorne, 2007; Silverman, 2010). The use of the less positivist term, 'authenticity' (Luttrell, 2010; W. Newman, 2011) is preferred. Newman (2011, p. 214) defines authenticity as "offering a fair, honest and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of the people who live it every day". The original responses to the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews are presented on a CD which is included with this thesis, in support of confirming authenticity. To carry out an authenticity check a transcript of the responses in the interview were emailed to each participant asking them to authenticate the transcription. There were no negative responses.

The strength of qualitative research lies in collecting information in several ways, rather than relying solely on one method of collection. Two or more methods can be used in such a way that the weakness of one is compensated by the strength of another. For example, the semi-structured individual, face-to-face interviews with the female teachers were used to contribute to an understanding of their responses to the self-administered questionnaires and to what they wrote in their written narratives. By asking open-ended questions in these interviews, the participants were invited to respond with in-depth responses. Additional relevant contextual information is offered in Appendix J.

The structural coherence of the study lends authenticity to the study. The multiple methods used in the research served as a means to cross check the data collected and provided a more complete interpretation. A process of crystallization ensured a comprehensive

representation of what is being studied. A clear description of the processes involved in collecting data allows the reader to understand the path taken in the research and to assess the authenticity of the outcomes. Drawing on the work of O'Donoghue (2007), Punch (2006), Gay et al. (2006) and Cohen et al. (2007), further authenticity can be attributed to this study by the researcher's attestation that the data gathered is relevant and significant in answering the research question.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the notion of trustworthiness is key to sound qualitative research. Trustworthiness needs to be established as opposed to objective historical truth (cf. Polkinghorne, 2007). Self-narratives, according to Reddy (2000) produce truths that are specific and not abstract generalizations of life. For this reason, instead of seeking forensic truth, the focus is on the personal experience of the participants, reflecting their interpretations and values (Elliot, 2006). Ellis (2004) says that narratives should seek 'verisimilitude' in that they should convey a sense of something being possible and plausible. Was the narrative reasonable and convincing? Could it be taken back to the storyteller for confirmation? To what extent could the narrative be used as an illumination of the female teacher's gender identity and how could this possibly inform her teaching-learning of gender equality? According to Polkinghorne (2007, pp. 14-15) "the confidence a reader grants to a narrative knowledge claim is a function of the cogency and soundness of the evidence-based arguments presented by the narrative researcher" (cf. Chapter 5, 6, and 7).

It is not the intention of this study to draw generalisations from individual life experiences (Cohen et al., 2007), nor to attempt to generate grand theory, but rather, to record individual life experiences providing an authentic perspective. By doing so the knowledge generated from this research will add a layer of meaning to an existing body of knowledge.

3.7. LIMITATIONS IN THE STUDY

Jackson (2004, p. 154) points out that researchers need to be frank about any deficiencies in their data or weaknesses in their methodology, as well as judicious in interpreting results.

In this study, the participants represented different language groups. This was not a limiting factor, however, as all the participants were competent in their use of English. They were teaching through the medium of English and they had also completed their tertiary education through this language medium. One participant wrote some of her responses, including her written narrative, in Afrikaans. The researcher is proficient in this language and so did not have a problem translating the responses. When specific isiZulu words were used by three of the participants to refer to certain cultural practices, they were asked to spell these words, which were recorded together with the explanation thereof provided by the participants. It should be noted, however, that giving an English explanation of an isiZulu word, does not adequately articulate the nuances implicit in that word, and this could be considered a limiting factor.

In some of the school settings it was not always easy to find a place to hold the interview that was undisturbed and quiet. This could have contributed, in certain instances, to a breakdown in concentration. The researcher, as interviewer, had to pick up the thread of the conversation. In one particular interview, the battery in the digital recorder needed to be replaced, and a spare battery was not available. As a result, the interview was completed by writing down the participant's responses. This 'note-taking' is clearly indicated in the transcription of that particular interview.

In some contexts the noise levels surrounding the venue in which the interview took place were such that when transcribing the responses it was sometimes difficult to hear what the participant was saying. This could be considered a limiting factor. However, the crystallization of the data (cf. 3.6.1.) settled this issue.

Travelling to provinces other than KwaZulu-Natal, where she resides, meant that the researcher was less flexible in terms of interview times. This lack of flexibility might have meant that participants were under a certain amount of pressure in respect of the times when they could be interviewed.

It could be considered a limitation of this study that the participants were females only. Bhana, de Lange and Mitchell (2009) contend that gender relations affect both women and

men and, as such, men have an important role to play in countering gender inequality. UNAIDS (2000, p. 6) says that men should be seen “as part of the solution” to gender inequality. Including men in this research and focusing on the relations between women and men, could influence the process of gendering the self and the other (cf. Chege, 2004). While there are merits to adopting this position, this study falls within a broader SANPAD (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a) project which has women/girls at the core of its focus, and hence this research centres on female teachers exclusively.

The small number of participants in this study, nine in all, could be seen as a limiting factor. However, it is not an aim of this study to generate generalisations from the findings. The participants do, however, portray a diversity of women in the South African context, with a diversity of situated knowledges (Harraway, 1991).

3.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are inextricably interwoven in the research process (Cohen et al., 2007). Ethical considerations such as access to participants, their consent and their protection are of fundamental importance (K. Punch, 2006). The research process was conducted in a professional and respectful manner so as not to compromise the participants in any way. Assistance was forthcoming from fellow SANPAD researchers (SANPAD, 2010-2012) (Roux, 2009a) in provinces other than KwaZulu-Natal in order to gain access to the female teachers who were purposefully selected as participants in this study. Permission was obtained from the relevant provincial Education Departments (Appendix E – H). School Principals were contacted and their verbal permission secured to gain access to their schools to meet with the selected participants.

Cognizant of the “ethics of the research relationship” (Josselson, 2007, p. 537) attention was also paid to the responsibility in human relationship (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Ellis, 2004; Josselson, 2007; Kvale, 1996; M. Punch, 1994) (cf. 3.4.4.). The researcher endeavoured to build trust and rapport with the participants who would read the researcher’s “interpersonal cues that reflect the researcher’s capacity to be empathetic, nonjudgmental, concerned, tolerant and emotionally responsive” (Josselson, 2007, p. 539).

Participants knew what was expected of them during the research process and exactly what the research process entailed. They received a clear explanation of the extent of their participation, enabling them to make an informed choice to participate voluntarily. The motive for using specific research methods was communicated to participants and their understanding was attained on this matter. Reaching consensus was an important process to ensure that participants identified with the process, since this was important for the securing of authentic data. The participants gave written consent, attached to the self-administered questionnaire and written narratives, and oral consent at the commencement of the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interview.

By asking each of the participants to sign an informed consent form (Appendix I), they were made aware of the research objectives. It was signed, and the participants as well as the researcher received a copy of the documentation. Drawing on Cohen and Manion (2007), the consent documentation was designed and contained the following aspects in order to ensure that the participants' rights were given due consideration: 'competence', 'voluntarism', 'comprehension' and 'full information'.

'Competence' refers to the informative action the researcher took to ensure that the individual selected female teachers were able to make informed and responsible decisions with regard to their participation. 'Voluntarism' refers to the participants' awareness that they were participating in the study voluntarily and that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any time. 'Comprehension' encompasses the process by which the researcher explained the nature of the study in order to assist the participants in fully understanding what the study is about. 'Full information' refers to the process by which the researcher had informed the participants of particular aspects of the research process, for example, confidentiality and non-payment for their participation. The document, "Consent to Participate in Research" (Appendix I), contains these aspects required of consent documentation.

It was important that participants understood the commitment required of them. They were also informed that the findings of the study could be publicized. In the presentation and interpretation of data it was important, for ethical reasons, for the participants' right to

privacy and anonymity to be protected and for confidentiality to be maintained (Cohen et al., 2007; Mouton, 2001; W. Newman, 2011; Silverman, 2010). The participants were assured that at every stage, especially in publication, confidentiality and their anonymity would be maintained. Pseudonyms, for the participants and for the schools at which they were teaching were therefore used to identify the responses to the self-administered questionnaires and written narratives, and in the transcriptions of the recorded interviews. To further protect the anonymity of the participants, the digital recordings of the interviews were erased once the transcriptions had been completed.

At the end of the interview the participants were asked how they felt about the interview process. Their responses were positive. They were thanked for their willingness to participate in the research and the value of their contribution re-emphasised (cf. Josselson, 2007).

What was the participant's narrative would now become a co-constructed text, the analysis of which would fall within the framework of the interpretive authority of the researcher (SE Chase, 1996; Josselson, 2007; Smythe & Murray, 2000). The data used in this study was at no point falsified, nor fabricated.

3.9. SUMMARY

In this chapter the research design of the study (cf. 3.2), the research methodology (cf. 3.3.), research methods (cf. 3.4.), and instruments of data collection (cf. 3.5.) are provided and discussed.

The narrative research design provided for the exploration of the selected female teachers' self-narratives. In keeping with the narrative research design, narrative inquiry is the research methodology (cf. 3.3.1.) underlying the specific methods used for data collection. Narrative inquiry embraces various approaches and the specific approach adopted in this study highlights the personal identity formation of the selected female teachers and their construction of the self in their personal, social and professional domains (cf. Chapter 5). The instruments of data collection (cf. 3.5.) are appropriate in providing direct information

relating to the selected female teachers' religious and cultural identities and their understanding of gender equality. Three specific instruments were used, namely self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews. Every attempt was made to ensure that the data collected were authentic. Narrative analysis (cf. 3.6.2.) is used to analyse the crystallised data (cf. 3.6.1.), focusing on 'what' was said, and thinking 'with' and 'about' the story in each self-narrative. The notion of a thematic approach and the use of 'narrative linkages' are employed (cf. Chapter 6). Issues of authenticity (cf. 3.6.3.), limitations in the study (cf. 3.7.) and ethical considerations (cf. 3.8.) form part of the brief of this chapter.

The researcher's positionality and role are presented (cf. 3.4.4.). Her position as a feminist researcher informs her choice of the feminist paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.) in which the study is situated. This paradigm is especially suited to this study which enables individual women's voices to be heard in a 'safe space', raising the consciousness of disempowerment, inequality and the exploitation of women. In line with feminist research, the researcher and the participants become co-producers of data.

A description of the nine selected female teachers (cf. 3.4.2.1.) from six schools in four provinces in South Africa, provides an introduction to the individual portraits presented in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, using the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.3.) as the theoretical lens for analysis, the nine individual portraits are analysed and discussed. In Chapter 6, employing narrative analysis as the analytical tool, and drawing on the conceptual clarification as provided in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.) and the theoretical framework as presented in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.), the central theme and sub-themes which emerged from across all nine self-narratives are analysed and discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gallery: Exhibition of Portraits

PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapters 4 – 6 focus on the presentation, analysis and discussion of the self-narratives of the participants. Drawing on the work of Chase (2010), in this chapter, the particular voices and stories of the participants are presented. What follows is an individual portrait of each of the nine female teachers who participated in this study. Each portrait presents a crystallisation of their responses to the self-administered questionnaires³⁹, the written narratives⁴⁰ and the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews⁴¹. Pseudonyms are used for the participants and the schools at which they teach (cf. 3.4.2., 3.8.). The school contexts in which they teach, and the interview contexts, are presented in Appendix J.

Each participant's self-narrative begins with a biographical cameo, followed by her understanding of her religious and cultural identity, her understanding of the human right to gender equality and her perception of her classroom practice. More specifically, each participant reflects on the position held by women in her religion, and in her culture, and comments on practices such as polygamy, choice of marriage partner, virginity testing and contraception. Each participant comments on her experience of gender equality in her personal, social and professional domains. Finally, each participant comments on her approach to gender equality in her classroom practice. The researcher distanced herself in the presentation of these portraits, allowing each participant's voice to be heard. In keeping with the ethic of care adopted in the wider SANPAD project (2010 – 2012) (Roux, 2009a), each portrait is framed by a 'safe space' (Du Preez, 2012a; Jansen, 2009; Noddings, 1984; Roux, 2012) (cf. 1.3.2., 3.3.2.). The relationship with the participant was prioritised, "rooted in receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness" (Noddings, 1984, p. 2) (cf. 3.3.2.).

³⁹ The actual questions that informed the self-administered questionnaires can be found in Appendix A

⁴⁰ The question that informed the written narrative can be found in Appendix B

⁴¹ The actual questions that informed the semi-structured individual interviews can be found in Appendix C

The interpretation of each participant's self-narrative illustrates the degree to which she is entangled with the other (cf. 2.2.2.1.) and also the extent to which it might be possible to become disentangled leaving her free to build a new gender identity. In this sense these self-narratives can be emancipatory and empowering (cf. 2.3., 2.5.) as they fragment the master-narrative of patriarchy (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.). These self-narratives facilitated a conversation between the participant's gender identity and her understanding of gender equality, in her personal, social and professional domains. The conversation occurs in the context of the participant addressing both an external audience (the researcher) and the internal audience of her 'society-of-mind' (cf. 2.4.).

The words of the participants are quoted verbatim⁴² and appear in italics.

4.2. PRESENTATION OF PORTRAITS

4.2.1. Portrait of Purity

Purity is a black African, middle-aged teacher with a Diploma in Education, and between 5 and 10 years of teaching experience. She teaches Life Orientation (LO) to four classes of Grade 8 learners. Purity lives in the Vulindlela district during the week. In order to stay in this area she had to apply to the local headman/chief. She is a single mother. Her two children live with her mother in Durban and she visits them every weekend.

Religious Identity

Purity says that her religion and culture are *partially the same*, including *westernisation a little bit, but it is also a tradition*[al]. She speaks about different Christian *denominations* and establishes her religious identity as a member of the *Zionist denomination* and more specifically as belonging to the Ekuthuleni Apostolic Church in Zion⁴³, the founder of which is a woman. Commenting on the influence of her parents' religion on her in her formative

⁴² The original hand written responses to the self-administered questionnaires and written narratives, and the transcripts of the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews can be found on the CD included with this thesis.

⁴³ An African Initiated Church, also known as an African Independent Church.

years, growing up in an informal settlement in Inanda, she refers to the patriarchal system in her religion and culture whereby men are considered to be superior to women. She says:

we have to respect men most of the time. Men [are] seen as superior than women, even in church.

Purity describes the dress code for women in the church saying that the church elders do not allow girls and women to wear trousers, earrings, lipstick, nail varnish, short skirts or short sleeves. Purity says it makes her angry and uncomfortable, that in her church, men and women sit separately and that the unmarried women do not sit on benches but rather on the floor. When asked how she feels about this practice, she comments saying:

I don't accept it, but I do it.

She elucidates her position further when she says:

I am educated but I don't have a voice because they [the men] are superior. And I have to follow the procedure, which is practised.

Cultural Identity

Cultural identity, for Purity, is *how we are grown up*. As part of her culture she includes her language, isiZulu, the values instilled in the family, and the food she prepared and ate. When talking about polygamy she says that neither she nor her church are in favour of this practice. However, she adds, that *according to the culture or society it is accepted*. Her reason for not being in favour of this practice is that it is not viable for a man in the present economic climate to look after a wife and educate children, let alone more than one wife. She says: *...I don't think that it is easy to cope with all those expenses.*

In relation to choice of a life partner she tells the story about how in the past men in the church would say to the leaders that God had told them that they should marry a particular

woman. The woman in question did not *have the right to say no, because God said, and then you have to accept that*. For Purity the choice of a partner is *[her] own decision*.

Purity herself has not experienced virginity testing. However, she knows that it does take place in the area in which she teaches. Pointing through the window to the dwellings just outside the school property, Purity states that

there is old lady down there who is doing it. I don't know how do they do it but what I know is that they open the girls arse and they look at the vagina. I don't know what do they see. How do they recognise that they hymen is there?

According to Purity, the girls like virginity testing and submit themselves to it voluntarily because in August each year a weekend long party is held to celebrate with these girls that they are virgins. This celebration is held on the school playground,

...they called it uNomkhubulwano. They celebrate their virginity...and the municipality used to sponsor them for the whole ceremony, because it took them Friday, Saturday, Sunday.

Purity expresses concern that this celebration gives the boys the opportunity to *choose among these ladies...boys benefit from these girls because they choose them and then they get married to them*.

In the past she says that the church was opposed to the use of contraception. However, according to Purity the church's stance has changed and the church now promotes the use of condoms in an attempt to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and also teenage pregnancy.

Gender Equality

Purity describes her understanding of human rights as

...the rights of human beings they have since they were born...everybody have equal right no matter how old or young you are, whether you are male or female, irrespective of race, gender, religion.

Giving her view of gender equality she contends that women are oppressed by religion and culture, saying that men expect to

be treated as superior than women [and] men are given many [more] opportunities than women [and] they are allowed to do whatever they want to do [and] wear what they want and hold superior positions in terms of employment.

She mentions more than once that women are deprived of getting higher positions in the workplace. She knows that from a young age the men comment that *ladies are stupid* but,

you just keep quiet...because you are a woman.

In her professional domain she speaks about how the men react to the two women on the School Management Team of eight, saying that *they* [the men] *undermine the ladies*.

Elaborating on the position of women and men in her social domain, she tells of how, even when the wife and husband are both working and they come home from work, the wife is expected to *do home chores* like cooking, looking after the children, and supervising their homework, while the men usually sit and watch TV and read newspapers. She maintains that by observing the pattern at home where women play a submissive role and the men a dominant role, *children grow up with this in their mind, that woman's place is in the kitchen, men's place is in industry*. Children develop the understanding that their chores are assigned according to gender. According to Purity, this understanding is reinforced in the community where, for example, during a funeral women are responsible for cooking and serving the food and men are responsible for digging the grave and burying the corpse.

In the family, she speaks about the way in which children are treated at home, saying that *right from the beginning, our parents treat us differently as boys and girls*. She mentions boys being treated as *special, rather than girls*. Boys are given toy cars and girls, dolls. She mentions how she purposefully tried to break this stereotype when she says *...you know what I did to my girl when she was young? I used to buy her a car toy*. The car was put under the bed and her daughters wanted dolls. Commenting on this Purity says that she is unsure *whether...it is inherited or what. It is like now it is nature. The girls must play the doll*. When playing with their dolls, she observed how her two girls played with a doll's house and how *they play[ed] with the roles, that this is the mother, this is the father, these are children and the father has to set the rules for the whole family*. In her observation, boys and girls enjoy different games and she gives the example of boys who play soccer and girls who prefer to skip. When girls feel pain they are *allowed to cry* but the boys are told *no, you are the man, don't cry*. She adds that *parents allow boys to go out at night but girls not*. She sees this gender discrimination as being *internalised* from a young age *by... parents*.

Purity describes the practice of *uKugoma*⁴⁴ whereby an adolescent girl's parents provide a room for the girl and the boy is allowed to visit. They call the boy *the fiancé because they have to pay...the lobola, just the intro, the pre-phase...the deposit*. She explains that the boy and girl

will practice the safe sex, they call it uKugoma...the boy will put the penis in the thigh but no penetration [however]...something goes wrong, because you find that the teenage pregnancy happens.

In the rural area where she teaches, she accepts that *the women have to respect the men*. They have to be concerned with what they wear. The married women have to wear many clothes including a long skirt, apron, towel, jersey and another towel on top. Their hair has to be covered at all times, even when at home. She speaks about men who are married

⁴⁴ In traditional Zulu culture, there is a sequence of events which unfold before a traditional wedding. First there is *uNomkhubulwano* (the opportunity to select a partner, described previously), then the pre *lobola* payment followed by *uKugoma* which is sleeping together without penetration, followed by *lobola*, the full bride price, then *ummabo*, the giving of wedding gifts, and then the traditional wedding.

and who have girlfriends in the town and describes how men will sometimes bring home a child *maybe a grown up, a 14 year old*, whom they fathered and whom the wife knew nothing about. The women have to accept this because *it is for [the] husband*. She stresses that *the women in the community are treated as less than the men and the men are superior, so the woman has to accept whatever the man says*.

Having said this Purity adds that some men are vulnerable. She says that some women beat the men, *but when the men go report that statement to the police station...the police will laugh at them*. She expresses the opinion that *the men must have their organisation where they have to speak out about their problems*.

Classroom Practice

In her classroom practice, Purity recalls having taught one lesson the previous year as part of an LO Physical Education lesson, focusing on gender equality pertaining to sport. Purity says that there is limited time in LO to deal with all the issues but she can see the value of exploring gender equality *to inculcate gender equality to learners, to know their rights and responsibilities*.

She explains that girls fall pregnant and drop out of school, whereas the boys carry on at school. She says that she teaches the girls that they *must look after themselves because they are the one who [more] vulnerable than men*. In warning them about falling pregnant she explains to the girls that they will be expected to look after their husband and children, *the whole family*, and that they will not be able to complete their education. She urges her learners *to be careful about [their] future...and HIV/AIDS is here, so you have to be careful*.

She mentions that in Grade 10 the learners can choose their subjects. For her it is important to mention that the boys choose what she calls the *construction subjects*, referring to physical science and maths, while the girls choose the social sciences. Her way of addressing gender equality in her classroom is *to group both genders when doing class activities. Boys and girls sit together. There are no rows for boys and girls* and, Purity gives boys and girls the same tasks to complete.

4.2.2. Portrait of Thabi

Thabi is a black African, middle-aged teacher with a Diploma in Education and between 10 and 20 years of teaching experience. She teaches LO to Grade 8 learners. She is married, but her husband does not live with her. She and her daughter live alone in Pietermaritzburg⁴⁵. Thabi refers to her mother, who died in 2007, as *a very strong woman* who instructed her husband, after an altercation, to leave the familial home. She explains that people living in the community were jealous of her mother, who, as a single women, raised a daughter who was well educated.

Religious Identity

Thabi says that her religion and culture are the same in some ways but *they don't work in harmony* in other ways. She classifies her religious identity as that of a practising Christian, and more specifically, a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission Church⁴⁶. She comments that her mother's Christian religion had a positive influence on her in her formative years, teaching her self-control and respect and helping her to *always have hope and belief in whatever situation*. As a teenager, she *accepted Christ as Lord and Saviour*. For Thabi, *God is the only one to be worshipped, the only one who supplies human need*.

When addressing the position of women in her religion, she draws the distinction between God's teaching that *man and woman are equal*, and her religion which *gives all powers to man and treats girls and women as slaves...the man is the head, and he...make[s] rules*. She comments that a man is allowed to have as many women/wives/girlfriends as he wishes, but that a woman is not allowed to do so, for fear of being *divorced...beaten, killed*.

In her church, as a woman, *the first thing you are expected to do, is to submit...to your husband*. The man is told to love the woman but *after the wedding, love is not emphasised, it is only the submission that is emphasised*. She says that the men will say that *God created us first so we are leaders*. She contends that

⁴⁵ The closest town, 60 kms from the peri-urban area in which the school is situated.

⁴⁶ The Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM) is a classical Pentecostal Christian denomination in South Africa.

most of [the men] are just jealous and they don't want to see women successful. They always want to see women under them.

Thabi's understanding of submission is that she will submit if there is no conflict with what God expects [her] to do. Then [she] stand[s] up and do[es]...whatever God is requiring from [her].

Thabi says that there are things in her religion that she does not understand, *like women being forced to cover their heads when they go to church and women not allowed to wear pants*. She says that she cannot imagine God punishing anyone because of *what [they] are wearing*. Thabi is of the opinion that there is a man who wants his wife to dress in a certain way and *now he is oppressing all other women to look like that*. Although she does not see the relevance of covering her head and does not like doing so, she does so *for God's sake*, as she stands *in front of the church leading them with worship*.

Cultural Identity

In discussing her cultural identity Thabi describes how men like virgins, but after they have had sex with them *then [they] are nothing*. She says that the man wants *to be the first and then he will go and tell others...I know this lady and how is she in bed*. Speaking of the role of women in her culture Thabi says that *there is no equality* and that women are *treated like a child...they are treated as inferior people* and the men *must dominate and they must head*. Women who express their own opinions are considered to be *not a good person*.
Thabi's culture

does not allow any woman to say anything. We are told to be silent in my culture...don't argue with a man...you are not allowed to come with your ideas...you must keep it to yourself...the males are like perceived as 'the' human beings.

She explains that before a woman gets married she is counselled by the older ladies and told that *women are not allowed to have affairs* but that the bride must know that her husband to be...*is a man, so he is going to have other women...*[and] *you do as if nothing wrong is happening. Don't tell it to other people.* Thabi contends *that is why this HIV spreading like this* because of the girlfriends whom she maintains *prefer to have kids with married [men]* saying that *married men, they do care.*

Thabi comments that where she and her daughter reside they *are free to say whatever [they] feel like saying...and wearing. We are free...not like if you look at this community* (referring to the community in which Midlands Comprehensive School is situated). She says that if she comes to the school to attend a function she is expected to dress *in a way that will be accepted by these people* in the surrounding community.

Giving her view on polygamy, Thabi explains that if a man's first wife does not submit to him he will take another wife, and if she in turn does not submit to him he will choose yet another wife. He will call the wife who submits, who *doesn't stand up...[and] say anything which is against what he is saying, Intandokazi, meaning 'the one who is loved by that man'*. She declares emphatically that as a woman, *you are only appreciated...if you give birth to boys.* The woman who does not submit is called *Isaliwakazi* which means *that one is not loved by this man or the rejected one.* A woman is also *Isaliwakazi, because you cannot give him children, or sons.* The wife who bears sons will inherit from the Will [the last testament, or deceased's Estate] even if she was the third wife. Inheritance for the children *will be given to the boys before the girls.* Thabi describes the fractious relationship between the wives in a polygamous marriage saying that ill-feeling permeates to the children who

grow knowing that my mother is the rejected one so that means I must hate the kids for the loved ones. And those [children] of the loved ones they boast...it causes hate.

With regard to choosing a marriage partner Thabi describes the practice whereby a suitor will approach a woman and if she rejects his proposal he will take her *by force.*

She recounts that this happened to her when she was a Grade 12 learner and a suitor went to her aunt's house and wanted to meet with Thabi. When Thabi realised his intentions her response was

I don't need a lover at my stage...I want to go to tertiary [education] and come back and help my mother...I am saved [referring to her religion] and I don't do these games.

She explains that in her culture, *once you say yes to a boy you love him then you mean you are going to have sex*. She therefore informed the boy that she knew that by saying that she loved him, she would be giving him *all the keys to have sex*, and that she wasn't ready for that, and she told him to *get lost*. This suitor, she says, planned to take her by force on her way home from church, but she says she used a different route home. The following day neighbours told her *that a certain man was here with so many people in a taxi they were coming to fetch you*.

She recounts another occasion when her late cousin's husband approached her mother (her father had by then already left the familial home) saying that he wanted to marry Thabi. Thabi's response was *if he wants to say something to me, tell him to come straight to me*.

Thabi herself has not experienced virginity testing. However, she expresses the opinion that it is a good practice as it deters young women from having sex before marriage, protecting them *from these STDs [sexually transmitted diseases] and all these things*. She says that she is not sure how the actual testing takes place, nor how effective it is, because there are times when a girl has been going for regular testing but then *is seven months pregnant*. She says that in her culture it is believed that the only way in which the hymen can be broken is as a result of sexual intercourse and *you cannot tell another reason that is different from that. It is only sex that can [break the hymen]...and you must tell them [the elders] who did it*.

While she thinks it is good for women to use contraception she states emphatically that the men don't approve. Thabi says that *they don't like condoms, they don't like anything, because they say now you are telling me what to do*. She explains that the men say that if the woman is using contraception then [her] *body will not be warm like it is expected as a woman*. Thabi contends that *it is good for a woman to do it [use contraception], but if [she does, she] must hide it, he [the man] mustn't know*.

Gender Equality

Thabi describes her understanding of human rights, saying that *all individuals on earth are supposed to be treated in an acceptable manner and to be respected by all individuals*. With regard to gender equality she says that *it means that all persons should be treated equally regardless of gender and that abuse should be reported*. She says that while definitions of gender equality can be given, *the practices are very different...the practice is different from the definition*. Thabi says that the women in management at Midlands Comprehensive School are placed *under a lot of pressure*. She contends that they are expected to *always do things to please others*. Commenting on her position as a Head of Department, she says that most of the males tell the Principal that they *no longer want to work with [her] because [she likes] doing everything [her]self*. She concedes that this is the case, because when she asks the men to do something,

they [the men] always have something to do...am I supposed to wait for them?...so I was explaining that to the Principal...[that] I end up doing everything, because if you ask them they don't want to do it...they don't like to see you just taking a position and doing what you can do.

She talks to her learners acknowledging that what she is telling them about gender equality may be different to what they see practised in their homes. Learners come to her saying that they can see that their parents are not practising human rights at home but they don't know how to address this. Thabi advises these learners not to challenge their parents but rather to listen to what she teaches them so that when they are *a grown up woman or a grown up man* they will know how they should behave and *what is expected and not*

expected and she encourages them to *live it*. She says she discourages the boys from copying their father's way of treating their mother. She says that *even the boys sometimes they will say...Mam...now we understand what you are saying*.

Classroom Practice

Thabi sees the value of including human rights in the LO curriculum as *its purpose is to help inform those people whose rights have been violated to know what to do to retain their rights*. In her classroom practice she hasn't actually taught a lesson on gender equality, but rather a lesson containing the *sort of advice where girls and boys should be equally treated starting in [their] families, communities etc*. Thabi maintains that, in the school, *girls are sexually harassed by the boys and male and female educators are treating and talking bad things about one another*. She contends that *all educators should be taught or workshopped to help them see the need for it [gender equality] being implemented*. Thabi does feel that she has a voice in the school and notes that *girls and boys whose rights are violated know that they are free to report to me* and she then administers appropriate punishment *depending on the type of offence*.

In her classroom practice she makes it a priority that *all learners are treated equally*. *I discourage abuse by boys, whether it is verbal or physical*.

4.2.3. Portrait of Jabu

Jabu is a black African, middle-aged teacher with between 10 and 20 years of teaching experience. She is currently teaching LO to Grades 4 and 5. She has a primary school teacher's diploma as well as an Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE)⁴⁷. She lives with her partner in a flat in the area neighbouring the school. Jabu is mother to two daughters but has also raised her sister's two sons and her younger brother. She has also adopted a boy. Of these six children, four still live with her.

⁴⁷ The Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) provides teachers with diplomas as opposed to teaching degrees, with the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications. The ACE is about to be discontinued.

Religious Identity

Jabu refers to her religious and cultural identity as *different but merging*. In terms of her religious identity she refers to herself as a practising Christian and more specifically a Methodist⁴⁸. She grew up in a Tsonga⁴⁹ family that practised African Traditional Religion although her mother was *partially* a Christian. From the age of six her mother took her to church and she says that *gradually everyone became a staunch Christian, though [they] still practised some African Traditional Religion functions [rituals]*. She describes being a Christian as *a very fulfilling life commitment*, saying that reading the Bible and singing hymns help her *to overcome hurdles that [she] come[s] across*.

Cultural Identity

Jabu describes her cultural identity as *a way of dressing...a way of celebrating of which sometimes they clash with the religion ones*. She contends that her culture

is something that you cannot take out of your mind because you are born inside it and...it is being practiced at home, so it becomes part of you.

According to Jabu, in her culture and religion women *are not supposed to put on pants*. She laughs as she points out *pants fit women better than men according to what [she] see[s]*. She says that both her religious and cultural practices teach her *a good way of living...they teach you respect*. She explains that for the Tsonga people *it is about respect, respect, respect, respect*. Referring to the oral tradition in her culture, she says that it can be problematic because nothing is recorded and so *this one tells you this and this one tells you that, and you try and make out something out of that*. She points to a bangle which she wears made of skin, and says that it has particular importance when giving birth to a child. She explains that *maybe the child will get sick, maybe the child will just cry...then we go to the traditional healers and then they will tell us why is the child crying like that*.

⁴⁸ A specific Christian Protestant denomination.

⁴⁹ The name given to a diverse group of people, Ntu-speaking groups, living in south eastern Zimbabwe and the eastern parts of South Africa's Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces.

In describing the position of a woman in her religion and culture, Jabu says that a woman *is below the man, from both aspects, the religious one and the traditional one*. She acknowledges that more recently, in her church, women are being given roles *which were traditionally for men*. She says that her church has a female priest which she describes as *very, very rare*.

Jabu says that in her culture, especially in the urban areas, women are becoming more liberated. She gives the example:

...like I sit on a chair which was not allowed, the chair was for men...then women discovered very late that the meat that we were not supposed to eat is the nicest one...the gizzard of the chicken...we like them a lot, but they were not eaten by women and children...but now we go to Shoprite⁵⁰...you can just buy it, it is not like you have to wait for your chicken at home to be slaughtered...

Jabu acknowledges that practices are changing. She refers to women gaining autonomy because

women are now working so they can stand for themselves. I have my own house...in the olden days at home in my village a woman was not supposed to be given land to build. You could only get it if there was a man behind you. But those things are changing.

Jabu emphatically acknowledges her disapproval of polygamy *because people tend to fight there [in the polygamous marriage] and they stay together, [and] the fight will just go on and on*.

With regard to *choosing a marriage partner*, Jabu is not in favour of arranged marriages and comments that *you know a person and then you choose*. Jabu maintains that in most

⁵⁰ A supermarket chain in South Africa.

instances a young girl is given to an older man. She says *when you are 12 and the man is 45, that one is embarrassing, I don't like it, it is bad, it is bad.*

Jabu speaks of initiation practices in the Tsonga culture in which she did not participate, but tells of her sister who went to one such initiation ceremony at the age of 16, where *they teach them womanhood*. She speaks of this ceremony as *something that is hidden* and states emphatically that she wants no part of something that is secret, saying that she likes things *that are displayed*.

While she has never experienced virginity testing herself, Jabu says *I think I like that one*. She describes it as a *delaying tactic* saying that *children who stay at the same village know...[they] are going to be tested and the child won't do anything knowing that what is going to happen*. She speaks about when girls at her previous school, a secondary school, fall pregnant and *they [the School Management] would send her home maybe until next year and then the boy remains at school*. She contends that *the girls should be very, very cautious when it comes to this sleeping around*.

Referring to the use of contraception Jabu says that men will not use contraception, *that is why so many girls and women just have unwanted children because they are not allowed [to use contraception]*. Jabu approves of the use of contraception but acknowledges that *it is the woman who is supposed to do that...[and that] it should be done so that a person can be able to control her body*. She refers to the importance of using protection from *this illness that are very, very dangerous* (referring to HIV/AIDS) and says that a contraceptive should be used *that is going to protect everything, the diseases and everything, not only the pregnancy*. Jabu continues saying that

[t]he problem is that women are submissive, sometimes they don't even try and say no...and be assertive so they just believe that this is what I must do, and another thing is that women are scared of being left, if I don't do this, this person will leave me...sometimes women are hard on themselves.

Gender Equality

Jabu maintains that gender equality *is not implemented satisfactorily* at Beachwood Primary. She points out that there are far more women than men teachers, suggesting that *generally men do not like to work with younger children. At college they choose courses for senior learners...they teach primary only if they didn't get their first preference.* She comments that her Deputy Principal is a male who talks down to women. Jabu challenges this saying that *he should have learnt* [about gender discrimination] *as he has been a part of education transformation forums.*

She says that the only difference between male and females, is *the sexual organs and* [she] *think[s]* we [men and women] *should be valued the same way.* Appointments to leadership positions should depend *on the qualifications.* She maintains that

men don't feel it is suitable for women to control them...by telling them what to do, they always think that they are the best...Men have this thing that they are superior, they have a problem when they are being led by a woman, and so they always cause trouble and they always like to show this woman that you have not done this...they want to show off, to prove you wrong.

Jabu describes gender equality as *doing things equally*, both at work and at home. She gives the example of a young mother who is expected to *look after the baby and cook and clean and do everything and the man sits and reads the newspaper.* She maintains that domestic chores should be shared.

In her personal domain with her partner, Jabu's practice is to *just help each other...if I can do this let me do it and you can do that one. We can help one another.* She says that when she doesn't feel like ironing, her partner *must just do it.* Jabu contends that children should be trained *when they are still young.* The two boys and two girls living with her are not treated differently, *they clean, they wash dishes, they cook. There is no one who is treated differently.*

In her social domain she maintains that *women are not treated too good, men do what they want, women ask for permission first, [they] are treated like children* and she continues, *women are harsh on themselves*. With visible disapproval of the situation, Jabu tells the story of an old lady she knows who is in terrible pain, but who is still expected to cook. She says

her husband would be sitting and waiting for the wife to cook...and I am asking her 'Granny why do you have to cook, why can't Mkulu cook?' and she says 'shame he is Zulu, he can't cook'.

Jabu contends that when women leave the punishment of the children solely to the fathers, these women are admitting that they *can't deal with the child, it is the father who is above*. She speaks about her own upbringing by her mother who was a divorcee and the good job she did. As a single person, she Jabu, raised her sister's sons and her younger brother and she refers to how they have done well and made her proud. With a determined look on her face, Jabu claims that *women are the best when it comes to taking care of families. I've seen people's life changing for the best living with their single mothers. I'm one such example*.

Jabu makes mention of the frequent dependence of a woman on a man's physical strength, but quickly adds that working women do not have to depend on a man as they can pay to get someone to do the job that they physically cannot do.

Classroom Practice

In her classroom practice when she needs class monitors Jabu asks for volunteers. She describes this strategy as important,

as I do not give out jobs and make them gender specific...I arrange the learners by splitting up those who cause nonsense. Learners do not have permanent places in the classroom. There is no gender bias.

She sees the value of learning about gender equality in the classroom, in that there will be more openness amongst boys and girls, and in the context of child-headed families *they will be able to help one another*.

4.2.4. Portrait of Amy

Amy is a White, English-speaking, middle-aged teacher who formerly practised as a lawyer before deciding to study to become a teacher. She has been teaching for 5 years and teaches LO to Grade 7. She has been divorced for 4 years and lives with her two children in the area neighbouring Clifford Primary School.

Religious Identity

Amy considers her religious identity to be that of a practising Christian, belonging to the Methodist denomination. Her parents were also Methodists and she maintains that her Methodist upbringing did have a positive influence on her. She describes her religion as a *loving and comforting belief system, [with] no fear of punishment and recrimination*. She understands her religious identity to *determine [her] outlook on life and how [she] view[s] things and handle[s] situations*. Commenting on the position of women in her religion she notes that *there is equality between men and women, there are ministers of both sexes in the church*. When couples get married *everything is shared, so it is not like women are inferior to men...both [are] responsible for making sure [their] families are provided for...*

Cultural Identity

In terms of cultural identity she explains that her mother is of German descent and her father is Afrikaans and *you take a bit from everything to make your own culture*. The culture in which she was raised promoted gender equality. By contrast the distinct culture to which she was exposed, whilst formerly married to a Portuguese man, considered boys to be more important than the girls, because they carry the family name. Amy says that

the way the men are treated in their culture is different to the way women are treated...the boy in the family is definitely treated a bit better...the boy is given the first option to do things.

She cites the example of a brother and sister coming home from school and *the boy would go and sit at the table and the sister would go and get lunch for him*. She says she thinks this is the practice because of the cultural perception the boys have

to be taken care of because they are going to go out and make a living and take care of the family and it is the woman's job to stay at home and cook and clean...

With regard to polygamy, Amy says that [she] *wouldn't be happy in a polygamous marriage*, stating emphatically that *monogamy is important*.

With regard to choosing a marriage partner she contends that *you should have the freedom to choose...sometimes you have to make mistakes, grow as a person*. In a joking manner though she does refer to her failed marriage and in the light of this says that *maybe our parents should choose our partners for us*.

Amy comments on virginity testing and says that she disapproves of girls being *subjected to that*. In the event of a girl being told she is not a virgin *it is going to break down [her] morale...it is going to make [her] feel unworthy*. She concludes saying, *I just don't think that it is right*.

She considers contraception to be very important, especially with the spread of HIV/AIDS. She is also of the opinion that

you can't just go on having children...it is expensive, it is not responsible...it is a decision that has to be very carefully made and until you are ready for that you definitely have to take precautions.

Gender Equality

Amy understands human rights to be *the right that we all have as human beings, rights that cannot be taken away, or should not be taken away*. More specifically she understands gender equality to mean *that men and women are equal and should have the same rights*. Amy says her religion has influenced this understanding and she states with conviction that

people should not be discriminated against based on gender, both sexes should have equal opportunities...you should be free to go into any field or any occupations you want to regardless of whether you are male or female.

Amy feels that there should be gender equality in job opportunities saying that *if you have got the qualifications and you have got the passion for something, a desire to do it, there should not be restrictions based on your gender*. She is emphatic that women should be in leadership positions *because women bring a whole new perspective to situations*. She contends that in certain situations, a woman in leadership does not have the power that should accompany the position, and that she is *more like a figurehead and filling in the quotas*. She raises the difficulties for women who, for example, *can be head of a company, but then [are] still expected at home to be the mother and look after the children*. She recounts something of this dynamic in her former marriage saying: *I was expected to work, and to still look after the children and the home and still make time for him and go to his work...so that he could have a bit of free time*. She felt this to be discriminatory. Amy volitionally shares that her former husband had an affair and that this did affect her. Speaking of herself she maintains that *you doubt yourself, you think where did I go wrong, what did I do, should I have done that, shouldn't I have done that?*

Amy raises the notion of chivalry saying,

I think you can still be equals but it is still the gentlemanly thing to do to pull a chair out or open a door. I don't think it takes away from, makes the woman a weaker person if a man does something nice...

In Clifford Primary School Amy claims that gender equality is not an issue. Amy says she feels she has a voice in the school and that *everyone is heard and has an equal say*. The School Management Team members treat everyone equally, however,

sometimes the men are called upon more like if there is an issue with discipline...we all think that the children are going to be more afraid if a man is disciplining them...than a woman.

Amy offers an explanation for this saying that

some of the black [African] children don't respect a woman, don't like taking orders and that from a white woman...It is easier for a man to handle all the discipline...Women are seen as softer.

When Amy says that *there is no discrimination as regards roles and functions performed by staff*, she pauses, and then makes the observation that when the school has a sports day *it is always the men who stay behind and sort everything out and make sure that children pick up papers and women take their things and off they go*. Amy notes that while the Principal is male, as are both the School Governing Body Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, in practice, in her opinion, it is *the women [who] keep everything rolling...[they] are the ones doing all the work*. She comments that female teachers coach soccer and cricket. She adds that *there are girls in the cricket team and should boys want to play netball they would be allowed*.

In her personal domain she says that her son and daughter are treated *exactly the same* and expected to help in an age appropriate way in the home. In her community the people with whom she comes into contact, are, she says, for the most part in *loving equal relationships*. She cites her parents' 45-year marriage as an example of this. She does, however, know of a *couple of friends that have also got divorced and that there have been abusive relationships and things like that*.

Classroom Practice

She talks about the importance of exploring gender equality in her classroom practice and in the LO curriculum, saying that *there are still traditional cultures that view one [gender] as superior to the other. We need to explore the issue of gender equality so as to enlighten them.* In a lesson focusing on stereotyping and sexism it became apparent to her that

there is still a belief amongst some children that girls can only do certain jobs/sports etc. and should not try to participate in male activities and if they do, they won't be as good.

She adds that it is *difficult to change this mind-set.*

When she teaches the girls on their own she says that she has to try to be more unbiased in her approach and avoid making comments such as, *it is so much nicer in the class without the boys, it is so much quieter. Girls are more well-behaved.* She says that *sub-consciously or unconsciously, [she is] making those separations and noticing differences.* Amy speaks about the relationship changing between male and female learners once they are in Grade 7. She points out that *the boys have to be cool and the girls have got to look pretty...the whole dynamic changes.* She observes that *the girls are definitely getting more forward than they used to be...they are more aware of the boys and pressing [pressurising] the boys...*

In discussing the possible impact of the teaching-learning of gender equality she says that

it will encourage those girls who maybe come from an environment where they are not allowed the same rights as boys, they will know...what they should be allowed to do, if they want to study or something.

She illustrates her point by referring to Muslim girls who are required to stay at home after Grade 7, saying that *if they want to study further they have to do correspondence and they have to stay at home and look after the siblings.* Amy tells the story of one girl who *wanted*

to become a teacher so badly, and such a lovely girl and so intelligent and her father said no, stay at home. And it was sad, she knew her rights...she could do nothing about it.

Amy raises the question:

How do they stand up for their rights? If they go home and say I have the right to this, how can they enforce it? How can they make sure those rights are adhered to? They can't.

Amy stresses that she finds it unfair *when limitations are placed on someone merely because of their sex*. In her classroom practice she says that *exactly the same standard, quality and abilities are expected from boys and girls*.

4.2.5. Portrait of Bongi

Bongi is a black African, middle-aged teacher who is currently registered with the University of South Africa where she is completing an Advanced Certificate in Education⁵¹ in LO. She has at least 10 years of teaching experience. Bongi has taught LO to Grades 8 and 9 and is currently teaching LO to Grades 11 and 12. She divorced her first husband and is currently living in the township neighbouring Breakthrough High School with the father of her son.

Religious Identity

Bongi describes her religious identity as that of Christianity and, more specifically, Catholicism. She describes her parents' religion as teaching her *morals and values* such as *respect and acceptable behaviour*. She embraced their Catholic faith, becoming a committed and faithful participant of the religious community, when she was baptized and

⁵¹ The Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) provides teachers with diplomas as opposed to teaching degrees, with the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications. The ACE is about to be discontinued.

took the sacrament⁵². She says that she *realised that what the rules [Catholic Church doctrine] say to me is for the better*.

Commenting on the place of women in her religion she says that women need to be recognised, but in practice only men are allowed to be servers in the church and administer the sacrament of Holy Communion. Her religion teaches that *women should submit to their husbands even if they [the husbands] are wrong*.

Cultural Identity

Her cultural identity is that of Bhaca⁵³ practice. She says that she and her family believe in ancestors and perform rituals such as *ummabo*⁵⁴, and *ummemulo*⁵⁵ as an indication of being an adult within the family and society. In her culture it is the elder that should communicate with the ancestors. If the grandmother is the elder, a brother or uncle must be called to do this on her behalf because *it is only the man who does that* [speaking to the ancestors] *through this hemp, impepho*⁵⁶.

While explaining that her religious and cultural identities differ, Bongi comments that *the basics are the same* with regard to the place of women. In both it is *the men first and then the women*. Women are considered to be on *a lower level than men...not like taking us as equally as we are supposed to be*. Bongi maintains that *there is a stigma when you are a woman*, and she expresses her disagreement with this saying, *it is not right, it is not right*. According to Bongi, women are required to *maintain the dignity of males by not trying to overpower them*. She shakes her head when she comments that women do not get the recognition they deserve for the *lot of things that [they] are doing as women*.

Bongi says that when she was growing up her parents disapproved of girls wearing trousers and would not allow her to bring a girl home who wore trousers. She was also not

⁵² A practice within the Catholic Church when receiving Holy Communion for the first time.

⁵³ Belonging to the Southern or Cape Nguni traditional society which is made up of different groups, including the amaXhosa peoples. The Bhaca group traditionally live near the Eastern Cape's border with KwaZulu-Natal.

⁵⁴ This refers to the sharing of gift preceding a traditional wedding.

⁵⁵ The equivalent of a 21st birthday celebration.

⁵⁶ *Impepho* is traditional incense which is burnt.

allowed to *go to a friend's house with a trouser*. Bongi contends that wearing trousers is *that man power thing*. She says that men argue that they cannot wear skirts and so women should not wear trousers. This argument is weak, she maintains, because long ago the men wore *amabeshu* (attire covering the male genitals) and there were no trousers. Bongi contends that *only the boys really receive any recognition that they are growing up*. She cites male circumcision as elevating men to a place of importance as it is a *dignity that is put on males only*. She points out that virginity testing for the girls is not culturally mandatory in the same way as circumcision is for the boys.

With regard to polygamy, Bongi views this practice in her culture as *very out of order* because the wives *are not receiving the same provision* from the husband and *sometimes the kids will suffer*. She maintains that the women who endorse polygamy are going into it knowingly, arguing that there is a shortage of men. She says *desperation* to have a husband and children drives women to accept polygamous relationships.

According to Bongi, parents should have some say in the choice of a marriage partner for their children. She maintains that *knowing and choosing for* [their daughter] *maybe can help* as a parent can sometimes see that a boy is *so out of order*.

Bongi has not experienced virginity testing herself, but maintains that *it is fine for those who are OK with it*. She is of the opinion *that it is an invasion of privacy somehow*. She says that she is *not sure what it is that they are looking for and what it is that they are checking*. She is also not sure what qualifies someone to be the 'tester'. She thinks that the whole purpose *is a matter of instilling values* [in] *kids*, so that they will not have sex before they get married. She maintains that if a girl has a certificate saying that she is a virgin then the parents can rest assured knowing that she won't sleep around.

Bongi is emphatic when she says that contraception is fine for *grown women*, but not school children, be they male or female. She maintains that the onus is on the women to use contraception because *you can never trust a man*. Bongi explains that black African men are not happy if their women use contraceptives and they say *nasty things* about the women like *they taste bad*. She says that *men, they only think* [about] *themselves* and are

not in favour of condomising, claiming that *using a condom will be like you don't know a woman well*. Bongi expresses her concern both for the woman who is trying to protect herself from falling pregnant because the man is *going to run away after she is pregnant*, and for the woman who is trying to protect herself from contracting HIV/AIDS because the man has *more than one girlfriend*.

Gender Equality

Bongi describes her understanding of gender equality as female and male being *equal when it comes to powers and rights, and decision making*. She contends that it is culture and religion that suggests *that a man is better than a woman*.

Despite the gender parity on the School Management Team and school committees, Bongi says that it is always the men who make the final decisions and they consider this to be their right. Her personal experience of gender discrimination is that *the learners tend to respect male educators [more] than females*.

Bongi says that males and females should be given equal job opportunities, but also maintains that certain jobs are for men who are physically stronger than women. She says:

Sometimes there are these jobs that you can see that they are right for men...Mine working is such a physical for a woman...I don't think a woman can handle that.

She says that if a man is a leader in the home, the woman should also be a leader. Referring to single moms, Bongi says that *there are homes where there are only women who are breadwinners and the home is as if there is a man*. In her home she describes herself as having economic power because she earns more than her partner. She says that this causes problems because he feels inadequate. She confronts her partner reminding him that she and he are equal, so *there is no one below and there is no-one above*. She describes herself as an *independent woman*. This is frowned upon in her culture and as a result she acknowledges that this could mean that her relationship with

her partner might not work out. She is raising her son to recognise that women are equal to men.

Bongi says that women in her social domain are not treated well and she maintains that women are at fault. By tolerating this treatment, *they are the ones promoting* unequal treatment. She says in her culture *if you don't have a man on your side you are a little bit less than other women...you have to have a man*. Bongi explains that as a result, women are desperate *just to be loved* and this desperation can empower a man to *possess you*. Bongi divorced her first husband because he tried to dominate and control her. She says that because she is educated and understands that female and male are equal, she *cannot go back* to the view of the man being superior. According to Bongi, while it may be more acceptable, although still problematic, to practice gender equality in the township, it is unacceptable in a rural context where the people are uneducated. She laughs as she refers to the car she drives and says that in the community *people prefer to believe that the car I am driving is for my fiancé because it has got rims*. A car with *rims* (meaning mag wheels), is considered to be a man's car.

Classroom Practice

Bongi sees the value of exploring gender equality in her classroom practice and in the LO curriculum, to make learners aware that *men and women need each other equal[ly]*, [and] *so they need to have equal power* and that *no gender should look down at the other*.

She has taught lessons that focus on gender equality saying that it was a challenge to prepare such lessons because of the learners' gender stereotypical attitudes. Lesson topics include, single parent homes with an absent father. She also discusses with the learners the case of a man impregnating a woman, leaving her, and then still wanting *to control her and her life*.

Bongi describes teaching LO as challenging. She specifically cites the issue of sexual activity amongst the learners and *girls [who] are sexually harassed by boys*. Conversely, Bongi has observed female learners pursuing the boys to have sex with them. These

female learners *count the days* until their boyfriend has sex with them and if it takes longer than a week, they tell their friends that the boy is a *fool*. The boys don't want to be known as *fools* and so they sleep with the girls whom she says *don't want to even* [consider] *consequences*. Bongi tells of parents as young as Grade 8, who drop their children off at crèche before school and then fetch their children in the afternoon. According to Bongi the Child Support Grant⁵⁷ *is somehow promoting this pregnancy thing*. Referring to compulsory education until the end of Grade 9, these learners say that they only go to school themselves, because they *have to be at school at this age*. Bongi maintains that learners are not afraid of contracting HIV/AIDS, even having seen *a parent or family member who has been HIV positive and died, and left kids*. She says that these learners are of the opinion that it won't happen to them.

Bongi contends that who you are as a teacher will have an impact on your class, saying that her *values will play a big role* in helping her learners to navigate issues of gender equality. She says that several learners will *just refuse to understand*, and she gives the example of boys who simply expect girls to sweep the classroom even if they (the boys) have been eating and messing in the classroom during the day. Bongi says that *most boys have refused openly to take a broom and sweep...*[and] *they call those who did it names, for example, Izitabane* (a derogatory term for homosexual). In her classroom Bongi tries to promote gender equality insisting that the boys must also sweep the classroom. She says she encourages her learners to apply in the community what they have learnt about gender equality at school telling them that if they get resistance, it is from people who are not educated. She comments that some of the boys *are so discouraged* because when they offer to cook or wash dishes at home their mothers laugh at them.

When teaching about gender equality, Bongi says *it makes [her] feel like [she is] a liar* because what she teaches is the antithesis of the position held by her religion and culture with regard to the position of women.

⁵⁷ The Child Support Grant (South Africa Government Services, 2012) is given to primary caregivers (this could be child over the age of 16 who is heading a home) earning less than R33 600 per year. The grant, as at April 2012, amounts to R280 per month per child.

4.2.6. Portrait of Kate

Kate is a White, English-speaking woman in her mid-twenties. She has a Bachelor of Education degree from the University of Pretoria and she has been teaching for less than five years. She teaches LO to Grades 8 to 12 and also fills the role of School Counsellor at the school at which she herself was a former learner. Kate is engaged to be married to an Afrikaner whom she describes as *very liberal and open*. She lives in the same town as Outreach High School, together with her parents, two brothers and a sister.

Religious Identity

Kate describes her religious identity as that of Christianity and more specifically, Catholicism. She understands religious identity to mean *who you are because of what you believe*. She refers to herself as a practising Catholic, who embraced her parents' religion. Her religion *states that men are higher than women* and she gives the example that a woman is not permitted to become a priest *and there are certain things in the church that a woman is not allowed to do*, like perform the Mass. While her church says that she is *less than a man*, she contends that in her everyday life *there should be equality but only to a certain degree*. Later she qualifies this when she speaks about jobs demanding physical strength that she contends should be assigned to men.

Cultural Identity

Kate refers to her religion and culture as similar although *there are some aspects that are different*. She gives the example of the church as *traditional and strict and by the book* whereas her parents, by contrast, *brought [her] up to be more liberal and open and...free*. She understands her cultural identity to be *who you are but more from what your parents have taught you and your family*. Kate's culture is Lebanese on her mother's side and her father is Afrikaans. She says that for both the Lebanese and the Afrikaans cultures *the woman is less*. She explains that both her parents *moved away from their culture* in the way in which they raised her. *Kate was brought up that [she] is equal to everybody else*.

She does not agree with the practice of polygamy maintaining that the practice is discriminatory saying that *a lot of times the girl does not really have much choice...they just get sold to the guy*. She contends that polygamy is gender biased in favour of the men, as women cannot have more than one husband.

With regard to choosing a marriage partner she says that *you should be able to choose who you love*. She mentions that in the Lebanese culture arranged marriages do take place, but that she was not brought up with this practice and that she has *been able to choose* her marriage partner.

Kate does not approve of virginity testing, saying that whether a girl is a virgin or not *is personal*. She strongly expresses her opinion that virginity testing is discriminatory and maintains that *the girls are told that they [must] do the test and then the lobola that gets paid for them is less [if] they are not a virgin...that is discrimination*.

With regard to contraception Kate says that *as a Catholic we don't believe in contraception at all. We are not allowed to use contraception*. Having said this she adds that she thinks that her religion *is still very back in the day, it hasn't evolved yet into what is happening at the moment*. Her view is that most Catholics, like herself, do use contraception.

Gender Equality

Her understanding of human rights is that they are rights that everyone has by virtue of being human. Gender equality means that there *should be equality between genders and women should not be discriminated against especially in the work place*. As a former learner in the school at which she now teaches, and at home, she was taught that *women can do anything [and that] what a man can do or can have, a woman should be able to do and have as well*. She contends that she doesn't have *less purpose because [she is] a woman, and [a man] does not have more because he is a man*. Kate also emphasizes that *my jobs should be equal to a man's* in terms of value. Having said that women can do anything, she maintains that *there are things that [she] cannot do* and that as a woman there are things that men do that she does *not want to do*. Kate explains saying that as a

woman [she] would not want to be a construction worker, that is a man's job...a guy will be able to pick up 10 kgs of bricks and [she wouldn't]. She says that there are some jobs primarily for women and vice versa. She maintains that

it would be weird to have like a male nanny or something like that. That is more to me a woman's job...because of the whole maternal thing...I think any physical job would be more male-orientated.

She says that if a man were to tell her that she couldn't do something because *it is physically impossible or whatever*, then it does not bother [her] *that much*. She adds that *they just must not be nasty to me or ugly to me because I am a woman*. Kate expects respect from men.

Kate describes working at Outreach High School in a context that is predominantly female, as *very difficult* saying that

we fight all the time because we are all women...especially up in management. If there was a man it would bring more balance to the whole thing. I think women are emotional and guys are more black and white.

At her school, the female teachers have been given a dress code to follow. Kate objects that the male members of staff *did not get a dress code*. She considers this to be discriminatory. Referring to the male members of staff, Kate maintains that they are unapologetically *used* to carry out those tasks not favoured by the female teachers, such as marking out athletic fields. She gives the example of athletics events when the men are expected to *go to the stadium and hang the stuff up*. She explains that *if there is any job that [the female teachers] don't feel like doing [they] tell the men to do it*. Kate maintains that in this, the female teachers are *taking advantage of [the men]*.

In her personal domain, while growing up, she and her sister were treated in much the same way as her two brothers. However, she says that her *brother was allowed to do more things than I was*. *My parents were more protective over me than what they were over him.*

In her social domain she observes her *friends* [whose] *husbands are everything and they must just sit at home and cook because it is what the wife does*. She refers to this being very much the Afrikaans-speaking culture. Kate says that she does not agree with this. She says that if she wants *to go out, if* [she wants] *to go shopping, [she] can go shopping, [she doesn't] want [her] husband to have to give [her] permission*.

Kate maintains that Outreach High School breeds *feminists*, contending that women *are better than what men are*. Outreach High School does not have a relationship with the boys' school in the town. The staff and learners *don't mix with them at all*. Kate maintains that male superiority is perpetuated at that school. When she was at Outreach High School as a former learner she says it was definitely the case, and when she looks at the grown men who are products of that boys' school she says their attitude can be described as that of *I am the man and you have to do what I say*. The boys' school is perpetuating male chauvinism. Kate recounts an incident involving the boys' school which took place the previous year when the boys photoshopped photos they had taken of the girls and then posted them on the internet. She adds that *the girls that were* [photoshopped] *weren't the most innocent girls* [and that] *to a certain extent the girls are allowing it*. Kate reasons that

if [the girls] are going to walk around with a mini skirt and little tops and be all flirty and sexual then...the respect [from the boys] isn't there and the equality isn't there.

She maintains that the girls need to *force the guy to respect* [them] saying that then *he won't do things like that*. She adds that she hopes that she is *teaching the girls to be a bit more circumspect*. Kate says that because the girls feel equal to the boys some of them ask the boys out. She says they feel *I am equal to you so why can't I ask you out?* Kate strongly expresses her disapproval, basing this on the issue of respect. She is of the opinion that on a date, boys will lose respect for girls who, *want to get there on their own* and pay for themselves.

Classroom Practice

In her classroom practice Kate acknowledges the purpose of addressing gender equality saying that *many children do not know what they are entitled to and teaching this [gender equality] makes them aware*. The challenge that Kate has faced is that *some learners believe there must be equality and others don't*.

She is certain that her beliefs influence her classroom practice. She explains that she is stubborn and says

what I believe is what I believe and then I will try and convince them [the learners] most of the time...what I teach will lean more to what I believe and what my religion is and how I have been brought up.

She adds that

I tend to bring my point across often and the girls are influenced by this...I push my thoughts on to them and I say to them this is how it must be. This is what I believe. I say to them the boy must open the door for you and he must pay for you.

After considering the possibility of the boys feeling that the girls owe them something, possibly sex, because they have paid for the movie, dinner etc., Kate concedes that she has *never thought of it in the sense that you owe him something if he paid for it or if you haven't paid for it*. Thinking about it that way is, she says is *confusing* and she is not sure whether or not she is in agreement with this perspective.

Kate is aware that while the girls learn about gender equality at school, *it is very different when they get back home*. Kate doesn't think that what the girls learn at school will have a marked impact on their family life, but rather on their *working environment and things like that...they won't just lie down to discrimination*. She is of the opinion, however, that she

doesn't think that education about gender equality will help them to *stand up to their father, or an uncle or an ancestor or whatever in that regard...they just won't do it.*

4.2.7. Portrait of Ruby

Ruby is a White, English-speaking, middle-aged woman who has been teaching for between 20 to 30 years. She has a four-year teaching diploma as well as a Bachelor of Education degree. She teaches LO to Grades 10 to 12. She and her family live on the Outreach High School Campus where she is a boarding establishment mistress. She is also on the School Management Team. Ruby has been married for 25 years. Her husband travels about 50 kms daily to another town where he is a practising lawyer. Her children attended local schools but have subsequently left home.

Religious Identity

Ruby doesn't identify major differences between her religious and cultural identities. She describes her religious identity as that of a *non-practising Catholic*. While her parents instilled Christian values in her life which she considers to be positive, she did not appreciate being punished if she *did not attend church or if [she] misbehaved during mass*. She expresses disapproval that a woman in the Catholic church [does] *not have much of an identity, other than being a mother figure*. She tells the story of her father, a *staunch Catholic*, who had an extra-marital affair and *left and denounced the church*. Ruby explains that her father's justification for his actions was that *he [couldn't] live with an incomplete woman*, referring to his wife having had a hysterectomy in her late forties. Ruby says that his hypocrisy *made [her] angry*. Speaking of the alienating attitude of the Catholic Church towards her mother as a divorcee, Ruby suggests that this gender discrimination is what *turned [her] away totally* from the church, and more specifically, Catholicism.

Cultural Identity

Ruby describes her cultural identity as embracing the land in which she was born, namely Zambia, and she speaks about *how [she] was raised and what norms [she had] accepted*

from the society [she] lived in. She refers to herself as a South African, saying that [she] *feels very strongly about defending what is [hers], namely, her heritage.* She chooses to *embrace all the cultural diversity* in South Africa.

Regarding the practice of polygamy Ruby contends that she would not *like to be in that position*, namely one of several wives.

Ruby says that women should have the right to choose their marriage partners. She gives the example of an educated female member of staff who according to Muslim tradition was in an arranged marriage, which *was an abusive marriage.* She got divorced even though *in the Muslim sector that is frowned upon.* A year later her parents arranged another marriage. She was pressured to give consent. It was *another abusive marriage* and *she is desperately unhappy.* She had to stop teaching and *she earns a pittance by working as the maid in her husband's parents' house.*

Ruby disapproves of virginity testing, on the basis of gender discrimination, asking how a man's virginity can be measured. For many of Ruby's black African learners wearing tampons *is taboo*, for fear of this damaging their hymen and affecting their virginity testing. When menstruating, these girls won't swim or do Physical Education as part of LO. Ruby questions the validity of virginity testing, referring to the case of Grace Kelly who underwent a virginity test before marrying the Prince of Monaco. Her biography shows that this test, which validated her virginity, was incorrect, because she had in fact previously slept with a fellow actor.

With regard to contraception Ruby points out that

the Catholics did not encourage any form of birth control and women were subjected to staying at home to care for children...the Catholics in my opinion gave rise to the phrase 'barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen'.

She maintains that a woman should be able to use contraception as [she is] *in charge of [her] own body and [her] own thought processes.*

Gender Equality

Ruby understands human rights to be her right to live in a world *feeling safe and allowing me to develop as a holistic, responsible human being...*[and allowing] *others the same privilege*. She defines gender equality to mean *no discrimination between men and women based purely on sex and physical strength*. She clarifies this saying: *I am as good as the man next to me, and I am capable of doing anything...* She contends that skills and qualifications should be considered irrespective of gender.

Ruby tells of her lived experience in schools in which she taught previously, where *gender discrimination is alive and well*. She recalls being rejected for a position at a particular school *because [she] was female*. She also recalls having been sent home by her headmaster one day *because [she] was not wearing a petticoat*. She recounts that female teachers were not entitled to benefits which male teachers received, including housing subsidies and medical aid. She tells the story of teaching at a primary school and applying for the Principal's post, which was awarded to a man. Six months later she applied for the Deputy Principal's post and the newly appointed male Principal called her into his office to inform her that he would not be submitting her application, saying *I refuse to work with you. I don't like working with women, I prefer to work with a man*. She stresses that she will *not work for a male*, and that she only accepted the position at Outreach High School because the Principal is a female. According to Ruby, Outreach High School promotes gender equality and *woman empowerment is a huge issue*.

Up until recently the female members of staff dressed so as to feel comfortable, and to suit the teaching profession. She says that there is now a dress code and that [she] *was horrified that it had actually come from a woman [female Principal] saying that she did not want us [to wear] certain perfumes and I took umbrage to [this]*.

Ruby contends that *the headmistress molly coddles the male staff*, saying for example, that the men on the staff were not given a dress code. She considers this to be discriminatory practice. She adds that when there is a deadline for marks it could not be met *because a*

male teacher did not bring his side...he gets away with murder. She does concede, however, that the few male members of staff are unapologetically *used* to carry out those tasks not favoured by the female teachers, such as marking out athletic fields. She says that there are staff members who *use their female prowess to be excluded from doing a man's job* such as *sorting out...computers or moving a cupboard*. She notes that *the men don't stay long at a ladies' school*.

In her professional domain Rudy says that she does have a voice in respect of gender issues *and that it is heard*. Ruby stresses that Outreach High School has no relationship with the local boys' school in the town. She contends that the stereotypical attitude that *it is a man's world* continues to be reinforced at that boys' school.

In her personal domain Ruby says she is treated *like an absolute queen...*[she is] *honoured as a woman*. She expresses the view that there is a place for chivalry saying that [she doesn't] *see why chivalry should not exist...it is what sells a woman's heart...* At the end of the year she retires from teaching and shares that she is *scared to death of being financially dependent on her husband* saying that she has *never been financially dependent on him*, always having had her own money and her own salary. Ruby is aware of *so many women who actually have to hand over that pay check at the end of the month and that is that*. She cites her mother-in-law as a case in point. She gives her husband her wages and *her pocket money is R20 a week* and Ruby *just cannot see [her]self like that*. Ruby says that she is *often referred to as wearing the pants in [her] marriage* because in the community, especially in the Afrikaans-speaking community, *women [are] submissive*. She thinks that to an extent the women perpetuate this because they *feel that there are not enough men to go around so they will submit to anything as long as they ...have got a man*. She speaks about her daughter who at 22 has only recently got involved in a relationship with a boy and she speaks of the immense pressure on her daughter to get engaged and married.

Ruby says that the girls at her school are being taught about gender equality and on the whole are emancipated young women. However, she maintains that in the Afrikaans-speaking community in which Outreach High School is located, *men still have the leading*

edge. The boys in the community feel threatened by the girls at her school and *our girls struggle to find a partner for the Matric Dance*. She says that girls do ask the boys out, *because I think they become more empowered to have a voice, you know...I mean if my girls did not ask the guys to a Matric Dance there would not be a dance*.

Classroom Practice

She sees the value of promoting gender equality in her classroom practice and the LO curriculum, as this empowers the girls for the work place and teaches them to recognise *violation against women in all spheres*. In her LO lessons she says that she does not allow the negative experiences she has had in her life to *cloud the progressiveness of the girls*, rather she uses her experiences to provide opportunities for discussion. Ruby has experienced both gender inequality and gender equality in her life and she sees this as *beneficial [and] that [she is] a good example and a good role model for them*. A lesson that she taught specifically looking at gender equality

drew from the experience I have had as an educator when the government gazette came in parts labelled male applications and female applications whereby only promotion posts were for men and men automatically earned a higher salary.

She explains to the girls how women have *fought for professional status and emancipation*. The aim of the lesson, she says,

was to draw attention to the fact that they [the female learners] can be whatever they want to be, but to be cautious as gender discrimination is still very much alive and well in the workplace, and how to recognize...gender discrimination.

Ruby tells the girls in her Grade 12 class that in marriage, they are a *50% shareholder...not the chief bottle washer...and [that the man] has to do his part*. Ruby also teaches her learners that if they are going to be sexually active they *have got to*

practise...safe sex. She reminds them that if they fall pregnant then they will be a *mother for life*. Ruby thinks that the teaching-learning of gender equality in the LO classroom will have a positive effect in the community. She says that she has tried to teach her learners to help their *parents see that the way forward in a new South Africa* is to embrace gender equality.

4.2.8. Portrait of Annie

Annie is a White, Afrikaans-speaking, middle-aged, teacher with between 10 and 20 years of teaching experience. She has a Bachelor of Education degree from the University of the Free State. She is currently teaching LO to a grade 7 class. She is widowed and lives on her own with her daughter. She lives approximately 30 minutes away from Coastal Primary School.

Religious Identity

Annie considers her religious and cultural identity to be synonymous. She describes her understanding of religious identity as *the way you live out basically what you believe in*. She identifies herself as a practising Christian, more specifically belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, and says that her parents' faith and *unbelievable example* had a significant influence on her life during her formative years. Referring to growing up, she says that she thinks it was silly that as a female she had to wear silk stockings and have her head covered when inside the church. She says that she was *not allowed to even laugh in church...it was very strict*. What upset her more, however, was the blatant racism exhibited by the church to which she belonged.

Cultural Identity

She describes her understanding of cultural identity as *the way you are brought up, like in the Afrikaans culture we have got very certain rules*. Annie re-iterates that she was raised by parents who believed in, and exhibited gender equality in their relationship with one another. This understanding that *the woman is equal to the man* is very different to the gender discrimination which she observes *in the Afrikaans culture*. It was very strange for

her to visit homes where the husband and wife did not engage as equals. She is quick to explain that typically in the Afrikaans culture *the man is the boss and the women...feel that they must basically please the man...making him his supper and looking after the kids*. Speaking of this Afrikaans culture she says that she *found that women don't say and they don't stand up for their rights*. She explains further,

where some of the women don't work, they feel that because the man is bringing in the money, and because he has got the education and because he has got a degree, that they are basically inferior to [him]...and they must just say thank you for everything and just be so wonderful and grateful.

She maintains that the women enjoy spending the money the husbands bring home, and defer decisions to be made with regard to the children and the house, to the men. Annie maintains that these women *feel that they can't do it on their own...Pa moet besluit* [Dad must decide]. Speaking of the children she teaches, and more specifically those belonging to the Xhosa culture, Annie says that *the way I was brought [up]...and [the learners'] beliefs, and the way they were brought up in their culture, is completely different*.

With regard to polygamy Annie shakes her head, stating emphatically that *it is horrible...it is degrading*.

Referring to choosing a marriage partner, she strongly disagrees with arranged marriages, stating that *we have the will to decide and our own minds*.

Annie refers to virginity testing as *horrible...I mean it is degrading. I have heard how they do it and I think it is totally, absolutely horrible*. For the young, innocent girls she says it is a *totally degrading practice*. She compares the practice to that of a young virgin visiting a gynaecologist for an *internal* examination.

She does not encourage the use of contraception outside of marriage. To do so she maintains, encourages the learners to have sex before marriage. In her opinion, if she says to the learners, *you do it anyway [so] at least use protection, then basically you are saying it is OK, and it is not OK...for a young girl...or a young boy to have sex so...I will never*

encourage it. She tells them that when they are married that is the place for it [contraception], but not when they are teenagers.

Gender Equality

Annie's understanding of gender equality is that *there is no difference between one gender and the other in terms of work and in terms of rights*. She states emphatically that no person should be discriminated against based on gender. Annie strongly maintains that women should be in positions of leadership as they provide a different perspective on issues *and...see things differently from men...and...can organize better*. She adds that *there is no reason why a woman can't do anything*. Annie maintains that at Coastal Primary School promotion is not based on gender, rather on *performance*. She mentions that *there are a lot of strong women* on the staff.

For Annie, role modelling in the home, with regard to gender, is important. She asks the question, *where else are they [the children] going to learn?* She contends that if boys see *Daddy treating Mommy badly, they think that is what it is to be a man*. In her home she has taught her daughter from a young age that she *must stand up for [her]self and that [she] does not have to take anything from anyone just because [she] is a girl*. She teaches her daughter that girls are *just as smart, just as fast, just as able* as boys.

In her social domain, her observation is that it is primarily the *women that don't work* who are subservient to the men, and who are discriminated against. She maintains this is the case *because the husband is doing all the insurances and...all the big decision making* and the women defer to the men, *and some of them [the women] don't even have their own bank accounts*. Shaking her head, Annie says that would *drive [her] nuts*. She states categorically that a woman *must have [her] own identity*.

Classroom Practice

Annie sees the value in exploring gender equality in her classroom practice and in the LO curriculum so as to *encourage the learners to think critically about and explain how to counter gender stereotyping in his/her own environment*. In her LO class she says that she

teaches the girls *to stand up for themselves*. She says that she talks to the girls and teaches them to be ladies. She explains that

girls want to look hip and stuff like that but they must realize that if you basically advertise everything [dress scantily], people are going to see you in a certain way and then you must take the consequences...I won't say it is ever right for a boy to attack you...but you can't go to a bar with everything hanging out and everything see-through, and not expect something to happen.

Annie's perception is that *boys don't have...respect for girls and their bodies*. She contends that *the respect for each other, and each other's bodies, has changed because they are exposed to all these movies, and they see it, and it is porn on their cell phones*. She concludes, saying that she doesn't think *it is supposed to be like that*.

Annie maintains that whether a particular behaviour is right or wrong should not be gender dependent. She claims that *some people tend to say you mustn't do this because you are a girl. Things are right or wrong if you are a girl or a boy*.

She says that her religious and cultural identities definitely impact on how she approaches gender equality in the LO classroom. Annie maintains that *if [as a teacher] you don't know who you are...* it is difficult to teach in the LO classroom. She adds that *it is difficult not to bring in what you believe and who you are in LO*. She says that she doesn't think gender equality can be taught *if you don't believe in it*. Annie contends that it must be very difficult for teachers belonging to some of the black African cultures, for example, to teach LO *because they are submissive to their husbands*. She says that

some of the black [African] teachers have told [her] that we are confusing them [the female learners] in some ways, because we say that women are equal to the man, but in their culture the man is the boss.

She states firmly that it is possible for someone who is subjected to gender discrimination at home to promote gender discrimination in the classroom, saying that *it is who you are, your whole life...it becomes such a part of them [the teachers]*.

Annie reiterates that

to teach a lesson on the importance of gender equality is difficult in the sense that there are so many different approaches to it as a result of different cultures. What [she] consider[s] unacceptable as a result of the way in which [she] was raised, is not necessarily wrong in the eyes of a person raised in a different culture.

Annie stresses the importance of mutual respect and *sincere love for one's neighbour* in overcoming religious and cultural differences.

Annie hopes that from learning about gender equality in the classroom *it will show them* [the female learners] *that there is another way*. She says that she is aware of the difficulty for learners who see something *completely different everyday of their lives* to that which she is teaching at school with regard to gender equality. However, she says *she just wants them to know it doesn't have to be that way, they can break the cycle*. In Annie's opinion it *make[s] them* [the learners] *strong* when they realize that because gender discriminatory practices are a part of their lives, it *doesn't make it right*. She teaches her learners that no one should ever feel inferior based on their gender. She claims that her *greatest challenge as a teacher is to combat...discrimination in* [her] *learners' way of thinking*. She is of the opinion that it is the teacher's job to provide the learners with *the right role models*.

Annie maintains that she can *live out* [her] *Christian convictions across any culture/religion and can work towards casting out discriminatory thought patterns in learners' worldviews*. She says that her *voice* is heard in her classroom, where she teaches *that everyone's gender, race and culture are equal before God*. Annie believes that by being positive and by giving learners love and respect, *this will filter into their homes and communities*.

4.2.9. Portrait of Merlot

Merlot is a White, English-speaking, middle-aged teacher who has been teaching between 10 and 20 years. She is a qualified teacher with a Higher Diploma in Education. She taught LO the previous year, and as a current Grade 7 registration teacher, and social science

teacher, she says that she discusses LO-related issues with her class on a daily basis. She is married with three children, two girls and a boy, and lives in a middle class suburb about 20 kms away from the school.

Religious Identity

Merlot's parents divorced when she was young, and so she grew up in two homes spending time alternately with her mother and her father who were both non-practising Christians. Merlot embraced her religion later in life after the experience of having been asked to counsel a learner, whose mother had been murdered. She said that *dealing with [the learner's] questions and her grief* was pivotal in her (Merlot) becoming a practising Christian, and more specifically, a Baptist⁵⁸.

Cultural Identity

She describes her cultural identity as *where you live...your home values, your standards, your norms in your home*. Merlot adds that it is not the same as religious identity *because a lot of people don't necessarily go to church, but they have certain things that they are taught at home that in their culture they don't do this or they do that*. She considers her religious identity and her cultural identity to be very similar.

Her understanding of the position of a woman, according to the Biblical teaching she has received in her church, is that *all are created equal*, regardless of gender and race. She qualifies this explaining that

you as a woman, must be submissive to your man...as he is submissive to the church...he should be treated as the head of the home, but not if he is not right."

With regard to polygamy she says that she is *completely against it*. She adds that *in a lot of cultures it is acceptable so people...just do it because that is what is supposed to be done*.

⁵⁸ A specific Christian Protestant denomination that emphasizes baptism by full immersion.

Choosing a marriage partner should, according to Merlot, be a personal choice. She is, however, aware, that arranged marriages are practised in some religions and cultures. She tells the story of one of her Muslim learners' mother who, at 14, was married into an abusive marriage. Merlot describes how this woman *eventually got out of it and her father politely married her off to someone else*. Merlot explains that the children stayed with their biological father and the grade 7 girl is now responsible for *raising the little one [who is] in Grade 1, because the mother is obviously no longer with them, because she is now married off to some other man*.

She thinks that virginity testing *is wrong* and says that *for a young girl who has possibly never been with a man to have that type of thing going on must be so degrading...I don't even think it is hygienic or anything like that*.

Merlot contends that contraception is not approved of in the black African community, saying that *the [black] African men refuse to use condoms*. She maintains that the attitude is different in the White community, where *it is a done deal, you use contraceptives because you don't want four kids, or five kids or ten kids*. Referring to the so-called Coloured community she says that *most of them are on contraceptives...even from our Grade 7 age already, a lot of them are already on the pill or using contraceptives of some kind*

Gender Equality

With regard to gender equality she says *you don't have to dress and look and behave like a man to be able to take on the man's job, or to be able to make decisions*. She adds that *everybody should be equal regardless what gender they are*. In the neighbouring White and so-called Coloured communities in her area, Merlot says that the mind-set is that *men work, and they maybe sort out the garden, and the car, and the women must clean the house and wash dishes, and look after the children, and do the homework*.

Merlot maintains that

more and more women are being forced to run the homes, to head the homes, to guide the children...the women are doing more and more...

According to Merlot,

women have been forced to take over because it is our nature to protect our children, so if nobody is going to run the house you are going to do it. As a woman you are just going to do it.

Merlot says that when she takes her car in for repair, she feels discriminated against because she is a woman. She maintains that when she explains to the automobile mechanic what is wrong with her car, he disregards her. However, when her *husband takes that same car in and says exactly the same thing*, the problem is fixed. In her opinion

women are still perceived not to know anything about certain things...Women are not...perceived to be equal...Women are still perceived to be the weaker sex and therefore, stupid.

Coastal Primary School is led by a male Principal. Merlot says that *in the community it [leading a school] is still perceived to be a man's job*. According to Merlot, teaching in the Junior Phase⁵⁹ is considered to be a woman's job and *...we don't have male Heads of Departments there. In the Senior Phase we only have one female in a leadership position, the rest are all guys.*

Merlot favours women in leadership positions saying that [they] *are quite capable of doing the job*. She says it is a cultural perception that men *must lead the school, they must lead the businesses*. With regard to school promotion posts, especially in the senior and intermediate phases, she contends that these posts *are still given to males before females even if they are not capable of doing the job as well*. She concedes, however, that female and male learners *are treated equally regardless of gender, colour and culture*, and in terms of interactions amongst female and male learners with one another, she maintains that *they generally see each other as equals*.

⁵⁹ Here Merlot refers to the previous educational dispensation when the Junior Phase comprised Grades 1 – 4 and the Senior Primary school, Grades 5 – 7. In the current dispensation, the Foundation Phase comprises Grades 1- 3, the Intermediate phase, Grades 4 – 6 and the Senior phase, Grades 7 – 9.

When Merlot first started teaching at the school *women never drove the school combi*. She informed the school that she was quite capable of driving the combi and *it was a mind-set change* that was required. She feels that she does have a voice in respect of gender issues but adds that *I'm not always sure that [I am] heard or taken seriously*. Merlot's observation is that the female learners *are becoming much stronger leaders than the boys are*, saying that the *boys are not good leaders*. Merlot reasons that this could be because the boys *don't have strong male role models...father figures*. She is of the opinion that mothers running the home with absent fathers, cannot provide the boys *with certain skills, leadership skills*.

In her personal domain she says she and her husband *respect each other and run the home together*. Merlot maintains that neither *the man nor the woman should be the head of the home*, saying that *they should be equal and work together for the good of the family*. She says that in her home, she and her husband do not adhere wholeheartedly to the Biblical injunction that the man should be the head of the home, and explains that she is a *very independent person and...[she has] a right...to [her] opinion*.

She says she is *treated like a lady* in her home but that *the woman's job is still perceived to be cleaning and cooking*. She explains that her husband works from home, saying that *because he works he thinks he doesn't have to do anything around the house*. Merlot believes that all three children *are capable of doing everything and I give them equal opportunities* whether it be washing dishes or *helping my husband outside in the garden*. She teaches her daughters that

a female has a vital role to play in the family and in the community. A woman can be a good leader, a good follower or anything else she sets her mind to.

In her social domain she says that men and women are regarded as equal, making decisions together, and women have a voice. She adds, however, that women are still perceived to be *in charge of the cooking and cleaning...you still are doing the majority of what is referred to as a woman's job*. Discussing gender roles in the community in which the school is situated, she says *it's far more black and white. It is the women's job to clean and cook and so on and the men don't do it*. She describes how *the husband and wife*

work, and the husband sorts out the finances. So the wife's money gets handed over to him and he does what he has to do.

In Merlot's opinion, the religious and cultural identity of the teacher *has got to impact* on the approach to gender equality in classroom practice,

because if you have been brought up to be submissive, and this little mouse that never says boo to a man, and never stands up for [herself], then that is what you are going to teach, and that is what you are going to come across as, as a teacher teaching LO. You are probably going to get to the point of not really wanting to teach [gender] equality because it is almost against what you believe.

Classroom Practice

In her classroom practice, Merlot promotes gender equality. In one particular lesson she focused on discrimination towards women who have been raped, and put to death as a result. She sees the value of exploring gender equality

because females are still discriminated against. Some of our girls in certain cultures are still oppressed. It is only an education that can change this mind-set.

Merlot supports the school ethos which encourages female learners to adopt *lady-like ways* in terms of their behaviour. She maintains that *whether it is stereotyping or not...women must be women and they must be feminine, they mustn't be running around in long pants.* Her reasoning is that *you put girls in pants, they become boys.* She says that in her classroom practice she tries to *teach manners*, and encourages the boys to *step back and let the girls go out first* [but] *it doesn't always work.* Merlot encourages her learners to *respect each other, to encourage each other, and to support each other.* She contends that *it is only through education that we can change the perception that men are gods and that women must bow down to them.*

4.3. SUMMARY

In the women's self-narratives, presented in the above portraits, each of them defines her understanding of gender equality. What becomes apparent is that her lived experience and/or observation of gender equality does not always match up to this understanding. To a greater and lesser extent each participant experiences and/or observes male hegemony in her personal, social and professional domains. The master narrative of patriarchy is a central thread that weaves throughout the portraits. The responses of each participant to this master narrative of patriarchy differ in terms of how it informs her gender identity and teaching-learning of gender equality in her classroom practice.

In the following chapter, Chapter 5, employing a psychological approach to the notion of self and identity, the theoretical lens of the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.) is used to analyse each individual self-narrative. This is followed in Chapter 6, with a sociological approach to self and identity, using the conceptual framework provided in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.) and the theoretical lens as presented in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.), to analyse the central theme and sub-themes that emerge from across all nine self-narratives.

CHAPTER FIVE

Gallery: Review of individual exhibited portraits

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Exhibited in the previous chapter, are the female teachers' self-narratives, presented as nine individual portraits (cf. 4.2.1. – 4.2.9.), reflecting their particular voices and stories (cf. S Chase, 2010). In this chapter, these portraits are analysed, employing narrative analysis as the analytical tool (cf. 3.6.2.) and the theoretical lens as presented in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.4.). The work of various theorists (Burkitt, 2010; Côté, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002; Gallagher, 2012; Hermans, 2011; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Hermans et al., 1992; Zittoun, 2007) but primarily that of Hermans' (1992) Dialogical Self Theory (DST) is used to analyse the data. This psychological theory focuses on the mind's ability to engage in an internal self-dialogue, negotiating various internal and external positions in the 'society-of-mind'.

5.2. DATA ANALYSIS

In each portrait analysis, the negotiation between the internal *I*-positions and external *I*-positions held by each participant in her 'society-of-mind' is explored. Within the dialogical space in her 'society-of-mind', the participant can adopt a 'meta-position' from which she can, from a distance, observe and reflect on, the position of women in her personal, social and professional domains. The master narrative of patriarchy emerges in all nine self-narratives. Hartmann (2010, p. 175) defines patriarchy as resting "on all the social structures that enable men to control women". In this chapter, the 'counter-position' which each participant voices or practises in response to this master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.) is identified. Her 'counter-position' is dependent on the extent and strength of her 'identity capital'. 'Counter-positions' can be voiced both implicitly (to the internal audience of the 'society-of-mind') and/or explicitly (to an external audience). 'Counter-positions' can also be practised in an external domain. In the analysis of the portraits, instances of 'micro-dialogue', are identified (cf. 2.4.1.). The voices of others which can emerge in unwilling ways, conditioned by memory and imagination, can inform the

participants' 'dialogical self in action' (cf. 2.4.). Instances of 'rupture' can provide the opportunity for identity renewal (cf. 2.4.1.). These ruptures are identified where they emerge in the self-narratives.

When different positions within the self are recognised and accepted with their different qualities, strengths and commitments, then dialogical relationships emerge with the possibility to develop and renew the self. This 'dialogical self in action' (cf. 2.4.), the negotiations of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, could lead to the participant re-positioning her internal and external *I*-positions in her 'society-of-mind'.

The data are analysed so as to answer the research question (cf. 1.2.). The analysis of each portrait concludes by focusing on the participant's approach to gender equality in her classroom practice⁶⁰ as informed by her 'dialogical self in action' (cf. 2.4.). This is followed by a table which presents a visual presentation of the participant's 'counter-positions' to patriarchy. Reflected in the table are the participant's internal *I*-positions, for example, *I* as educated, and external *I*-positions, for example, *my* male colleagues. An analysis of her 'counter-positions' within her personal, social and professional domains, as well as those expressed in her classroom practice, is reflected. A key is used to indicate the voicing implicitly (v1) or explicitly (v2), of her 'counter-position'. The key also indicates whether a 'counter-position' is practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or in her classroom practice (p3). A short summary is provided, following the visual presentation in the table, at the end of the analysis of each of the individual portraits. Included in this summary, is a discussion of the participant's 'counter-positioning', be it voiced or practised, in her classroom practice. Reference is made to maximum and minimum infusion (covert or overt) of gender equality, as clarified in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.2.).

This chapter concludes with a summary which includes a visual presentation of the composite 'counter-positions' to 'patriarchy' voiced and/or practised by the participants. An interpretation of the findings is offered (cf. 5.4.).

⁶⁰ Italics are used to indicate this section: *In her classroom practice...*

In keeping with Chapters 4 and 6, in this chapter, pseudonyms (cf. 3.4.2., 3.8.) are used for the participants. The words of the participants are quoted verbatim⁶¹ and appear in italics. The theoretical concepts are indicated in single quotation marks.

5.3. ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL PORTRAITS

5.3.1. Analysis of Purity's portrait (cf. 4.2.1.)

Purity adopts the following internal *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, black African woman who is a member of the Zionist church, a mother, an educated woman and a teacher. Emotional *I*-positions are also evident when she refers to herself as angry and uncomfortable at times, and as voiceless (for example, in the context in which she works), saying: *I don't have a voice*. Her external *I*-positions reflect the voices of that which she considers to be *hers*, including the voices of *my* children, *my* colleagues, *my* religion and *my* fellow church members and *my* learners. The engagement between her internal position, *I* as a female teacher, and the external position of *my* male colleagues, leads her to the emotional *I*-position of *I* as frustrated, for example, by the male hegemony expressed by these colleagues. She says: *we are not treated equally...they look down upon us*.

Purity's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to the world, and more specifically, to the position of women in general, in her religion and culture. As she manages a multiplicity of internal and external positions, both individual and collective, in the dialogical space of her mind, her 'dialogical self in action' can be identified.

Purity's understanding of gender equality is that male and female should be treated equally. However, her observation from a distance, adopting a 'meta-position', is that *women are oppressed by religion and culture*. She refers to a patriarchal system in her religion and culture whereby she says *men [are] seen as superior to women*. She reiterates and internalises and assimilates the 'collective' voices of male dominance as expressed by the leaders in her religion and culture. This becomes apparent in her self-dialogue relating

⁶¹ The original hand-written responses to the self-administered questionnaires and written narratives, and the transcripts of the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews can be found on the CD included with this thesis.

to women's dress. Her internal *I*-position, as an educated and independent women, informs her that she can dress in a way that she herself considers acceptable. The tension emerges, however, between her internal *I*-position and the 'collective' voices of her religion and culture which contribute to a process of external 'social positioning'. This 'social positioning' denies women the voice to decide on their attire. Purity expresses these 'collective' voices when she says:

they don't even allow us to, to wear earrings...[women are] not allowed to wear a short skirt...[and] no short sleeves...married women, they wear many clothes. [They] wear the skirt...the apron...the towel, the jersey and also the towel on top. [Women] cover [their] hair all the time.

Purity's self-dialogue also entertains the negotiation between two external outside positions, namely that of the informal settlement where she resides and the community in which she teaches. Where she resides, women's dress is not an issue and women may, for example *wear pants*. However, where she teaches *women are not allowed to wear pants*. In her dialogical space, Purity voices explicitly a 'counter-position', expressing her frustration and disapproval of there being a particular dress code only for women. However, her commitment to this disapproval is insufficient for her to practise this 'counter-position', and she dresses in accordance with the religious and cultural dictates in the community where she teaches. Similarly, with regard to the spatial positioning of women in her church and community, where women are required to be seated separate to or lower than the men, Purity voices an implicit 'counter-position', saying that while she, albeit unwillingly, has to follow *the procedure which is practised...I don't accept it*.

Adopting a 'meta-position', Purity reflects that

men are given many [more] opportunities than women...men have a right to choose who to marry or not...they are allowed to do whatever they want to do...[or] wear...and even the employment opportunities, most of the time you find out that...men, they are...[in] superior positions.

There is little engagement with this dominant voice of male hegemony in her self-dialogue, resulting in more of a monologue and resignation to an acceptance of the status quo. The 'collective' voice of her religion and culture in her community holds more power than that of her internal *I*-position.

Purity refers to *a lot of married men [who] have got girlfriends*. In her self-dialogue she negotiates her internal *I*-position as a woman with this external position. She voices implicitly, a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice which dictates that *women just have to be quiet...just accept it, saying it is not right*. She gives the example of a man bringing home a *child, maybe a grown up, a 14 year old*, of which the wife had no knowledge. Purity negotiates her internal position as an educated woman with the external position of the 'collective' voice of her culture pertaining to the cultural practice of polygamy. Her internal position, *I*, as an educated women, informs her of the health risks related to sexuality, including contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. Here we can see Purity's 'dialogical self in action' in the dilemma of two conflicting positions. In her 'society-of-mind', she re-positions the 'collective' voice of patriarchy, which promotes polygamy, saying, *it is not the right thing*.

The 'collective' voice of male dominance informs her that men consider women to be *stupid* and this is underpinned by Purity's 'micro-dialogue', in which male voices as conditioned by her memory and imagination emerge in her 'society-of-mind'. By stating that women are not stupid, Purity adopts a 'counter-position' in the negotiation between her internal *I*-position and the voice of the 'other-in-the-self' (men). However, her 'counter-position' remains implicit and she says *you just keep quiet*. The extent and strength of Purity's 'identity capital', referring particularly to the 'intangible' resources which could include the ability to reflect, and negotiate self-identity, appear to be insufficient for her to practise a 'counter-position, explicitly challenging male dominance. She says *I am educated but I don't have a voice because they are superior*.

Purity's self-reflection from her 'meta-position' is that in her religion and culture *right from the beginning, our parents treat us differently as boys and girls*. She says that boys are treated as *special, rather than girls*. Although Purity is positioned by her parents as less special than her brothers, she disagrees with this position. The outcome of the dialogical

processes of negotiation between her internal *I*-position, *I* as a mother and that of the external *I*-position of *my* parents, has been transformative. She practises a 'counter-position', exercising self-agency, purposefully treating her own children equally, irrespective of gender.

Purity negotiates the external position of her culture with that of her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman. The 'collective' voice of her culture insists that she should get married. Her 'dialogical self in action' leads her to practise a 'counter-position' to forced marriage by resisting dominant voices and remaining single until she chooses to possibly get married. She says: *I am the one who has to decide who I want to be with or not with*. Purity negotiates her external position, as voiced by the men in her culture who disapprove of women using contraception, with her internal position as an independent, educated woman. She practises a 'counter-position' by using contraception in her personal domain.

Evident in Purity's self-dialogue is the negotiation between the external *I*-position, that of *my* learners and the 'collective' voice of her culture which promotes virginity testing (*uNomkhubulwano*, followed by *uKugoma*⁶²). Purity's self-dialogue leads her to voice an implicit 'counter-position' to this cultural practice. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that she does not yet practise her 'counter-position' by explicitly challenging, or critically discussing the practice of *uNomkhubulwano* and *uKugoma* with her learners. She does, however, voice explicitly this 'counter-position' by cautioning the girls in her class to be *careful about* [their] *future*, reminding them that should they fall pregnant they will have the responsibility *to look after* [their] *children*.

In her professional domain, adopting a 'meta-position', Purity observes that the men on the staff *undermine the ladies*. Her self-dialogue includes the negotiation of her internal *I*-position as a female teacher and the external position of *my* male colleagues who *look down upon us*. She voices implicitly a 'counter-position', disapproving of the male hegemony in the school and the separation of genders by having two staff rooms, one for men and one for women.

⁶² In traditional Zulu culture, there is a sequence of events which unfold before a traditional wedding. First there is *uNomkhubulwano* (the opportunity to select a partner), then the pre *lobola* payment followed by *uKugoma* which is sleeping together without penetration, followed by *lobola*, the full bride price, then *ummabo*, the giving of wedding gifts, and then the traditional wedding.

Purity's 'dialogical self in action' shows her negotiation of internal *I*-positions with external positions in her 'society-of-mind'. Negotiating these positions and gaining an understanding about herself in relation to her religious and cultural identity, empowers her to re-position the 'collective' voice of patriarchy in her 'society-of-mind', and this can be personally transformative. Her narrative shows that the extent and strength of Purity's 'identity capital' is such that she can implicitly voice 'counter-positions' to the 'collective' voices of male dominance in her religion and culture. However, her 'identity capital' is not strong enough to empower her to practise 'counter-positions' in every domain in her life.

In her classroom practice, the extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that Purity sometimes voices explicitly, a 'counter-position' to patriarchy by discussing gender-related topics, for example, *gender in sports*. She practises a 'counter-position' by insisting that boys and girls sit together and she gives them the same tasks.

Table 3: Reframing⁶³ Purity's 'counter-positions'- a visual presentation

Purity's understanding of gender equality: <i>Male and female should be treated equally</i>	External <i>I</i> -positions <i>My ...</i>	<i>My Personal Domain</i>	<i>My Husband / partner</i>	<i>My children</i>	<i>My Social Domain</i>	<i>My religion</i>	<i>My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated</i>	<i>My culture</i>	<i>The cultural practice of polygamy</i>	<i>The cultural practice of virginity testing</i>	<i>The cultural practice of arranged marriage</i>	<i>The cultural view on the use of contraception</i>	<i>My Professional domain</i>	<i>My male colleagues</i>	<i>My Classroom Practice</i>
Internal <i>I</i>-positions															
<i>I</i> as middle-aged, black African, isiZulu-speaking															
<i>I</i> as a woman				v2			v1		v1			p1			
<i>I</i> as a religious person															
<i>I</i> as a mother				p1 v2											
<i>I</i> as (un)married															
<i>I</i> as independent							v1 v2 p1				V2 p2	p1			
<i>I</i> as educated							v1 v2 p1		v1	v2	V2 p2	p1		v1	
<i>I</i> as a teacher										v2				v1	v2 p3

⁶³ The term 'reframing' is used to describe a visual presentation of the written analysis. This term is in keeping with the subtitles to each chapter (cf. preamble to the study).

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

The extent and strength of Purity's 'identity capital' is such that from her predominant internal *I*-positions as an independent, educated, woman, her 'counter-positioning' is primarily implicit (v1), in her 'society-of-mind'. The 'counter-positioning' to patriarchy that she does practise (p1), takes place primarily in her personal domain. It is in her personal domain that Purity experiences any gender identity transformation. Purity has the potential of developing the gender identity transformation which she experiences in her personal domain into her social and professional domains. In her classroom practice, on occasion, Purity voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position' when she, with maximum infusion (cf. 1.4.2.), as part of the LO curriculum, addresses gender equality as it pertains to sport. She practises (p3) a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her classroom practice, and does so with covert infusion (cf. 1.4.2.), by seating the female and male learners together and giving them the same tasks to do. While Purity does create a learning environment, she does so intuitively and does not follow this up with critical engagement with issues of gender equality.

5.3.2. Analysis of Thabi's portrait (cf. 4.2.2.)

Thabi adopts the following internal *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, black African woman, who is an independent, educated person, a teacher, a single parent and the head of her home. Her external *I*-positions reflect the voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my* daughter, *my* colleagues, *my* late mother, *my* learners and *my* culture and *my* religion.

Thabi's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position in general of women in her culture and religion. Her 'dialogical self in action' can be seen in her negotiation of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, in her 'society-of-mind'.

Thabi's understanding of gender equality is that *in front of God, man and woman are equal* and should be treated equally. However, adopting a 'meta-position', she reflects that in her religion and culture, *the practice* [of gender equality] *is different from the definition* thereof. The 'collective' voice of her religion and culture gives *all powers* to men who *treat women and girls as slaves*. Thabi reiterates the voice of patriarchy as expressed by the men, which considers women to be *inferior people* and *women are told to be silent* and not to *argue with a man*. The 'collective' voice of her religion says that *God created* [men] *first* so [they] *are leaders* and women should submit to men; woman only have value if they submit to their husbands and [don't] *say anything* to challenge the men. Thabi refers to the example of the voice of male hegemony as expressed in her religion, by her church leaders, which dictates that women should dress in a certain way, *cover[ing] their heads when they go to the church*, and *woman [are] not allowed to wear pants*. Thabi negotiates her internal *I*-position as an educated, independent woman with this external position of male dominance. A tension emerges leading her to draw the distinction between the 'collective' voice of male dominance in her religion, and her religious conviction that men and women are equal before God. She feels strongly committed to the value she places on *the things which God expects me to do*. We see in Thabi's 'dialogical self in action' her negotiation of two disparate voices. She exercises self-agency when she chooses to cover her head in order to lead the congregation in worship, not in acquiescence to the 'collective' voice of male superiority, but *for God's sake*.

Thabi voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice, as expressed by the older women in her culture, which dictates that women, whose husbands are unfaithful, are *told to do as if nothing wrong is happening*. She also voices explicitly her 'counter-position' when she encourages women to use contraception, saying *that it is good for women to [use] it*, even if it means that the woman *must hide it* from the men. Thabi reiterates and internalises the 'collective' voice of the men in her culture who refuse to wear condoms, and in response, her emotional *I*-position is one of *I* as angry and *I* as frustrated. She feels powerless to re-position this internalised male voice in her 'society-of-mind'.

Adopting a 'meta-position', Thabi recounts two incidents in her youth when she experienced a 'rupture' when two men, on two different occasions, tried to force her to

marry them. She practised her 'counter-position' by resisting the pressure to become involved with these men and she told them to *get lost*. The transition from one position to another in her 'society-of-mind' led to a period of active self-dialogue providing the opportunity for her gender identity renewal. The other (dominant male) as part of her became the other (dominant male) beside her, whom she then deconstructed. The other (dominant male) once again became part of her but now holding a very different position within her 'society-of-mind'. Her valuation of the other had changed and she could move on. When Thabi realised that her husband was having an affair she experienced another 'rupture', the outcome of which was to *release* him saying, *I have a life of my own*. Her 'dialogical self in action' was personally transformative as it led her to exercise self-agency. She speaks of a future of *good things...that [she is] still going to do*.

The voice that emerges in Thabi's 'micro-dialogue', as conditioned by memory and imagination, is that of her late mother who herself, practised a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of her culture when she told her husband to *get out* of the family home. Resisting the cultural 'collective' voices which insisted that Thabi should marry and have children, Thabi's mother supported Thabi in her further education. Thabi dialogues with, and assimilates the voice of her mother which inspires her to practise a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of male dominance in her culture. The commitment to the *I*-position which she values as an educated, independent woman, and as a mother, can be seen in the way in which Thabi raises her daughter, telling her that *she is equal to a boy, and she has got worth beyond description*.

In her professional domain, adopting a 'meta-position' Thabi describes how, as a member of the School Management Team, she is undermined by the male members of staff, who place her *under a lot of pressure*. The 'collective' voice of patriarchy in their culture dictates that men *must dominate and they must head* and this means that they will not take orders from a woman. Thabi, from her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, practises her 'counter-position' to this 'collective' voice, by not remaining silent, and exposing and challenging the undermining of women in leadership by male members of staff. She speaks out, advocating that *all educators should be taught or workshopped to help them see the need for it [gender equality] being implemented*.

In her classroom practice Thabi practises a ‘counter-position’ to the ‘collective’ voice of male superiority in her culture when she promotes gender equality by treating her female and male learners equally. She says: *I discourage abuse...whether it is verbal or physical.* Thabi further exercises this ‘counter-position’ to gender discrimination when she encourages her female and male learners to critically consider the gender dynamics in their homes and in the wider community. She teaches her female and male learners that the gender discrimination that *they see in their homes/families is not right* and that *all individuals are equal.* She emphasises that *girls and boys should be equally treated in families and in communities.* Adopting a ‘meta-position’ Thabi observes that her female and male learners will not be able to change the pattern of behaviour entrenched in their homes. Her advice to her female and male learners is not to challenge their parents, but to critically observe how the females in the home are treated to decide to be different themselves one day when they have their own homes. Reflecting on the ill-treatment of women by their husbands, Thabi especially, encourages the boys, not to copy *their father’s way of treating their mother.*

Table 4: Reframing Thabi’s ‘counter-positions’ - a visual presentation

Thabi’s understanding of gender equality: <i>In front of God, man and woman are equal</i>	External /-positions <i>My ...</i>	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion’s view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	○ The cultural practice of polygamy	○ The cultural practice of virginity testing	○ The cultural practice of arranged marriage	○ The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
Internal /-positions															
<i>I as middle-aged, black African, isiZulu-speaking</i>															
<i>I as a woman</i>											p2	v2		v2 p2	
<i>I as a religious person</i>							v1								
<i>I as a mother</i>				p1											
<i>I as (un)married</i>															
<i>I as independent</i>				p1			v1				p2				
<i>I as educated</i>				p1			v1							v2 p2	v2 p3
<i>I as a teacher</i>												v2			v2 p3

‘Counter-position’ to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

The extent and strength of Thabi’s ‘identity capital’ has led to her negotiation of her internal and external *I*-positions in her ‘society-of-mind’. Her ‘dialogical self in action’ has been personally transformative and empowering. In her personal domain she practises (p1) her ‘counter-position’. Thabi both implicitly (v1) and explicitly (v2) voices, and practises (p2) her ‘counter-position’ to patriarchy in her social, and professional domains. Thabi has developed the gender identity transformation that she experiences in her personal domain into her social and professional domains. In her classroom practice she critically engages with issues of gender equality voicing explicitly (v2) and practising (p3) her ‘counter-position’ by disciplining any form of gender abuse. She encourages her learners to *live* gender equality. Thabi, both overtly and covertly, infuses gender equality into her classroom practice.

5.3.3. Analysis of Jabu’s portrait (cf. 4.2.3.)

Jabu adopts several internal *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, black African woman, who is educated, a teacher, financially independent, a mother, and unmarried but living with a partner. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voices of that which she considers to be *hers*, including the voices of *my* children, *my* colleagues, *my* partner and *my* learners.

Jabu’s self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to the world, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Managing her internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in the dialogical space of her mind, leads to her ‘dialogical self in action’.

Her understanding of gender equality is that male and female should be valued and treated equally. Adopting a ‘meta-position’, Jabu reflects, however, that in both her religion and

culture women are considered to be *below the man*. In the community, she says that *women are not treated too good, men do what they want...women ask permission first, [they] are treated like children*. Jabu voices implicitly her 'counter-position' when she expresses her disapproval that it is culturally acceptable for men to treat women in this way. Her emotional *I*-position, *I* as frustrated and *I* as perturbed, emerges.

Jabu negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent, educated, woman, with those of her external *I*-positions and as she does so, she voices implicitly a 'counter-position' to several of the dictates of the 'collective' voice of her culture, and in particular those which promote patriarchy. Referring to the practices of polygamy and virginity testing, she says *I don't like it*. She also voices her disapproval of arranged marriages describing the practice of young virgins been given in marriage to old men, as *embarrassing*, saying *I don't like it. It is bad, it is bad*. In her personal domain, she practises her 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of the men in her culture who disapprove of the use of contraception, saying that she uses contraception and that a woman should use contraception *to control her body*.

From her 'meta-position', Jabu observes that *women are scared of being left* and are desperate to have a man and so they will acquiesce to a man's demands. In response to this Jabu engages in 'micro-dialogue' with the voice of her late mother that emerges as conditioned by Jabu's memory and imagination. Her mother practised a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of her culture when she divorced her husband and resisted the pressure to get re-married. She raised her children single-handedly. Jabu is inspired by the voice of her late mother to also practise a 'counter-position'. In her self-dialogue Jabu negotiates her internal *I*-position as a financially independent, divorced woman with the external position of the 'collective' voice of *my* culture which says that she only has an identity and voice if she has a husband. Jabu resists the pressure to get remarried, and practises a 'counter-position' by living with her partner. Jabu emphasises her strong commitment to her internal *I*-position as a financially independent woman, saying that this empowers her to *stand up for* [herself] in the face of the 'collective' voice of cultural, male-dominated dictates. Jabu, not only voices explicitly her 'counter-position', she also practises her 'counter-position' by acquiring property, buying any cuts of meat she wishes

to eat, and sitting on chairs as opposed to on the floor. By doing so she gives non-verbal voicing to her inner position.

In her narrative Jabu refers to the 'collective' voice of patriarchy in her culture as expressed by the men who prescribe that it is the role of women to cook, clean, look after the children and the like. That Jabu practises a 'counter-position' is evident in her personal domain, in the way in which she and her partner manage domestic chores by sharing them. Jabu says that it is a partnership and they *just help each other*. She says: *if I can do this let me do it and you can do that one. We can help one another*. Jabu also practises her 'counter-position' by treating the female and male children in her home equally. She says they all *clean, they wash dishes, they cook*.

In her professional domain, adopting a 'meta-position', Jabu observes that education transformation forums do not appear to have dealt with male prejudice and gender discrimination. She says that

the men have this thing that they are superior, they have a problem when they are being led by a women and so they always cause trouble...they don't feel it is suitable for women to control them [by] telling them what to do. They always think they are the best, they are good, they are, they know everything.

She cites the example of men who prefer to teach the higher classes as they *do not like to work with younger children*. Working with younger children is considered to be the work of women. Jabu also refers to the male Deputy Principal who *talks down to women*. As Jabu negotiates her internal *I*-position as an educated female teacher with that of the external voice of her male colleagues, her emotional *I*-positions of *I* as frustrated, and *I* as angry, become evident.

In her classroom practice she practises a 'counter-position' to gender stereotyping, saying that *there is no gender bias* and she does not *give out jobs and make them gender specific*. Jabu says that her female and male learners purposefully *do not have permanent places in the classroom* and her criterion for arranging the learners is simply to separate

those that cause nonsense irrespective of gender. Adopting a ‘meta-position’, Jabu observes that the female learners in her class who fall pregnant have to leave school while the boy who is responsible for impregnating the girl continues with his education. She voices explicitly her ‘counter-position’ by encouraging the girls in her class to be very, very *cautious when it comes to this sleeping around*.

Table 5: Reframing Jabu’s ‘counter-positions - a visual presentation

Jabu’s understanding of gender equality: <i>Men and women should be valued the same way...doing things equally</i>	External I-positions My ...	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion’s view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	○ The cultural practice of polygamy	○ The cultural practice of virginity testing	○ The cultural practice of arranged marriage	○ The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
Internal I-positions															
I as middle-aged, black African, Sotho-speaking															
I as a woman			p1	p1		v1	p1	v1	v1	v1	v1	p1	v1	v1	
I as a religious person															
I as a mother				p1											
I as (un)married			p1												
I as independent			p1			v1	p1	v1	v1		v1	p1			
I as educated						v1		v1	v1	v1	v1	p1	v1	v1	v2 p3
I as a teacher														v1	v2 p3

‘Counter-position’ to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

From her internal I-positions, I as an independent, educated, woman, Jabu voices implicitly (v1) her ‘counter-position’ to patriarchy. She also practises this ‘counter-position’ but primarily in her personal domain (p1). Jabu’s ‘dialogical self in action’, has led her to

negotiate her internal and external *I*-positions and this negotiation has resulted in her re-positioning the 'collective' voices of patriarchy that would seek to govern her personal life. While she has experienced personal gender identity transformation, the extent and strength of her 'identity capital' does not enable her to voice explicitly (v2), nor practise (p2), a 'counter-position' in her social and professional domains. Jabu has the potential of developing the gender identity transformation which she experiences in her personal domain into her social and professional domains.

Jabu voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position' when she, with maximum infusion, as part of the LO curriculum, address gender equality as it pertains to gender stereotyping. She practises (p3) a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her classroom practice, and does so with covert infusion (cf. 1.4.2.), by seating the female and male learners together and giving them the same tasks to do. Jabu creates a learning environment in which she touches on the first layer of inquiry and investigation, engaging her female and male learners intuitively, lacking critical engagement with issues of gender equality.

5.3.4. Analysis of Amy's portrait (cf. 4.2.4.)

Amy adopts several *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a white, middle-aged, English-speaking, South African woman, who is educated, a qualified lawyer, a teacher, financially independent, divorced, a mother and head of her home. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my* children, *my* former husband, *my* colleagues, and *my* learners.

Amy's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Her 'dialogical self in action' can be seen in her negotiation of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her 'society-of-mind'.

Amy's understanding of gender equality is that *people should not be discriminated against based on gender...both sexes should have equal opportunities*. The external position of the 'collective' voice of her Christian religion, and more specifically, the expression thereof in

the Methodist denomination, is one of valuing male and female equally. However, from a 'meta-position', Amy observes that in terms of roles of authority, the *man is the head of the household and makes major decisions*. He is expected to do so *with respect for his partner*.

In her self-dialogue Amy negotiated her internal *I*-positions, *I* as a woman and *I* as a wife, with the external position of both the voice of her former husband and the 'collective' voice of his Portuguese culture. The 'collective' voice of patriarchy in the Portuguese culture dictated that the *woman's job [is] to stay at home and cook and clean*. Amy says that she was *expected to work, and to still look after the children and the home and still make time for him* [her former husband], and she was expected to relieve him at his place of self-employment *so that he could have a bit of free time*. Amy reiterated and then internalised the external position and individual voice of her former husband who had an extra-marital affair, and this led her to believe that the breakdown of the marriage was her fault. She says, *you doubt yourself, you think where did I go wrong, what did I do, should I have done that, shouldn't I have done that?... You think about it and you analyse every conversation*.

Amy's 'micro-dialogue' with the voices of her parents, conditioned by her memory and imagination, informed her that her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, was being compromised. The external *I*-position of her parents' 45 year old marriage led her to question the integrity of her marriage and the lack of respect she was subjected to by her former husband.

Amy experienced a 'rupture' with regard to the external position of her former husband. The other (her former husband) as part of her became the other outside of her as she questioned the dissolution of the marriage, and came to the realisation that it was not her fault, but rather that it was her former husband's choice to have an affair. A period of transition followed this 'rupture' during which she renewed her gender identity and the other (her former husband) once again became part of her, but now holding a very different position in her 'society-of-mind', so that she could move on with her life, gathering up different facets of personal sense and collective meanings.

In her self-dialogue a tension emerges between her understanding that male and female are equal, and the way in which she was raised. The external position of her parents prescribed that men should act in a particularly gentlemanly way. Amy negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent woman, with that of the external position of her parents. The outcome of this negotiation is that she assimilates the voice of her parents saying that she doesn't think it makes the woman a weaker person *if a man does something nice*, such as pulling out a chair or opening a door for a woman. Another tension that emerges in her self-dialogue has to do with the use of contraception. Amy has to negotiate her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman who promotes safe sex so as to prevent the spread of disease and also unwanted pregnancies, with that of her external *I*-position reflecting the 'collective' voice of her religion as expressed by her religious leaders. The 'collective' voice of her religion which she internalises and assimilates leads her to say: *I don't believe in sex before marriage*, and she does not want to convey to her female and male learners the impression *that it is alright to go and have sex* as long as contraception is used. Her negotiated position results in her advocating the use of contraception, but only within the boundaries of a marriage. Amy, negotiating her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, with the external position held by the culture of the black African female learners in her class, voices implicitly her 'counter-position' to the cultural practice of virginity testing.

The external position of the 'collective' voice of male superiority as expressed by the men in the community in which Amy lives, dictates that jobs are gender specific. Negotiating her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent, educated, woman, with this external position, Amy voices explicitly, a 'counter-position' saying that if men want to pursue a career which is considered culturally to be stereotypically female, they should be able to do so. Her position is that *if you have got the qualifications, and you have got the passion for something, a desire to do it, there should not be restrictions based on your gender*. Her emotional *I*-position emerges when she negotiates her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman with that of the external position of the culturally 'collective' voice of patriarchy which dictates that women who work outside of the home should simultaneously *be the mother and look after the children*, and carry out domestic chores. Amy voices explicitly, her 'counter-position' saying that domestic chores should be shared

equally. She practises her 'counter-position' in her personal domain by treating her son and daughter *exactly the same*, expecting them both to carry out domestic chores.

In her professional domain, adopting a 'meta-position', Amy observes gender discrimination. A woman in leadership does not have power but rather, is *more like a figurehead...filling in the quotas*, serving the interests of gender parity. Male members of staff are considered to have more authority than the women and therefore they deal with issues of discipline. Amy negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent, educated woman who is the authority in her home, with this external position reflecting the 'collective' voice of a community in which men are perceived to be stronger and stricter than women who *are seen as softer*. She says that the black African children in particular, *don't respect a woman, don't like taking orders, and that from a white woman*. Amy practises a 'counter-position' to these external positions by maintaining her own discipline in her classroom practice.

Adopting a 'meta-position' Amy reflects on the way in which she unintentionally makes comments when the male learners are not in the classroom, saying *it is so much nicer in the class without the boys, it is so much quieter*. Her observation is that while her intention is to promote gender equality in her classroom practice, without meaning to do so, she highlights differences between the genders. This awareness emerged from Amy's 'dialogical self in action', and she says that she has *got to try and teach from a [gender] neutral point*.

In her classroom practice Amy practises a 'counter-position' to that of the 'collective' voice of her female and male learners which says that *girls can only do certain jobs/sports etc. and should not try to participate in male activities and if they do, they won't be as good*. She does so by teaching the girls that they can do whatever they want to do and that job and sports opportunities should not be gender stereotyped. Practising this 'counter-position', she treats the boys and girls equally, expecting *exactly the same standard, quality and abilities from boys and girls*.

Amy negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman and teacher, with the external position of the father of one of her female learners. Amy voices implicitly her 'counter-position' to his insistence that once his daughter has completed Grade 7, she will remain at home until she gets married. Emerging from her self-dialogue, Amy expresses an emotional *I*-position, *I* as despairing and frustrated. She asks the question: *If [learners] go home and say I have the right to this [education], how can they enforce it? How can they make sure those rights are adhered to? They can't.*

Table 6: Reframing Amy's 'counter-positions' - a visual presentation

Amy's understanding of gender equality: <i>People should not be discriminated against based on gender...both sexes should have equal opportunities</i>	External <i>I</i> -positions <i>My ...</i>	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	○ The cultural practice of polygamy	○ The cultural practice of virginity testing	○ The cultural practice of arranged marriage	○ The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
Internal <i>I</i>-positions <i>I as middle-aged, white, English-speaking</i>															
<i>I as a woman</i>		v1 v2						v2		v1		v1 p1		p2	
<i>I as a religious person</i>															
<i>I as a mother</i>				p1 v2											
<i>I as (un)married</i>		v1 v2													
<i>I as independent</i>		v1 v2													
<i>I as educated</i>								v2		v1		v1 p1		p2	
<i>I as a teacher</i>								v2							p3 v2

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

Amy, as an independent, educated woman, negotiates her internal and external *I*-positions and based on the extent and strength of her 'identity capital', she primarily voices implicitly (v1), her 'counter-position' to patriarchy. When she practises (p1) this 'counter-position' it is primarily in her personal domain, although she does also challenge gender discrimination in her professional domain. Amy's self-dialogue has been personally transformative and there is the potential of developing her gender identity transformation which she experiences in her personal domain into her social domain.

Amy voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position' when she, with maximum infusion, as part of the LO curriculum, address gender equality as it pertains to gender stereotyping. She practises (p3) a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her classroom practice, and does so with covert infusion (cf. 1.4.2.), by treating the females and males in her class equally and expecting the same standard of work from them. Amy questions the potential efficacy of any gender discourse in her classroom practice in the face of powerful religious and cultural, male dominated structures in the wider community.

5.3.5. Analysis of Bongi's portrait (cf. 4.2.5.)

Bongi adopts several *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a black African woman, who is educated, a teacher, financially independent and a mother. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my* child, *my* partner, *my* colleagues, and *my* learners.

Bongi's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Her 'dialogical self in action' can be seen in her negotiation of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her 'society-of-mind'.

Bongi's understanding of gender equality is that male and female are equal *when it comes to powers and rights and decision making*. Adopting a 'meta-position' her observation is

that it is religion and culture that promote gender discrimination by teaching that *man is better than woman* who is considered to be *on a lower level than man*. The external position of the 'collective' voice, as expressed by the men in her religion and culture, says *men first and then the women* who are expected to *maintain the dignity of males by not trying to overpower them*.

Bongi negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated, financially independent woman with that of the external position of the 'collective' voice of patriarchy as expressed by the leaders in her religion and culture. She voices implicitly her 'counter-position' when she says that she *cannot go back* to accepting the 'collective' voice of her religion and culture as it pertains to gender. She says: *It is not right, it is not right. It must be like I am not valuable that much*. In her personal domain she practises this 'counter-position' by raising her son to recognise that women should have equal rights and decision-making power to men.

Adopting a 'meta-position' Bongi observes that black African women, in particular, are desperate to be married, so as to have status, via their husbands, in society. She says women think that *if you don't have a man on your side you are a little bit less than other women...you have to have a man*. Some women agree to a polygamous marriage so as to be married. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that Bongi practised a 'counter-position' to this external position of her culture, by exercising self-agency, and divorcing her former husband because he tried to dominate and control her as his possession. In order to do so she experienced a 'rupture' with regard to the negotiation between her internal *I*-position as an educated woman and the external *I*-position of the individual voice of her former husband as well as the 'collective' voice of their culture. The other (her then husband, as part of her) became the other outside of her as she considered critically, her position within the marriage. A period of transition followed this 'rupture' during which she renewed her gender identity. The other (her then husband), once again, became part of her, but now holding a very different position in her 'society-of-mind'. The intangible resources of her 'identity capital', which include the ability to reflect on and negotiate her self-identity, led Bongi to exercise self-agency and divorce him, and move on with her life. Bongi's personal gender identity transformation is evident in her personal

domain where she lives with her partner. In terms of gender relations she says there is *no-one below and there is no-one above*. Domestic chores, she says, are shared equally.

Bongi voices explicitly a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of her culture with regard to the use of contraception. Bongi negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, with the external *I*-position of the 'collective' voice as expressed by the males in her culture. The men disapprove of the use of contraception contending that the women *taste bad* and they can't *know their women well*. Bongi says that women cannot rely on men to use contraception and that the onus is on the women to protect themselves from falling pregnant because when they do fall pregnant, the men inevitably leave them. In her self-dialogue on this topic, a tension emerges. Bongi is aware that the contraception women use protects them from falling pregnant, but the men, most of whom have multiple sexual partners, refuse to condomise, placing the women at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. Bongi voices explicitly, a 'counter-position' by speaking out and saying that it is *wrong* and that the men must use condoms. She also practises her 'counter-position' by using contraception herself.

As she negotiates her various positions with regard to the use of contraception, another tension emerges. Bongi is aware that female and male learners, as young as in Grade 8 (12-14 years of age), are sexually active, and several are parents. She negotiates her internal positions, *I* as a Catholic, with this external position. The position of her religion is powerful and leads her to voice explicitly the position that contraception should only be used by adults, so as not to promote sexual activity amongst the youth.

Bongi voices implicitly a 'counter-position' to that of the 'collective' voice of her culture, as expressed by the elders, which promotes the practice of virginity testing. Her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, considers this practice to be an invasion of privacy in the first instance, and secondly, she questions the qualifications of the *tester*. She questions the accuracy of the testing saying that she is aware of cases when a girl has been declared a virgin, and then gives birth six months later, indicating that she was pregnant at the time of testing.

Tensions emerge in Bongi's self-dialogue. On the one hand her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman promotes gender equality. However, she also reiterates the external position of the 'collective' voice as expressed by the men in her culture with regard to their expectations that a woman is *supposed to get pregnant*. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that Bongi does not voice, implicitly, nor explicitly, a 'counter-position' to the cultural expectation that woman should fall pregnant. She reiterates and assimilates the 'collective' voice of her culture when she says that a [physically] *tired woman* cannot be expected to fall pregnant and to *take care of her family*, leading her to conclude that certain jobs are for men as they are physically stronger than women.

Bongi lauds the strength displayed by single mothers, but qualifies this, saying that they do so *as if there is a man*. By making this qualification, Bongi reiterates and internalises the external cultural position that the male provides the benchmark for leadership in the home. Further negotiation of her personal positions needs to take place for this apparent contradiction to be worked out.

Adopting a 'meta-position' in her workplace, her observation is that male learners respect male educators more than the female educators, thereby reinforcing the superiority of the men. She says *men do have power*, and she negotiates her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman with the external position of the 'collective' voice of the male members of staff who see themselves as *more powerful than* [women]. She says that the men on the staff will not take orders from a woman. She refers to meetings, at the end of which, the final decisions are taken by men and *it hasn't to be a lady*. Bongi's emotional position of *I* as frustrated and *I* as discouraged emerges from her self-dialogue, and she voices implicitly, her 'counter-position'.

Bongi's self-dialogue is fraught with tension as she negotiates her various internal positions. She says that when teaching about gender equality it *makes* [her] *feel like a liar* because her understanding of gender equality is the antithesis of the external position advocated by her religion and culture. Her response within her dialogical space is to introduce a hierarchy of voices. She refers to the voices that advocate gender equality as *high voices* or the voices of the *educated*. The voices promoting the status quo of male

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

Bongi's extent and strength of 'identity capital' is such that as she negotiates her internal *I*-positions as an independent, educated woman with the external position of patriarchy she does so by voicing implicitly (v1) a 'counter-position' and primarily practising (p1) this 'counter-position' in her personal domain. Her gender identity transformation in her personal domain has the potential of developing into her social and professional domains.

In her classroom practice, Bongi voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position' when she, with maximum infusion, as part of the LO curriculum, challenges gender stereotypical roles. She practises (p3) a 'counter-position' to patriarchy and does so with covert infusion, by insisting that her female and male learners share classroom duties such as sweeping the classroom floor. Bongi creates a learning environment in which she touches on the first layer of inquiry and investigation, engaging her female and male learners intuitively, but lacking critical engagement with issues of gender equality.

5.3.6. Analysis of Kate's portrait (cf. 4.2.6.)

Kate adopts several internal *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a white, English-speaking, South African woman, who is educated, independent, a teacher in my mid-twenties, and engaged, soon to be married. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voices of that which she considers to be *hers*, including the voices of *my* fiancé, *my* colleagues, *my* family and *my* learners.

Kate's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to the world, and more specifically, in relation to the position of women in her religion and culture. Exploring her internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her 'society-of-mind' leads to her 'dialogical self in action'.

Kate's understanding of gender equality is that *there should be equality* between men and women and that *what a man can do or can have, a woman should be able to do and have as well*. She expresses her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman when she says: *I don't have less purpose because I am a woman and he does not have more because he is a man*.

Adopting a 'meta-position' Kate refers to the external *I*-position of the 'collective' voice of her religion as expressed by the priest, saying that *men are higher than women* and that a *woman is less than a man*, and *a woman can't be a priest*. As Kate negotiates her internal positions, she reiterates and assimilates the 'collective' voice of her religion saying that she believes *that there are things that men should do that women shouldn't do*. Kate engages in self-dialogue and negotiates her internal and external *I*-positions, and her commitment to the importance of a man respecting a woman, becomes evident. She places a higher value on gaining the respect of a man, than being considered equal to a man saying that it *would bother* [her] if men didn't respect her as a woman.

Tensions emerge in Kate's self-dialogue. On the one hand her internal positions, *I* as independent and *I* as educated, and the external position of the 'collective' voice of her family, promote gender equality saying that *what a man can do [a woman] can do too*. However, from her internal position, *I* as a woman, she also contends that there are jobs which are gender specific, but that there should not be gender discrimination in terms of wages. She says that a man *can get paid R5 000* and a woman *can get paid R5 000 but* [she] *will be doing the girly job and he would be doing the guy job*. She refers to some physically orientated jobs that are primarily for men, giving the example of construction work saying that as a woman she *would not want to be a construction worker, that is a man's job, I would not even want to do that*. She disapproves of the notion of a *male nanny or something like that*, saying that it is to her, *a woman's job*. Kate's self-dialogue reflects her two disparate *I*-positions as she promotes gender equality selectively.

From her internal position, *I* as an educated woman, Kate voices implicitly a 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voices in the culture of many of her black African female learners. She voices implicitly her 'counter-position' to practices such as polygamy and

virginity testing. She refers to the cultural practice of polygamy as gender discriminatory saying that men can have more than one wife but women cannot have more than one husband. She considers virginity testing as gender discriminatory, especially because the *lobola* paid for a girl who does not pass the virginity test, is less. Kate also implicitly voices her 'counter-position' to the cultural practice of a bride price, expressing her disapproval of arranged marriages, saying that *the girl does not really have much choice...they just get sold to the guy* and she considers this to be a gender discriminatory practice.

Negotiating her internal positions, *I* as an independent woman, and the external position held by the men in the Afrikaans culture in the community in which she lives, Kate voices explicitly a 'counter-position' to their 'collective' voice of patriarchy. Women are expected to *just sit at home and cook because it is what the wife does*. Kate explicitly voices her 'counter-position' when she says that if she wants *to go out, if [she wants] to go shopping, [she] can go shopping, [she doesn't] want [her] husband to have to give [her] permission*. Her 'dialogical self in action' has been personally transformative in terms of the negotiation of her position in her forthcoming marriage.

In her professional domain, a girls-only school with a predominantly female staff, adopting a 'meta-position', Kate reflects on gender discrimination. She refers to the dress code for female staff members which the female Principal instituted. Kate voices implicitly her 'counter-position', saying that she considers it to be gender discriminatory considering that *the men did not get a dress code*. Kate refers to gender discrimination in that *if there is any job that we [the female staff members] don't feel like doing we tell the men to do it*. In Kate's opinion the female members of staff are *taking advantage* of the men on the staff. She does contend that there should be more men on the staff, saying that *if there was a man it would bring more balance to the whole thing*. Adopting a 'meta-position' Kate's observation is that the female staff members *fight all the time because we are women*. Implicit in what she says is her possible *I*-position as a fighter.

In her classroom practice, from her internal position, I as an educated woman, Kate voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of male superiority expressed by the men in the surrounding Afrikaans community and local boys' school. The prevailing attitude of the men is that I am the man and you have to do what I say. Kate teaches her female learners that they are able to do anything and that women are better than what the men are.

Having assimilated into her self-dialogue, the external position of her parents' voice impressing upon her that men are required to act in a particular gentlemanly way, Kate teaches her female learners that they have to *force the guy to respect* [them]. Part of doing so concerns the notion of dress. Kate teaches the girls to be *circumspect* in their dress, saying that they will not be respected by the boys if they *are going to walk around with a mini skirt and little tops and be all flirty and sexual*.

Kate experiences confusion and ambivalence when negotiating her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent woman, with her understanding of gender equality, and her insistence that women must act in such a way that the men will respect them. When the female learners in her class suggest practising gender equality by asking the boys out, and paying their own way, Kate voices explicitly a 'counter-position, saying that the boy will lose respect for the girl. When confronted in the interview with the possibility that the boy may well consider that the girl owes him something because he paid for the date, she expresses her ambivalence saying that she finds this *confusing...because now I don't know what do I agree with it or don't I agree with it*. Kate will need to engage in the further negotiation of her internal and external positions so as to work out the tensions and contradictions emerging in her self-dialogue. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' does not yet allow her to do so.

Table 8: Reframing Kate's 'counter-positions' - a visual presentation

Kate's understanding of gender equality: <i>What a man can do and have a woman should be able to do and have as well</i>	External /-positions My ...	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	o The cultural practice of polygamy	o The cultural practice of virginity testing	o The cultural practice of arranged marriage	o The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
	Internal /-positions I as in my mid-twenties, white, English-speaking														
	I as a woman							v2	v1	v1	v1		v1	v1	v2
	I as a religious person														
	I as a mother														
	I as (un)married		p1 v2												
	I as independent							v2							
	I as educated								v1	v1	v1			v1	
	I as a teacher														v2

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

While Kate voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position' to patriarchy and practises (p1) this 'counter-position' in her personal domain, her gender identity transformation is partial. This is evidenced by the confusion and ambivalence in her self-dialogue and the implicit voicing (v1) only, of her 'counter-positions' in her social and professional domains. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that Kate experiences difficulty in her classroom practice in approaching issues of gender equality. She contradicts herself and promotes her own ambivalent beliefs as opposed to engaging critically with issues of gender discrimination. She does not practise (p3) any 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her classroom practice. Kate is optimistic, that having attended a school which promotes a

feminist approach to life, her female learners will not *just lie down to discrimination* in the future in their places of work.

5.3.7. Analysis of Ruby's portrait (cf. 4.2.7.)

Ruby adopts several *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, white, English-speaking, South African woman, who is independent, educated, a teacher, wife and mother. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my children*, *my husband*, *my colleagues*, and *my learners*.

Ruby's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Her 'dialogical self in action' can be seen in her negotiation of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her 'society-of-mind'.

Ruby's understanding of gender equality is that male and female are equal, and that there should be *no discrimination between men and women based purely on sex and physical strength*. She says: *I am as good as the man next to me*. Adopting a 'meta-position', Ruby reflects on the position of women in her religion and culture. The 'collective' voice, as expressed by the leaders in her religion, highlights gender discrimination and she specifically refers to the prejudice shown by the Catholic Church towards divorced women. Ruby refers to the example of her mother who *could not remarry because she was a divorced person*. Ruby's 'micro-dialogue', engaging with the voices of her father, her mother and the priest, conditioned by her memory and imagination, leads her to explicitly voice a 'counter-position' to what she refers to as the *whole hypocritical thing*. She says that after her mother underwent a hysterectomy, it was her father who had an affair, contending that her mother was *an incomplete woman*. Yet, it was her mother whom the church were prejudiced against. Her emotional *I*-position, *I* as an angry woman, emerges as she recounts her story. Ruby practised her 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voices of the leaders in her religion by leaving the Catholic Church.

Adopting a 'meta-position' Ruby reflects on her previous experience of gender discrimination in the workplace, saying that *she was often rejected for a position because [she] was female*. A former Principal simply said *I don't like working with women, I prefer to work with a man*, and on those grounds she did not get the position for which she had applied. Her self-dialogue expresses her emotional *I*-position, *I* as angry and *I* as frustrated. She says that the Principal's attitude *enraged [her], because it sort of limited [her]*. Ruby, from her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to this external position which promotes gender discrimination when she says *if you are good at something and you know you have those skills and you are aptly qualified in it, they should look past male or female*. Her narrative of her past experience of gender discrimination, left her feeling devalued and of lesser worth.

Ruby experienced a 'rupture' with regard to the negotiation between her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman and the external *I*-position of the individual voice of her former male Principal as well as the 'collective' voice of her religion. The other (male authority figures in education and in her religion) as part of her, became the other outside of her as she considered critically, her position in society, and more specifically her position as a teacher. A period of transition followed this rupture during which she renewed her gender identity and the other (male authority figures in education and in her religion) once again became part of her, but now very differently re-positioned in her 'society-of-mind'. From her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman, she practised her 'counter-position' deciding never again to work for a male Principal. This led to her personal gender identity transformation. She was able to move on, saying that she *can't let things like that hold [her] back*, and that she has decided *to just be the best I can be*.

Ruby's professional environment is a girls-only school with a predominantly female staff. Adopting a 'meta-position', she comments on the gender discrimination in her current school saying that when a male teacher fails to meet a mark deadline *he gets away with murder*. She also notes that the female, and not the male members of staff, are given a dress code by the school Principal. In her self-dialogue, Ruby negotiates her internal *I*-position as an independent, educated woman with that of the external position of the individual voice of her school Principal. She explicitly voices a 'counter-position' protesting

that there are certain perfumes and jewellery that she may not wear and says that the dress code makes her feel that she is *always looked at* to see what she is *wearing*. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' in this situation is such that she does not practise her 'counter-position', and she abides by the requirements of the prescribed dress code.

In her social domain, adopting a 'meta-position', Ruby comments on the 'collective' voice of patriarchy as it is expressed by the men in the Afrikaans community in which she lives. Negotiating her internal positions, *I* as an independent, educated woman, Ruby practises a 'counter-position' to this external position of the 'collective' voice of male dominance and the expectation of the men, that women will be submissive. Her independence is misinterpreted by the females and the males in the community who refer to her as *wearing the pants in [her] marriage*, and as not submitting to the headship of her husband. Ruby says that, by contrast, she is *honoured as a woman* in her home. From her internal position as an educated woman and a mother, Ruby practises her 'counter-position' to gender discrimination by treating her own children equally.

A tension emerges between Ruby's understanding that male and female are equal and the external position of her parents who raised her to expect men to act in a particular, gentlemanly way. Having assimilated this external position of her parents, Ruby expects men to behave in a chivalrous way, saying that *I think it is what makes a man very special...It is what sells a woman's heart...It must still exist and I think the girls still want it*.

The external position of Ruby's mother-in-law's individual voice causes Ruby to reflect on her imminent retirement and the possibility of becoming financially dependent on her husband. Her mother-in-law receives *pocket money* from her husband [per] week, and Ruby, taking up an emotional *I*-position of fear and anxiety says *I just cannot see myself like that*.

Adopting a 'meta-position' Ruby reflects on the cultural practice of virginity testing that several of her black African learners, experience. Negotiating her internal position, *I* as an educated woman, she voices explicitly a 'counter-position' to that of the external position expressed in the black African culture. She says that virginity testing is a gender discriminatory practice, as the male's virginity is not brought into question. The 'collective' voice of their culture informs Ruby's black African, female learners that wearing a tampon *is taboo*, for fear of damaging the hymen. Ruby explains that these female learners in her class therefore won't use tampons, and consequently do not participate in Physical Education while menstruating. Ruby practises a 'counter-position' by educating the female learners in her classroom that using a tampon will not negatively affect their virginity testing. Ruby voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to the cultural practices of polygamy and arranged marriages. She voices explicitly that men should share responsibility for practising protected sex.

In her classroom practice Ruby practises her 'counter-position' to the external position of patriarchy in the community in which the school is situated. She promotes gender equality in her classroom practice, empowering the girls for the work place, and teaching them to recognise *violation against women in all spheres*. She does not, however, provide them with practical suggestions as to how to challenge possible gender discrimination. Many of the boys in the Afrikaans community feel their male dominance is threatened by the girls at Ruby's school whom she says are emancipated young women who have become *empowered to have a voice*. Ruby does not explore with her female learners how to engage with these gender-relational barriers. From her internal *I*-position, *I* as a woman, mother and teacher, Ruby voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to the 'collective' voice of the members in the community who insist that women have to be married, that *they have got to have a man*. She encourages the female learners in her class and her own daughter not to get involved in a relationship because of pressure from members of the community.

Table 9: Reframing Ruby's 'counter-positions' - a visual presentation

Ruby's understanding of gender equality: <i>No discrimination between men and women based purely on sex and physical strength</i>	External I-positions <i>My ...</i>	My Personal Domain <i>My Husband / partner</i>	<i>My children</i>	My Social Domain <i>My religion</i>	<i>My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated</i>	<i>My culture</i>	<i>The cultural practice of polygamy</i>	<i>The cultural practice of virginity testing</i>	<i>The cultural practice of arranged marriage</i>	<i>The cultural view on the use of contraception</i>	<i>The cultural tolerance of infidelity</i>	My Professional domain <i>My male colleagues</i>	My Classroom Practice
Internal I-positions <i>I as middle-aged, white, English-speaking</i>													
<i>I as a woman</i>		p1 v2	p1 v2		p1 v2	p2	v2	v2	v2	v2		v2 p2	v2 p3
<i>I as a (non)religious person</i>					p1 v2								
<i>I as a mother</i>			p1 v2										
<i>I as (un)married</i>		p1 v2					v2			v2			
<i>I as independent</i>		p1 v2				p2			v2				
<i>I as educated</i>						p2	v2	v2	v2	v2		v2 p2	v2 p3
<i>I as a teacher</i>								v2 p3					v2 p3

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

The extent and strength of Ruby's 'identity capital' is such that she is able to voice explicitly (v2) and practise (p1/p2) her 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her personal, social, and professional domains. Her self-dialogue has been personally transformative. Her personal gender identity transformation develops into her social and professional domains and in her classroom practice, she uses her experiences of gender discrimination in her teaching-learning of gender equality. Ruby voices explicitly (v2) and practises (p3) her 'counter-position' when she engages with gender issues in her classroom practice with both

maximum and minimum infusion. She encourages her female learners to help their *parents see that the way forward in a new South Africa is to embrace* [gender equality].

5.3.8. Analysis of Annie's portrait (cf. 4.2.8.)

Annie adopts several *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, white, Afrikaans-speaking, South African woman, who is an independent, educated person, a teacher, widow and mother. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my daughter*, *my colleagues*, and *my learners*.

Annie's self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Her 'dialogical self in action' can be seen in her negotiation of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her 'society-of-mind'.

Annie's understanding of gender equality is that male and female are equal and *there is no reason why a woman can't do anything*. Adopting a 'meta-position', reflecting on the position of women in her religion, Annie maintains that *everyone's gender, race and culture are equal before God*. Informed as she is by the external position of her religion, Annie contends that *gender equality is only achieved by a true understanding of one another and sincere love for ones neighbour*.

In her social domain, the external position of the 'collective' voice of the men in Annie's Afrikaans culture dictates that women are considered to be less than men. She says that *the man is the boss and the women...feel that they must basically please the man...making him his supper and looking after the kids*. Annie says that the women remain silent, *they don't say* and *they don't stand up for their rights*. Annie says that the women who stay at home enjoy spending their husbands' money, but feel indebted to their husbands and if *there are big decisions to be made with the children and with the house...they feel that they can't do it on their own*. Annie's negotiation of her internal *I*-positions, *I* as an independent, educated woman, and the external position of the 'collective' voice of patriarchy in the Afrikaans culture, leads her to voice explicitly and practise a 'counter-position', saying that a woman should defend her rights, and that a woman *must have* [her]

own identity...[her] own bank accounts. Annie takes up an emotional *I*-position in this regard saying that if she did not have her independence and personal identity it *would drive [her] nuts*.

Negotiating her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent woman and mother, with the external position of the 'collective' voice of patriarchy as expressed by the men in the Afrikaans culture, Annie voices explicitly, in her personal domain, a 'counter-position', by teaching her daughter that girls are *just as smart, just as fast, just as able as boys* are. What she says, however, *just as....* maintains the level of the ability of the boys as the benchmark for any measurement and Annie does not refer to the independent identity of girls. The dominant voice of her culture dictates that there are different rules for boys and girls. Annie disapproves of this external position by voicing explicitly a 'counter-position' when she contends that *things are right or wrong if you are a girl or a boy. So you mustn't say you must do this because you are a girl and mustn't do this because you are a girl*.

Adopting a 'meta-position', Annie comments on certain practices in the culture of her black African learners. From her internal position as an educated woman she voices explicitly a 'counter-position' to the practices of polygamy and virginity testing, referring to both as *degrading* and *horrible*. With regard to the use of contraception, Annie voices explicitly her 'counter-position' to the external position held by the men in the surrounding community. She says that contraception should be used to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. She qualifies her 'counter-position', however, informed by the assimilation into her self-dialogue of the 'collective' voice of her religion, limiting the use of contraception to a marriage context.

In her classroom practice, Annie teaches the female learners in her class that if they dress in such a way that they *basically advertise everything, people are going to see you in a certain way and then you must take the consequences*. Her assimilation of the 'collective' voice of the leaders in her religion with regard to women's dress, informs her approach to gender-related issues in her classroom practice. Adopting a 'meta-position' Annie says that she doesn't think she could promote gender equality in her classroom practice, *if [she didn't] believe in it*. She comments that it is difficult for her and for some of the black African

‘Counter-position’ to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

Annie voices explicitly (v2) her ‘counter-position’ to patriarchy in her personal and social domains. She also practises (p2) this ‘counter-position’ in particular instances in her social environment. The extent and strength of her ‘identity capital’ is such that her personal gender identity transformation informs her approach to gender equality in her classroom practice. She addresses gender equality with maximum and minimum infusion in her classroom practice. She engages her female and male learners substantially, encouraging them to resist gender discrimination in every context in which they find themselves. While she voices explicitly (v2) her ‘counter-position’ to gender discrimination, she does, however, also impress upon them her personal religious position with regard to gender-related issues.

5.3.9. Analysis of Merlot’s portrait (cf. 4.2.9.)

Merlot adopts several *I*-positions when she refers to herself as *I*, a middle-aged, white, English-speaking, South African woman, who is an independent, educated person, a teacher, wife and mother. Her external *I*-positions reflect the individual voice of that which she considers to be *hers*, including *my* children, *my* husband, *my* colleagues, and *my* learners

Merlot’s self-dialogue reflects her way of gaining understanding about herself in relation to society, and more specifically, to the position of women in her religion and culture. Her ‘dialogical self in action’ can be seen in her management of a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions, both individual and collective, in her ‘society-of-mind’.

Merlot's understanding of gender equality is that male and female are all *created equal* and that *everyone should be equal regardless of what gender they are*. She adopts a 'meta-position' from which she observes that *women are still perceived not to know anything about certain things* and that women are *not perceived to be equal*, rather, they are *perceived to be less than*. The external position of the 'collective' voice of the members of the community in which she lives is that men *maybe sort out the garden and the car* and that the women are responsible for cooking, cleaning and looking after the children, doing *what is referred to as a woman's job*. The 'collective' voice of patriarchy dictates that if both the wife and husband work and earn money, the wife has to hand over her salary to the man and he manages the finances. Merlot negotiates her internal positions, *I* as an independent, educated, married woman, with the external positions, as expressed by the 'collective' voice of the men in the community in which she lives. She voices explicitly and practises a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her personal domain.

In her social domain, adopting a 'meta-position', Merlot observes that there are men who, despite the 'collective' voice of male dominance in the community, abdicate their responsibilities and *more and more women are being forced to run the homes, to head the homes, to guide the children*.

The external position of the 'collective' voice of her religion as expressed by the church leaders, teaches that while male and female are created equal before God, a woman must submit to her husband. Negotiating her internal *I*-position, *I* as an independent, educated, married woman, and the external position of her religion, Merlot voices explicitly her 'counter-position', saying that the man should not be treated with respect as the head of the home *if he is not right*. She practises this 'counter-position' in her personal domain by demonstrating self-agency when she says that if she doesn't believe something is right she stands up and gives her opinion. She contends that the woman *is not a doormat*. Merlot also practises this 'counter-position' saying that she and her husband *run the home together*. Merlot's emotional *I*-position, *I* as frustrated, emerges when she says that despite *running the home together because [her husband] works [from home] he thinks he doesn't have to do anything around the house*, and she feels that she is *the flippin maid in the house*. Merlot's self-dialogue entertains the external position of the individual voice of a

young colleague who has just had a baby. Merlot says that this colleague *has not cooked a meal since that baby was born. Her husband does it all*. As Merlot negotiates her various internal and external *I*-positions, she forms an alliance with the external position of this young colleague, which leads her to contemplate that stereotypical roles can be changed. This is personally transformative for Merlot.

From her internal position, *I* as an educated woman, Merlot voices explicitly a 'counter-position' to the black African cultural practices of several of the female and male learners in her class. She voices explicitly her disapproval of cultural practices such as virginity testing, polygamy, arranged marriage and the refusal of men to practise protected sex.

Adopting a 'meta-position', Merlot comments that in the community leadership *is still perceived to be a man's job* and the school principal has to be a male. In her professional domain she observes that there are no men in management or teaching in the foundation phase (Grades 1 – 3) of the school. Male members of staff are given preference with regard to promotion posts in the intermediate (Grades 4 – 6) and senior phases (Grades 7 – 9). Her emotional *I*-position, *I* as frustrated and angry, emerges when she comments that *women work a lot harder in a school than the men*, saying that the women's *administration is far neater and organised and up to date*. Her emotional *I*-position, *I* as longsuffering, reflects her resignation that despite women's ability and efficiency, *the guys...are the ones that get the promotions. It's just the way that it is*. Merlot recounts that when she arrived at the school *women never drove the school combi*. From her internal position as an independent woman, Merlot practised a 'counter-position' saying she is *quite capable of driving the combi* and she did. From her 'meta-position' Merlot reflects that as a woman she is not sure that her voice is *heard or taken seriously* in her professional domain.

Tensions emerge from Merlot's self-dialogue as she negotiates various *I*-positions in her 'society-of-mind'. On the one hand she comments that women are equal to men and on the other she comments that the girls in the school are *stronger leaders than the boys are*, and she attributes this to weak male role models at home or an absence of fathers. The implication of this position which she takes, points to strong males providing the benchmark

for leadership in the home. Merlot contends that there are certain leadership skills which can only be provided by the father.

Another tension which emerges from her self-dialogue is that while Merlot supports gender equality, she promotes ladylike behaviour and disapproves of girls wearing pants saying *you put girls in pants, they become boys, and they no longer have those lady-like ways*. At her school there is an emphasis on young ladies behaving *in a certain way*. Merlot questions *whether [this] is stereotyping* and she says *I don't know, but I do believe that women must be women and they must be feminine. They mustn't be running around in long pants*. Informed by the *collective* voice of the culture in which she was raised, Merlot tries to promote chivalry, encouraging the boys to step back and let the girls leave the classroom first. Her self-dialogue leads her to reflect and say: *I suppose that people can say 'if everybody is equal then why must the boys step back?'*

In her classroom practice Merlot is informed by her internal *I*-position, *I* as an educated woman and teacher, who values the role that education can play in addressing gender discrimination. She says:

females are still discriminated against. Some of our girls in certain cultures are still oppressed. It is only an education that can change this mind-set...that men are gods and that women must bow down to them...if you do not challenge male superiority you will perpetuate it.

It is Merlot's aim, to educate her female and male learners about gender equality so as to counter gender discrimination in her classroom, school and the broader community in which the school is situated.

Table 11: Reframing Merlot's 'counter-positions' - a visual presentation

Merlot's understanding of gender equality: <i>Everyone should be equal regardless of what gender they are</i>	External /-positions <i>My ...</i>	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	○ The cultural practice of polygamy	○ The cultural practice of virginity testing	○ The cultural practice of arranged marriage	○ The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
Internal /-positions <i>I as middle-aged, white, English-speaking</i>															
<i>I as a woman</i>			v2 p1	v2 p1					v2	v2	v2	v2		v2 p2	v2 p3
<i>I as a religious person</i>															
<i>I as a mother</i>				v2 p1											
<i>I as (un)married</i>			v2 p1												
<i>I as independent</i>			v2 p1												
<i>I as educated</i>				v2 p1					v2	v2	v2	v2		v2 p2	v2 p3
<i>I as a teacher</i>														v2 p2	v2 p3

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

Summary

Merlot contends that the religious and cultural identity of the teacher *has got to impact* her approach to gender equality in her classroom practice. While there are tensions which emerge in Merlot's self-dialogue as she negotiates various internal and external positions, the extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that she voices explicitly (v2) and also practises (p1) her 'counter-position' to patriarchy in her personal domain. Merlot is also able to voice explicitly (v2) this 'counter-position' in her social domain.

In her professional domain she not only voices explicitly (v2), but also practises (p2) a 'counter-position'. Merlot both voices explicitly (v2) and practises (p3) a 'counter-position' to gender discrimination by overtly and covertly infusing gender equality in her classroom practice.

5.4. SUMMARY

The dialogical self provides a link “between self and society” (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2008, p. 5). Sharing their self-narratives provided an intervention for the participants to become self-aware as they considered the position of women in general in their religion and culture, and more specifically their own position as a female teacher, facilitating the teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. They also voiced explicitly to the researcher (external audience) their response to the master narrative of patriarchy. It is in her mind that the female teacher possibly finds agentic power by voicing and/or practising a 'counter-position' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) to gender discrimination in her personal, social and professional domains. The participants appeared to have a similar understanding of gender equality, this being one of the resources and strengths in their 'identity capital'. As they negotiated their various internal and external *I*-positions, the extent and strength (or lack of strength) of their 'identity capital' became evident as they voiced implicitly, explicitly, or not at all, and/or practised or did not practise a 'counter-position' to patriarchy. To varying degrees, the participants exhibited the potential of re-positioning the 'collective' voice of patriarchy in their personal, social and professional domains.

The following table provides a composite summary of the participants' 'counter-positions' to patriarchy, followed by an interpretation of the findings.

Table 12: Composite summary of participants' 'counter-positions'

Key used for the participants P - Purity T - Thabi J - Jabu B - Bongzi K - Kate R - Ruby M - Merlot A ¹ - Amy A ² - Annie	External /-positions My ...	My Personal Domain	My Husband / partner	My children	My Social Domain	My religion	My religion's view on how women should dress and where they should be seated	My culture	The cultural practice of polygamy	The cultural practice of virginity testing	The cultural practice of arranged marriage	The cultural view on the use of contraception	My Professional domain	My male colleagues	My Classroom Practice
Internal /-positions															
I as a woman			(v1) A ¹	(v2) JRMA ²		(v1) BJ	(v1) P	(v1) J	(v1) PJKR MA ²	(v1) BJKA ¹	(v1) JK	(v1) KA ¹	(v1) JK	(v1) BK	(v2) KRMA ²
			(v2) BRMA ¹			(v2) R		(v2) A ¹ A ²	(v2) RM	(v2) RMA ²	(v2) RMA ²	(v2) TBRMA ²	(v2) R	(v2) TRM	
			(p1) JBRM	(p1) PBRMJ		(p1) R	(p1) J	(p2) RA ²			(p2) T	(p1) PJBA ¹	(p2) R	(p2) TMA ¹	(p3) RM
I as a (non) religious person						(v2) R	(v1) T								
						(p1) R	(p1) J								
I as a mother				(v2) PRMA ¹ A ²											
				(p1) PTBJR MA ¹											
I as (un)married		(v1) A ¹													
		(v2) BKRMA ¹							(v2) R			(v2) R			
		(p1) BJKRM													
I as independent		(v1) A ¹				(v1) J	(v1) TP		(v1) J	(v1) J	(v1) PJ				
		(v2) RMA ¹	(v2) A ²			(v2) P	(v2) A ¹ A ²				(v2) R				
		(p1) BRM	(p1) TB			(p1) PJ					(p1) P	(p1) JP			
						(p2) J	(p2) RA ²				(p2) T				
I as educated						(v1) BJ	(v1) PT		(v1) PJK	(v1) KBJA ¹	(v1) KJ	(v1) JA ¹	(v1) JK	(v1) PJB	
		(v2) B	(v2) M			(v2) P	(v2) A ¹ A ²	(v2) RMA ²	(v2) PRMA ²	(v2) PRMA ²	(v2) PRMA ²	(v2) BRMA ²	(v2) R	(v2) TRM	(v2) TRJMA ²
		(p1) B	(p1) TM			(p1) P		(p2) RA ²			(p2) P	(p1) PJBA ¹	(p2) R	(p2) TMA ¹	(p3) TRJM
I as a teacher										(v1) P				(v1) PJ	
										(v2) PR		(v2) T		(v2) M	(v2) JBTRKP MA ¹ A ²
										(p3) R				(p2) M	(p3) PTJBRM A ¹

'Counter-position' to patriarchy indicated as follows:

- Voiced (worded) implicitly in her mind (v1) and/or explicitly to an external audience (v2)
- Practised in her personal domain (p1) and/or social and professional domains (p2) and/or classroom practice (p3)

In their personal domain the favoured internal positions were that of *I* as an independent, educated, woman. In this domain the overall majority of 'counter-positions' were practised (p1) and overwhelmingly from the internal position of *I* as an educated woman. This was followed by an explicit voicing (v2) of their 'counter-position'. Only one participant voiced implicitly (v1) her 'counter-position' to patriarchy.

In their social domain the favoured internal positions were that of *I* as an independent, educated, woman. In this domain the overall majority voiced their 'counter-position' with minimal practising (p2) of a 'counter-position'. Of those who voiced their 'counter-position', more did so 'implicitly (v1) to an internal audience, than explicitly (v2), to an external audience. Of the minority who practised a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in their religion and culture, more indicated that they did so in their personal domain (p1) than in their social domain (p2).

In their professional domain, the favoured internal positions were that of *I*, as an educated woman, and *I*, as a teacher. In this domain the majority of participants, favouring their internal position, *I* as a teacher, voiced their 'counter-position' implicitly (v1). The remainder equally voiced explicitly (v2) their 'counter-position' and practised (p2) a 'counter-position' to male dominance in their school context.

In their classroom practice the equally favoured internal positions were that of *I* as an educated, woman and teacher. The majority of the participants voiced explicitly (v2) their 'counter-position' to patriarchy. With the exception of two participants, they also practised (p3) their 'counter-position'. Six of the participants' explicit voicing (v2) and practise (p3) of their 'counter-position' was infused minimally (cf. 1.4.2.) in their classroom practice as they touched upon the first layer of inquiry or investigation with regard to gender equality. Three of the nine participants engaged critically with issues of gender discrimination and gender equality in their explicit voicing of their 'counter-positions'. The practising (p3) of a 'counter-position' to gender discrimination was demonstrated primarily by the equal treatment of

female and male learners, by seating them together and assigning them the same tasks. By doing so a learning environment was created but not explored. The participants intuitively practised (p3) their 'counter-position' but did not word this practice by exploring the rationale for doing so.

The basic assumption in the concept of 'identity capital' is that every person has it, to some extent (Côté & Levine, 2002). It is the extent and the strength of 'identity capital' that is at stake in concrete situations. In this study 'identity capital' is seen at work in the participants' personal, social and professional domains, and in their classroom practice. What has emerged from the data analysis is that the participants' 'identity capital' is strongest in their personal domain. Both 'micro-dialogue' and 'rupture' (cf. 2.4.1.) played a role in four participants' 'dialogical self in action'. This contributed to their gender identity transformation. They experienced this gender identity transformation on a personal level and were able to voice explicitly and practise a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in their personal domain. However, as they moved through their social and professional domains their 'identity capital' became weaker. In both their social and professional domains their 'counter-position' was primarily voiced implicitly to an internal audience. Their 'counter-position' was also voiced explicitly to an external audience, more so in the religious and cultural arena than in the professional domain. However, in neither their social, nor professional domain was their 'counter-position' practised substantially.

The classroom practice of three of the nine participants evidenced maximum and minimum infusion (cf. 1.4.2.) and critical engagement with issues of gender equality by their voicing explicitly (v2) and practising (p3) their 'counter-position' to patriarchy. One particular participant (cf. 7.3.3.3.), voices explicitly (v2) and practises her 'counter-position' to patriarchy in every domain of her life (p1/p2/p3). The extent and strength of her 'identity capital', drawing on the 'intangible' resources which include the ability to reflect, and negotiate her self-identity, is such that she is able to translate her personal gender identity transformation from her personal domain into her social and professional domains. This informs her classroom practice, where she challenges her female and male learners to engage critically with issues of gender equality, not only within the classroom but also in their personal and social domains. She not only voices explicitly (v2) her 'counter-position',

but also practises (p3) her 'counter-position' to gender discrimination treating the female and male learners in her school equally and by addressing any form of gender abuse.

In the next chapter, Chapter 6, the central theme of the master narrative of patriarchy and sub-themes that emerged from across all nine self-narratives are analysed. The psychological approach to the notion of self and identity (cf. 2.4.), used to analyse the data in Chapter 5, complements the sociological approach to be employed in the data analysis in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX
The central theme and sub-themes that emerge when viewing the exhibited portraits collectively
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter five the participants' self-narratives are individually analysed from a psychological perspective, using the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.) as the theoretical lens for analysis. In this chapter, narrative analysis as discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.6.2.) is employed as the analytical tool. The literature reviewed to provide conceptual clarification in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.), and the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.), provide the lens through which the data are analysed and discussed from a sociological perspective.

The research population can be described as follows (cf. 3.4.2.1.): with the exception of one participant in her mid-twenties, all the participants are middle-aged. They all claim to be Christians although the expression of this differed. Five different cultural groups are represented by the participants. While different language groups are represented, all the participants can communicate in English. Four of the nine participants are single. With the exception of one participant they all have children. The majority of the participants do not draw a clear distinction between their religion and culture. None of the participants have any formal training in teaching-learning in Life Orientation. The participants all understand gender equality to mean the equal treatment of women and men. Their definitions of gender equality are reminiscent of the South African Constitution and two participants refer to their religion, saying that women and men are created equally by God.

The interview setting (cf. 3.5.3.) provided the participants with an external audience with whom to share their self-narratives. As they did so, they reflected on their position as women in their personal, social and professional domains. They did so by telling of their lived experience of gender discrimination in the past and in the present (cf. 3.6.2.).

6.2. DATA ANALYSIS

The data were read and meticulously re-read and analysed, and “similarities and differences across narratives” (Chase, 2010, p. 214) were attended to. ‘Narrative linkages’ (Perumal, 2012) (cf. 3.6.2.) were made, establishing the relationship between the participants’ self-narratives. Short sections of the text were extracted and accordingly placed into themes (cf. Elliot, 2006). The data are organised and analysed according to the central theme of this study (cf. 6.3.), namely that of the master narrative of patriarchy, which emerged in unique, subjective and situated terms from across all nine self-narratives. Sub-themes are also identified (cf. 6.3.1. – 6.3.6.) as they emerge from the ‘narrative linkages’ across the nine self-narratives. These sub-themes are organised as follows: patriarchy and the position of women in religion and culture (cf. 6.3.1.); patriarchy in the formative years (cf. 6.3.2.); patriarchy and the notion of ‘work’ (cf. 6.3.3.); patriarchy and cultural practices (cf. 6.3.4.); patriarchy and the dissonance between policy and practice (cf. 6.3.5); and patriarchy and the implications for classroom practice (cf. 6.3.6.). The data in the identified sub-themes are analysed. A brief summary, showing the ‘narrative linkage’ is provided at the end of each sub-theme. The unique expression and response of the participants in their situatedness is considered.

A visual presentation of the participants’ responses to the general theme of patriarchy as expressed in the sub-themes that emerged from the data is reflected in Table 13 (pg. 227). A discussion of these findings is offered (cf. 6.4.). This chapter concludes with a summary (cf. 6.5.).

In keeping with the practice employed in chapters 4 and 5, pseudonyms (cf. 3.8.) are used for the participants as well as the schools at which they teach. In keeping with feminist paradigm the actual words of the participants are used and these appear in italics. Together with the researcher, the participants become co-producers of data.

6.3. CENTRAL THEME: THE MASTER NARRATIVE OF PATRIARCHY

Emerging from the self-narratives of the participants, it becomes evident that the South African 'rainbow nation' is imbued with patriarchy in practice, as it rests on social structures, including religion and culture (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.). Men give themselves particular rights and they control the position of women to varying degrees in varying contexts. Women are considered to be inferior to men. This master narrative has been legitimised as religious and cultural practice (cf. 2.2.1.2.).

6.3.1. Patriarchy and the position of women in religion and culture

With the exception of Amy who contends that in her Methodist church *there is equality between men and women* saying that *there are ministers of both sexes in the church*, in the other eight self-narratives religious practice is presented as patriarchal. Thabi explains that the men claim that *God created [them] first, so [they] are the leaders* and for this reason, she says, the men consider themselves *to be higher than women, treating girls and women as slaves*. Merlot, Bongi and Thabi specifically stated that their religion expects women to submit to men, and in particular, to their husbands. This injunction to be submissive denotes the superior position afforded to men. This discriminatory patriarchal attitude is evident in the gender-based roles in religious practice. Thabi maintains that men and women are *equal in [God's] eyes*. However, the data show that religious discourse perpetuates male dominance and superiority. In traditional black African religion, this is evident when Bongi maintains that *it is only the men* who are permitted to communicate with the ancestors. Kate makes the same point when she explains that only the men are permitted to be priests or servers in the Catholic Church. The dress code and seating arrangements for women in religious contexts are dictated by the men. This is illustrated by Thabi, Bongi, Jabu and Purity who refer to specific dress codes for women, which include, having to cover their heads and refrain from wearing trousers or short sleeves. They point out that there is no dress code for men in the church. Purity describes how in her church, women have to sit separately from the men, and unmarried women sit on the floor, *lower* than the men who sit elevated on benches.

Across the cultures represented by the participants women are clearly considered to be less than, inferior to, or *below the man* (Jabu). The consensus among the participants is that men insist that *they must dominate and they must head* (Thabi) and that women are required to *maintain the dignity of males by not trying to overpower them* (Bongi). The patriarchal message is clear that women must remain subjugated to men, and do not *argue with a man* (Thabi).

Thabi speaks about the older women in the community who inform the brides-to-be that they should accept the way in which they are treated as wives. They are told that a man is *allowed to have as many women/wives/girlfriends as he wishes* and that as wives-to-be, they are to remain silent about this, doing *as if nothing wrong is happening* (Thabi) (cf. 1.4.1.). Thabi alludes to the different rules for men and women, when she points out that women are not allowed to have an affair and *if they are caught they [are] divorced, get beaten and/or killed*.

Summary

The 'narrative linkage' shows that in the participants' religious and cultural discourses men are considered to be superior to women. They dictate what a woman can and cannot do, how she should dress and where she may be seated. Women are required to be submissive and not to challenge the men.

6.3.2. Patriarchy in the formative years

According to five of the nine participants, gender discrimination starts at birth, with male children being preferred to female children. That women carry value only if they bear children and preferably male children, is illustrated by Thabi when she says that a wife is *only appreciated...if [she] give[s] birth to boys*. Preferential treatment of males continues during the formative years. Amy maintains that the boys in her ex-husband's Portuguese family are treated better than the girls, because they will carry on the family name. In the Tsonga culture, in particular, mandatory initiation rites elevate the boys to a place of importance and dignity and they are given the *recognition that they are growing up* (Jabu).

None of the participants referred to an equivalent mandatory initiation rite for the girls (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Purity describes the practice of *uKugoma* whereby a boy pays a *lobola* deposit and the girl's parents allow him to practise safe sex with their daughter. If a girl does fall pregnant, Bongi says that the boy *is going to run away*, leaving the teenage girl with the responsibility of a child to care for. Bongi and Jabu refer to young girls who fall pregnant and who do not return to school, thereby diminishing their chances of completing their education. By contrast, Bongi, Purity and Jabu refer to the boys who impregnate the girls, but who continue with their education. Jabu says *the boy remains at school* and *they* [the school management] *send her home*.

Summary

The 'narrative linkage' shows that from birth males are raised preferentially and accorded status that is above that of the female. While the adolescent male is permitted to practise non-penetrative sex with an adolescent female, he carries no responsibility should she fall pregnant. He continues with his education and she leaves school to care for the child. The notion of male superiority is promoted from birth.

6.3.3. Patriarchy and the notion of 'work'

Typically, across the cultures represented in the self-narratives, the notion of 'work' is understood to be that which takes place outside of the home, and for which remuneration is received. Men are considered to be the primary breadwinners and decision makers and boys are raised *to go out and make a living and take care of the family and it is the woman's job to stay at home and cook and clean* (Amy). From across the self-narratives it became apparent that women are expected to carry out domestic sphere responsibilities which are unpaid, and undervalued (Bongi), and underestimated (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.). Four of the participants (Amy, Jabu, Merlot, Annie) said that those women who do 'work' outside of the home are expected to simultaneously continue with what the men consider to be women's domestic duties. These include cooking and *clean[ing] the house and wash[ing] the dishes and look[ing] after the children and do[ing] the homework* (Merlot). Bongi maintains that women do not get the recognition they deserve for the *lot of things that they*

are doing as women (cf. 2.2.1.2.). The men tolerate women 'working' outside of the home and *the wife's money gets handed over to him* (Merlot) and he manages it as he deems.

Those women who do not 'work' outside of the home feel that they are *inferior*, and indebted to the man because he brings home the money (Annie). This sense of indebtedness and inferiority leads to these women leaving the decision making to the men and they *don't stand up for their rights* (Annie). If a woman expresses her opinion or challenges the status quo, she is considered to be *not a good person* (Thabi). According to Annie, men want to be dominant and viewed as the breadwinners and decision makers in the family (cf. 2.2.1.2.).

Summary

The 'narrative linkage' shows that domestic duties are considered to be the domain of women. Should a woman 'work' outside the home this does not exonerate her from also seeing to her domestic duties. In some cultures, women who do not 'work' outside of the home feel that they are indebted to their husbands and that they need to elevate his status in the home. The notion of a woman being encouraged to pursue her own career does not appear in any of the self-narratives.

6.3.4. Patriarchy and cultural practices with regard to (sexual) relationships

6.3.4.1. Patriarchy and polygamy

None of the participants were in favour of polygamy. Annie, Ruby, Kate and Amy emphatically voice their disapproval. Annie expresses her distaste saying *it is horrible...it is degrading*. Amy voices her disapproval and makes the claim that *monogamy is important*. Bongji explains that it is a sense of *desperation* amongst women to have a husband that drives them into a polygamous marriage (cf. 2.2.1.2.). She suggests that maybe *it is a shortage of men* that plays a role. Thabi's narrative explains that a man can declare his wife to be *Isaliwakazi*, which means *that one is not loved by this man or the rejected one*. He does so for various reasons. These can include his dissatisfaction at what he considers to be her lack of submission or what is perceived to be her failure to bear children and in

particular sons (Thabi). According to Thabi, declaring his wife to be *Isaliwakazi*, frees the man to take another wife. Jabu and Thabi speak about the jealousies and unhappinesses in polygamous marriages. Thabi goes so far as to say that *it causes havoc, it causes hates and people die*.

6.3.4.2. Patriarchy and arranged marriage

Emerging from all the narratives was a distinct disapproval of the cultural practice of arranged marriages in which women have no voice. On the contrary the participants expressed the following views: *you should have the freedom to choose* (Amy); *you know a person and then you choose* (Jabu); and *you should be able to choose who you love* (Kate). Purity is aware of men in her church who claim that God told them that they should marry a particular woman. The woman in question did not *have the right to say no, because God said, and then you have to accept that* (Purity). She contends that this is a type of arranged marriage. When she speaks about arranged marriages, Thabi also refers to the practice of forced marriages, whereby a man will approach a woman, and if she rejects him, will try to take her by force⁶⁴. She disapproves of this citing an example of her own lived experience in this regard.

In their narratives Merlot and Ruby mention examples of arranged marriages. Merlot refers to a Muslim mother who was married into an arranged marriage at the age of 14, and who, after leaving a lengthy abusive marriage, was married off once again by her father into another arranged marriage. Her father made those choices for her. Ruby gives the example of an educated Muslim female colleague who was in an abusive arranged marriage. She got divorced and a year later her parents arranged another marriage which she was pressured to go through with. Neither of the women cited in the narratives of both Merlot and Ruby were consulted with regard to marriage partners.

⁶⁴ Cf. practice of *ukuthwala*, a practice whereby young girls are abducted to be married to older men.

6.3.4.3. Patriarchy and virginity testing

None of the participants had actually undergone virginity testing themselves. Four of the participants were in favour of virginity testing and the other five disapproved thereof. Amy voices her disapproval saying that in the event of a girl being told she is not a virgin *it is going to break down [her] morale...it is going to make [her] feel unworthy*. Kate adds, especially, because *the lobola that gets paid for [her] is less*. Merlot concurs with Annie's sentiments saying that the practice is *degrading*, and adding that she doesn't *think it is hygienic or anything like that*. Ruby, points to the practice being gender discriminatory, saying that a man's virginity cannot be tested. Four of the participants (Ruby, Jabu, Kate, Purity) note that there is no equivalent test for the boys.

Ruby alludes to the implications of virginity testing for curriculum participation when she explains that for the black African female learners in her class, wearing tampons *is taboo* for fear of damaging their hymen, and thereby affecting the result of their virginity testing (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Hence, when these girls are menstruating they won't swim or participate in Physical Education⁶⁵, thereby disadvantaging themselves from the benefits of those activities.

Thabi, Bongi and Jabu contend that virginity testing is a good practice as it deters young women from having sex before marriage. Thabi says the girls know they are *not supposed to have sex with anyone before [they] get married* and she says that they will therefore *be protected from these STDs*⁶⁶.

Three participants (Thabi, Bongi, Jabu) question the reliability of the testing which is brought into question by cases of girls who have been going for regular testing and who have been declared to be virgins, but who give birth within a few months of the last virginity test. Purity and Bongi question the proficiency and qualifications of the 'tester', querying how this woman 'tester' establishes that the hymen is intact. Thabi explains that in her culture it is believed that the only way in which the hymen can be broken is as a result of

⁶⁵ Physical Education is part of the LO curriculum.

⁶⁶ Sexually transmitted diseases.

sexual intercourse and, if the ‘tester’ decides that the hymen is broken, the onus is on the young girl to *tell them* [the elders] *who did it* (Thabi).

uNomkhubulwano is an annual weekend-long celebration of young girls who are virgins. This occasion gives the boys and the older men the opportunity of identifying the virgins and of choosing *among these ladies...and then they get married to them* (Purity). Thabi points out that these young girls could also become victims of the cultural practice *ukhuthwala*, whereby they are abducted to be married to older men.

6.3.4.4. Patriarchy and contraception

In spite of religious teachings that specifically prohibit the use of contraception, referred to specifically by Kate, Ruby and Bongi, all the participants are in favour of using contraception to prevent pregnancy and also sexually related diseases. In the so-called Coloured community in which Merlot teaches, she contends that contraception is being used by children from as young as those in Grade 7. Bongi and Annie contend that contraception is fine for *grown women*, but not school children as this encourages the learners to have sex before marriage. Annie says *it is not OK for a young boy [or girl] to have sex*. Bongi is of the opinion that *it is not right for a high school child to go for contraception*.

What became clear from the self-narratives was that the use of contraception is seldom approved by men, particularly in traditional black African cultures. Thabi, Purity and Bongi say that according to the men, women are not supposed to use contraception. According to Thabi the men claim that a woman’s body *will not be warm like it is expected* [of] a woman if she uses contraception.

Men do not want to use condoms, believing that contraception reduces their sexual enjoyment (Purity, Thabi, Merlot) (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Bongi maintains that *men, they only think* [about] *themselves*, and there is no regard at all for the woman and her dignity and choice. The woman is simply there to service men’s needs. Jabu says that black African women *are submissive* and are fearful of *being left* without a man (cf. 6.3.4.1.).

What became clear from Thabi, Bongi and Jabu's self-narratives is that to avoid unwanted pregnancy, the onus is on women to use contraception without the men being aware that they are doing so. Bongi contends that the man is *going to run away after she* [a woman] *is pregnant*. Thabi says that a woman must use contraception secretly, [she] *must hide it*, [the man] *mustn't know*. Jabu and Ruby concur that a woman should exercise agency, and use contraception as [she is] *in charge of* [her] *own body and* [her] *own thought processes* (Ruby).

Referring to contracting HIV/AIDS, Bongi contends that it is important for women to use protection, *that is going to protect everything, the diseases and everything, not only the pregnancy*, because the man has *more than one girlfriend* (Bongi) (cf. 6.3.1.). However, the type of contraception that would not only prevent unwanted pregnancy, but also facilitate safer sex, such as condoms, could not be used without the man's knowledge, and as has been stated previously (Purity, Thabi, Merlot), men refuse to condomise. Kate adds that both men and women should take responsibility for using contraception.

Summary (6.3.4.1. – 6.3.4.4.)

The 'narrative linkage' shows that the cultural practices specifically referred to in the self-narratives, relating to (sexual) relationships, are gender discriminatory. Women cannot choose to have more than one husband, nor is there any way of testing that a male is a virgin. The 'narrative linkages' point to the desperation of women to have a male partner. Their desperation leads them to agree to a polygamous marriage. They also expose themselves to STDs by not insisting on protected sex. In their desperation to keep their male partner, they use contraception secretly so as to prevent unwanted pregnancy. The 'narrative linkage' shows that the qualifications of the person performing virginity testing is questionable, and also points to the endangering of young virgins who are displayed at the annual celebration of virgins. Those in favour, see virginity testing as a deterrent to promiscuous behaviour. Many women are forced into arranged marriages, having no say in the choice of a partner. The stamp of male dominance is evident across the cultural practices referred to by the participants.

6.3.5. Patriarchy and the dissonance between policy and practice

Another sub-theme emerging from across the self-narratives is that of the dissonance between gender equality as it is defined in the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) and the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) on the one hand, and women's lived experience of gender inequality in their personal, social and professional domains (cf. 1.4.1.).

The participants are unanimous in their understanding of gender equality as a human right, meaning that male and female should be valued and treated equally (cf. 1.4.1.). The participants described their understanding of human rights saying that these are rights attributed to everyone by virtue of being human *no matter how old or young you are, whether you are male or female, irrespective of race, gender, religion* (Purity). Only two participants make reference to their religion in their understanding of gender equality. Thabi says that men and women are equal according to her faith in God. Annie concurs when she says *that everyone's gender... [is] equal before God*. For these two participants there is an apparent hierarchy in terms of importance with the understanding of gender equality as advocated by their religion, carrying more weight than the civil definition.

Emerging from the data was a clear awareness from the participants of the gender inequalities that prevail in their personal, social and professional domains. There was also a prevailing understanding that with regard to gender equality, the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) should serve as *protection against abuses* (Bongi). Thabi, however, points to the dissonance between policy and practice when she says that *the practice* [of gender equality] *is different from the definition* and she maintains that women continue to be subjected to the effects of patriarchy. This is illustrated by Purity when she contends that men *are allowed to do whatever they want*.

6.3.5.1. Gender (in)equality in the personal domain

Purity considers gender discrimination as *internalised* from a young age *by our parents*, saying that *right from the beginning, our parents treat us differently* as boys and girls, with

boys being treated as *special, rather than girls* (cf. 6.3.2.). Those participants with their own children have purposefully tried to break this stereotype with their children, treating them equally. Amy says that both her children are expected to help in an age appropriate way in the home. Jabu's two boys and two girls, who live with her, are not treated differently. She says, *they clean, they wash dishes, they cook. There is no one who is treated differently.* Merlot believes that all three of her children *are capable of doing everything and I give them equal opportunities.* In her home Annie has taught her daughter, from a young age, that she *must stand up for [her]self and that [she] does not have to take anything from anyone just because [she] is a girl.* She teaches her daughter that girls are *just as smart, just as fast, just as able* as boys. Bongi is raising her son to recognise that women are equal to men.

Four of the nine participants who are married or have partners living with them, maintain that they experience a measure of gender equality in their personal domains. Bongi confronts her partner reminding him that although she earns more than he does, she and he are equal, *so there is no one below and there is no-one above.* She is not sure whether her partner is faithful to her, but says that he knows that if she confirms infidelity *he is gone.* Merlot contends that she and her husband *run the home together.* She says that *if [she] doesn't believe that something is right...and doesn't agree with it...as a woman [she has] a right...to [her] opinion.* Ruby says that she is *often referred to as wearing the pants*⁶⁷ *in [her] marriage* because in the Afrikaans community in which she lives, *women [are] submissive,* and by contrast she is not afraid to speak her mind.

6.3.5.2. Gender (in)equality in the social domain

All the participants give account in their self-narratives of the way in which women are treated as inferior to men, in society (cf. 6.3.). The patriarchal requirement that women serve men and submit to them is repeated throughout all the self-narratives and illustrated by Purity when she says: *the women in the community are treated as less than the men and the men are superior, so the woman has to accept whatever the man says.* Jabu cites

⁶⁷ *Wearing the pants* is an expression denoting power. In this case, it refers to the perception that Ruby is the leader in her marriage.

the example of a woman who is expected to *look after [her] baby, and cook and clean and do everything and the man sits and reads the newspaper* (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2). Jabu is convinced that *chores should be shared*. Merlot observes that in the white and so-called Coloured communities, in the area neighbouring the school in which she teaches, the mind-set is that *men work, and they maybe sort out the garden and the car, and the women must clean the house, and wash dishes, and look after the children, and do the homework*.

Bongi and Jabu maintain that women in their respective communities *are not treated too good, men do what they want, women ask for permission first, [they] are treated like children*. Bongi contends that women *are the ones promoting that to happen to themselves*, by tolerating this treatment (cf. 2.2.2.1.). According to Ruby *there are not enough men to go around, so [women] will submit to anything as long as they...have got a man*. Bongi says in her culture *if you don't have a man on your side you are a little bit less than other women...you have to have a man*. Bongi explains that as a result women beg *just to be loved* (cf. 2.2.1.2.). She warns that by doing so a man will assume *that you are his...he is possessing you*.

Merlot's narrative illustrates gender perceptions in the community when she refers to the way in which automobile mechanics relate to her as a woman. She is of the opinion that *women are still perceived not to know anything about certain things*. Merlot says she feels discriminated against because she is a woman.

6.3.5.3. Gender (in)equality in the professional domain

Two participants confuse personal preference with equal gender job opportunities. Bongi and Kate maintain that certain jobs are for men who are physically stronger than women. Kate explains saying that *as a woman [she] would not want to be a construction worker, that is a man's job...a guy will be able to pick up 10 kgs of bricks*. Bongi contends that working in a mine is a man's job as it is too physical for women, saying, *I don't think a*

woman can handle that. Kate does say that the work she chooses to do as a woman should not be undervalued, but rather considered of equal value *to a man's work* (Kate).

The consensus emerging from the data is that appointments to leadership should not be gender dependent, but rather based *on the qualifications* (Jabu). Amy contends that when applying for a job *people should not be discriminated against based on gender...if you have got the qualifications and you have got the passion for something...there should not be restrictions based on your gender.* Merlot says that male appointments are privileged and school promotion posts *are still given to males before females even if they are not capable of doing the job as well* (Merlot). In the community *it is still perceived to be a man's job...[to]...lead the school* (Merlot). Jabu maintains that the problem is that *men don't feel it is suitable for women to control them* and therefore do not approve of women in leadership positions.

According to Amy, women who are appointed to management positions are merely *filling in the quotas*, serving the interests of gender parity (cf. 1.4.1.). The experience of five of the participants is that women in management are *under a lot of pressure* and are *undermined* by the men. Amy contends that the women in school management do not have the power that should accompany the position. Thabi, who is a Head of Department, illustrates this when she comments that the male staff members tell the Principal that they *no longer want to work with [her] because...they don't like to see [her] just taking a position and doing what [she] can do*, and so they undermine her position. It is Purity's observation that women are denied promotion, and that men *undermine the ladies* who are on the School Management Team. Bongi maintains that while the School Management Team and school committees at her school are structured in such a way that there is gender parity, it is always the men who make the final decisions and they consider this to be their right.

Thabi contends that *all educators should be taught or workshopped, to help them see the need for it [gender equality] being implemented.* She recounts that in her school *male and female educators...talk bad things about one another* and there are separate staffrooms for female and male teachers. However, in Jabu's opinion, education transformation forums do not make a difference. She illustrates her opinion, giving the example of her Deputy

Principal, who, having attended education transformation forums which, inter alia, focused on issues of gender equality and gender discrimination, continues to discriminate against women by talking down to them.

Kate and Ruby cite gender discriminatory practice in their girls-only school where the staff is predominantly female with three male members of staff. They note that the three male members of staff *did not get a dress code* (Kate) and that there are no repercussions when the men do not hand in term marks timeously (Ruby). Three participants (Kate, Amy, Ruby) refer to the men on the staff who are *used* (Kate) by the female staff members. The men are required to carry out those tasks not favoured by the female teachers including marking out athletic fields, and *sorting out...computers or moving a cupboard* (Ruby).

With regard to disciplining the learners, Amy and Bongi note that several of the children, and especially *the black [African male] children, don't respect a woman...women are seen as softer* (Amy) and the male learners *tend to respect male educators more* (Bongi). The learners' own religious and cultural discourse of male dominance, internalised from a young age (cf. 6.3.2.), becomes evident in their response to female teachers. While Bongi leaves the disciplining to her male colleagues, Amy chooses to manage her own class discipline.

Summary (6.3.5.1. - 6.3.5.3.)

The 'narrative linkages' show that in their personal domain, the participants choose to promote gender equality in their homes. Those who have children, treat their female and male children equally. Two of the participants specifically use the male as the benchmark to be attained. The participants who have husbands/partners choose a relationship which is based on gender equality. The participants challenge, and do not tolerate, gender discrimination in their personal domain. The 'narrative linkages' show that in the social domain of the participants men are considered to be superior to women and that they can do as they please. While the participants did not indicate that their self-identity was dependent on having a male partner, they did refer to their social domain in which women

in general consider themselves to have an identity only if they have a male partner. This desperation to have a man means that women will submit to anything the male demands (cf. 2.2.1.2.). The 'narrative linkages' show that in the professional domain, educated males dominate women. They hold the majority of leadership positions in schools. The women who are on the School Management Team are undermined as the men do not want to take orders from a female. The males in leadership hold the power. Men, rather than women, are considered by the learners to be authority figures, demanding respect. 'Narrative linkages' show that in some cases female teachers take advantage of their male colleagues. Recognising the physical strength of the men, the female teachers outsource certain tasks to the men that they otherwise would have had to execute themselves.

6.3.6. Patriarchy and the implications for classroom practice

From across the narratives emerged the sub-theme of the implications of the master narrative of patriarchy for classroom practice. All the participants saw the value of including human rights 'in' and 'through' education (cf. 1.4.1.1., 1.4.2.) and more specifically the teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. Bongi maintains that by doing so her female and male learners will be made aware that *men and women need each other equal[ly], so they need to have equal power and that no gender should look down at the other, they both have potential*. This resonates with the overall understanding of gender equality as defined by the participants in their self-narratives. Merlot contends that *only an education can change the mind-set...that men are gods and that women must bow down to them*.

Several participants referred to the challenges of teaching-learning focused on gender equality. The reasons given include the following:

- learners' stereotypical attitudes towards gender, and the difficulty in changing this mindset (Bongi, Amy);

- *traditional cultures that view one [gender] as superior to the other...and that females should not try to participate in 'male' activities and if they do they won't be as good* (Amy);
- disagreement among learners where *some learners believe there must be [gender] equality and others don't* (Kate);
- the difficulty for learners who learn about gender equality but who, in practice, at home and in their community, see something *completely different everyday of their lives* (Annie); and
- combatting gender discriminatory thinking (Annie).

For Bongi, who tries to promote gender equality by insisting that the boys must also sweep the classroom (a role typically assigned to female learners), she finds it a challenge that several learners will *just refuse to understand*. Bongi says that *most boys have refused openly to take a broom and sweep...* [and] *they call those who did it names, for example, Izitabane*⁶⁸ (cf. 1.4.1.1.). In some school contexts, the way in which the school is spatially organised (for example, separate staff rooms for males and females) and managed (the male members of staff having all the power in the school), reflects and perpetuates gender inequality (Thabi, Purity, Bongi, Jabu) (cf. 1.4.1.1.).

6.3.6.1. Infusion of gender equality in classroom practice

Five of the participants (Annie, Bongi, Ruby, Amy and Purity) have taught about gender equality explicitly. Ruby, drawing on her previous experiences of gender discrimination in the workplace, focused her lessons on empowering girls for the workplace, teaching them to recognise *violation against women in all spheres*, including sexual harassment and gender discrimination. Amy and Bongi addressed gender stereotyping. Purity did likewise, specifically in the area of sport and gender equality. Annie considered with her learners, the position of women in different religions and cultures. These lessons provided the opportunity for 'maximum infusion' (cf. 1.4.2.).

⁶⁸ A derogatory term meaning homosexual.

Annie teaches the girls *to stand up for themselves*. She also impresses upon her female and male learners that *things are right or wrong [whether] you are a girl or a boy*. Thabi discourages abuse by the male learners, whether it is *verbal or physical*. Merlot does likewise, explicitly encouraging her learners *to respect each other, to encourage each other and to support each other* across genders.

The majority of the participants promote gender equality by treating their female and male learners equally. Thabi and Amy expect *exactly the same standard, quality and abilities...from boys and girls* (Amy). Jabu gives out *jobs and* [does not] *make them gender specific*, saying there *is no gender bias*. Purity arranges her classroom so that girls and boys sit together and, she gives girls and boys the same tasks. She focuses on getting the genders to work co-operatively (cf. 1.4.2.).

Commenting on situations when girls fall pregnant and drop out of school, Bongzi, Jabu and Purity warn the girls about sexual promiscuity. Purity teaches the girls that they *must look after themselves because they are the one who are most vulnerable than men* and she tells them that the onus is on them to *be careful about your future*. She points out that the boys continue with their education and the girls who drop out of school because they are pregnant, end up having to look after their children and the whole family (cf. 6.2.2.). She also uses the opportunity to warn the girls about contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.

Thabi says that she emphasises *that what they see in their homes/families is not right. All individuals are equal*. Annie wants *them to know they can break the cycle* of abuse they see in their home and she refers specifically to husbands treating their wives badly. In Annie's opinion realising that *because it is part of their lives...doesn't make it right...there is another way*. Thabi advises her female and male learners not to challenge their parents when they see gender abuse at home, but rather to listen to what she teaches them so that when they are *a grown up woman or a grown up man* they will know how they should behave, and *what is expected and not expected*.

Amy's concerns are raised about how her female learners can exercise their gender rights in the broader community. She asks: *How do they stand up for their rights...how can they enforce it?* Amy is of the opinion that *they can't*. Kate too, is aware that her female learners learn about gender equality at school, but that *it is very different when they get back home*. She says: *I don't think that they will stand up to their Father, or an uncle or an ancestor* with regard to gender discrimination. Her hope is that what they learn at school about gender equality will make a difference in their working environment in the future, and that *they won't just lie down to discrimination*. According to Annie, some of her black African colleagues have told her that by teaching the black African female learners that *women are equal to the men*, confuses them, because in their culture *the man is the boss and he is the one*.

6.3.6.2. Learner gender relations in classroom practice

Commenting on the relationship between female and male learners in their schools, five participants (Bongi, Amy, Annie, Kate, Merlot) made observations that female learners are emerging as stronger than the male learners and Annie and Merlot refer specifically to leadership roles.

Amy observes that *the girls are definitely getting more forward than they used to be...they are more aware of the boys and pressing the boys...* In Bongi's school, a group of girls sexually harass the boys and according to Bongi, they *don't want to even [consider] consequences whenever they are doing things...they could not care less* and do not consider the future. She says that they are not afraid of contracting HIV/AIDS, despite having seen a *parent or family member who has been HIV positive and died, and left kids*. Bongi says that there are learners as young as in Grade 8, who are parents. She describes how the boy and girl *are living together with their kid, they are a family. They wake up and go to school and come back and wait for the grant to feed themselves*. Bongi is under the impression that the government grant *is somehow promoting this pregnancy thing*.

6.3.6.3. Teacher identity in classroom practice

The participants in this study were in agreement that their religious and cultural identities informed their teaching-learning about gender equality in their classroom practice. This is illustrated by Bongi, who says that her *values will play a big role* in helping her learners to navigate issues of gender equality. Kate is certain that her beliefs impact on her teaching-learning, saying ... *what I teach will lean more to what I believe and what my religion is and how I have been brought up*. In Merlot's opinion, *if you have been brought up to be submissive...never standing up for [yourself] then that is what you are going to teach*. Annie maintains that *if [as a teacher] you don't know who you are...*, it is difficult to teach in the LO classroom. She says that *what [she] believe[s] and who [she is]*, informs her approach to gender equality in her classroom practice. Annie is outspoken about her particular religious outlook, which teaches *that everyone's gender, race and culture are equal before God*. She doesn't think a teacher can teach about gender equality *if you don't believe in it*.

Ruby has experienced both gender inequality and gender equality in her life. She sees this as *beneficial [and] that [she is] a good example, and a good role model for them [her learners]*. She says that she does not allow the negative experiences she has had in her life to *cloud the progressiveness of the girls [her learners]*, rather she uses her experiences to provide opportunities for discussion.

Annie observes that it must be very difficult for someone who is subjected to gender discrimination at home to promote gender equality in the classroom. She contends that their lived experience *becomes such a part of them [the teachers]*. Bongi's response validates this observation when she says that when teaching about gender equality, *it makes [her] feel like [she is] a liar* because what she teaches about gender equality is the antithesis of the position held by women in her religion and culture.

Three of the participants, Kate, Merlot and Annie, each informed by her particular religious and cultural identities, have particular convictions about the way in which females should dress. They encourage their female learners to adopt *lady-like ways* (Merlot), teaching

them to *be a bit more circumspect* (Kate) and to *dress in a particular way* (Merlot). They are not permitted to wear *pants* (trousers) (Annie, Merlot).

Summary (6.3.6.1. – 6.3.6.3.)

The ‘narrative linkage’ shows that the participants are of the opinion that education can make a contribution to changing gender discriminatory attitudes. The ‘narrative linkage’ points to maximum infusion and covert infusion with regard to the teaching-learning of gender equality taking place in the participants’ classroom practice. Challenges in doing so are highlighted. The difference between what the learners are taught at school and the gender discrimination practised in their homes and communities is highlighted. It becomes apparent from the ‘narrative linkage’ that unless there is support for gender equality in the wider community, it is very difficult for learners who have been encouraged to dispel gender discrimination in their classrooms to do so in their communities.

The ‘narrative linkage’ points to emancipated female learners who pursue the male learners, dominating them. It also points to sexual promiscuity and teenage parenthood.

The ‘narrative linkage’ shows that the participant’s personal identity informs her classroom practice. It also points to the dissonance between curriculum demands and personal identity. The ‘narrative linkage’ shows that a participant’s personal convictions, for example, to do with girl’s dress and behaviour, inform their classroom practice.

6.4. DISCUSSION

The following table reframes (cf. preamble to the study) the ‘narrative linkages’ by providing a visual presentation of the responses to the general theme of patriarchy as expressed in the sub-themes that emerged from the data. These responses show definite ‘narrative linkages’ of unanimity, which underscore the participants’ lived experience of patriarchy and their response to the same. The table also reflects in the ‘narrative linkages’ the similarities and differences across these self-narratives.

Table 13: Reframing⁶⁹ the narrative linkages as expressed in the sub-themes emerging from the data

Visual presentation of participants' responses to the central theme of patriarchy as expressed in the sub-themes emerging from the data	Purity	Thabi	Jabu	Amy	Bongi	Kate	Ruby	Annie	Merlot
Perception of the participants with regard to the position of women in their religious and cultural discourse (cf. 6.3.1.) - Men consider themselves to be <i>higher than women</i> <i>Men must dominate and they must head women</i> <i>Men are allowed to do whatever they want</i> - Women are considered to be <i>below the man</i> - Women are expected to <i>submit to men</i> - A woman is expected to <i>maintain the dignity of males and not overpower them</i> <i>Girls and women are treated as slaves, as less than men</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Concrete phenomena of the above perceptions:									
Men determine the dress code for women	X	X	X		X				
Men determine where women can be seated	X								
A man's infidelity should not be questioned		X							

⁶⁹ Cf. preamble to the study

Participants' observations of gender discrimination in the formative and adolescent years (cf. 6.3.2.)									
• Male children favoured above female children	X	X	X	X	X				
• A male can continue his education while the impregnated female has to leave school	X		X		X				
Responses of the participants to particular cultural practices with regard to (sexual) relationships (cf. 6.3.4.)									
• Disapproval of polygamy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
• Disapproval of arranged marriages	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
• Disapproval of virginity testing	X			X		X	X	X	X
• Approval of virginity testing		X	X		X				
• Approval of use of contraception	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
• Contraception within marriage only					X			X	
Participants' observation of the dissonance between gender equality as a policy and the practice thereof (cf. 6.3.5.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Participants' practice of gender equality in their personal domain (cf. 6.5.5.1.)									
• Those with children treat their children equally	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
• Those with partners practise gender equality in those relationships			X		X		X		X

Participants' experience of gender equality in their social domain (cf. 6.3.5.2.) • Role of women considered by men to be carrying out domestic chores and child-caring • Women who work outside the home are also expected to do domestic chores • Women's desperation to have a man									
	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
			X	X				X	X
			X		X		X		
Participants' experience of gender equality in their professional domain (cf. 6.3.5.3.) • Female leadership undermined, promotion posts for men • Female colleagues taking advantage of male colleagues for certain tasks • Stronger female learner leaders • Female learners pursuing male learners									
	X	X	X	X	X				X
				X		X	X		
				X	X	X		X	X
				X	X				
Participants' responses to the teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice (cf. 6.3.6.) • Need for teaching-learning in gender equality • Difficulties experienced in the teaching-learning of gender equality • Explicit teaching-learning of gender equality - verbalising									
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
	X			X	X		X	X	

• Equal treatment of female and male learners – practice	X	X	X	X					
• Warning female learners about sexual risk	X		X		X				
• Awareness of gender discrimination in learner's homes/community		X		X		X		X	
Participants' gender identity informs the teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice (cf. 6.3.6.3.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Concrete phenomena to illustrate this: • Girls should dress and behave in a certain way to win boy's respect						X		X	X
• Boys should behave in a gentlemanly way						X		X	X

The 'narrative linkages' across the self-narratives showed that despite the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996a, 1996b, 2000) emphasising the importance of gender equality, according to the participants in this study, men's attitudes towards women in their social and professional domains have not substantially changed. There is a dissonance between gender equality as advocated by the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) and practice in religious and cultural discourses.

Commenting on the position of women in their religious and cultural discourses the 'narrative linkages' show that there is a prevailing meta-narrative that a woman, the other (cf. 2.2.2.1.), lacks status and identity if she does not have a husband (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Women are so desperate to have a male partner that they relinquish any rights to equality by being submissive to the men, acquiescing to male behaviour and attitudes of superiority and dominance. Women accept their role (defined as *less than* by men) of producing children (preferably male children), rearing children, housekeeping and making a financial

contribution should they also 'work' outside the home. In their social domain, women sit separate to, or lower than the men, they dress according to the dictates of the men, they secretly take responsibility for preventing pregnancy by using contraception that the men are not aware of, they silently accept their husbands' infidelity (cf. 6.3.1., 6.3.4.4.) while remaining faithful themselves, or accept they are *Isaliwakazi* (the rejected one), when he takes a new wife. A woman is not permitted to argue with a man or challenge him. A man represents a woman in the community, and he makes decisions on her behalf. Men refuse to condomise (cf. 6.3.4.4.) and as a result, women (and also the men) are constantly at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. That men are unconcerned about this emphasises the message that in the eyes of the men, women do not carry much value. There is no 'safe space' (cf. 3.3.2.) in which women can openly discuss the use of contraception with their male partners (cf. 6.3.4.4.).

Commenting on the response of women to their position in their religious and cultural discourses the 'narrative linkage' shows a lack of agency on the part of women. One of the participants refers to women who stay at home and who feel inferior to their husbands who 'work' (cf. 6.3.3.). By consciously leaving the decision-making in the home to their husbands, these women are responsible for re-enforcing their feelings of inferiority. By remaining silent and not voicing their disagreement with and resistance to patriarchy as it manifests in their lived experience, women re-enforce the status quo that categorises them as the other (cf. 2.2.2.1.). When they dress according to the dress codes determined by men, eat what they are told they are allowed to eat, and are seated according to where and how they are instructed to do so by the men, women are endorsing patriarchy. An example of colluding with the men is that of the older women in the community who tell the brides-to-be that they have to be silent and accept that their husbands will have girlfriends (cf. 6.3.1.). These older women perpetuate patriarchal practices. By not challenging patriarchal practices women perpetuate the status quo of male hegemony, becoming brokers of their own oppression (cf. Acker, 1988; Bell et al., 1997; Khau, 2012) (cf. 2.2.2.1.). Men are used to being served by women and they choose to abdicate any domestic responsibility whereas women are not afforded the same choice as their domestic duties are a given (cf. Subrahmanian, 2005) (cf. 2.2.1.2.). This 'narrative linkage' points to inequalities in the

access to opportunities to develop skills other than those pertaining to the domestic domain.

6.4.1. The participants' response to patriarchy in their personal domain

The 'narrative linkages' show that, in their personal domain, the participants exercise agency. They are not subservient, treating the man as superior to them, as required by their religious and cultural discourses. On the contrary, the 'narrative linkages' show that the participants insist on gender equality in their personal domain (cf. 6.3.5.1.). Some participants look back retrospectively at the way in which they were raised (cf. 6.3.1., 6.3.2.) and make the choice both ideologically and practically, to do things differently. The participants in this study, who have children, exercise agency by choosing to raise their children differently to the way in which they themselves were raised. They treat their female and male children equally (cf. 1.4.1.), giving them the same opportunities, expecting them to carry out the same tasks and making them abide by the same rules. They also teach their children that females and males are equal. Two of the participants who do so, refer to males (the boys) as the benchmark to which girls should attain. That the man is the norm for equality is raised in three self-narratives (cf. 6.3.5.1., 4.2.3., 4.2.5., 4.2.8). This notion is rejected by the Commission for Gender Equality (2007) (cf. 1.4.1.).

The 'narrative linkage' between those participants who are not single, shows a balance of power in the home between the participants and their husbands/partners, which is different to that promoted by their religious and cultural discourses. They present to their children, an alternate model which illustrates gender equality. These participants enjoy financial independence and insist on the sharing of domestic chores. They voice their opinions and challenge behaviours and patterns which are patriarchal (cf. 6.3.5.1.). The notion of independence is a 'narrative linkage' in the self-narratives. A participant's independence is a factor that contributes to her agency in challenging gender inequality. The extent and strength of the participant's 'identity capital' allows her to practise gender identity transformation in her personal domain. The challenge, however, is to extend this to her social and professional domains.

6.4.2. The participants' response to patriarchy in their social domain

'Narrative linkages' show that while the participants are partly reflective about their position as women in their social domain and can identify gender discrimination in their social domain, the majority of them do not openly challenge this. There is a resignation that some things happen because that is the way things are done and they just accept this (cf. 6.3.1., 6.3.4.2., 6.3.5.2.), taking for granted "gendered lived experiences" (Halai, 2010, p. 6).

In response to the patriarchal practices of which they are aware in their social domain, a 'narrative linkage' across all the self-narratives, is the participant's disapproval of cultural practices including polygamy and arranged marriages (cf. 6.3.4.1. 6.3.4.2.). Three of the nine participants are of the opinion that virginity testing might hold some merit by encouraging young girls not to be promiscuous (cf. 6.3.4.3.). One participant in particular speaks about the dangers implicit in this practice for young girls. She mentions that they become targets for arranged marriage or abduction. They become targets of abuse for men who believe that sleeping with a virgin is a cure for HIV/AIDS (cf. Connor, 1999; Flanagan, 2001; Scorgie, 2006; Zulu, 2007). However this participant does nothing to challenge this cultural practice (cf. 2.2.1.2.). The participants are unanimous that women should use contraception to prevent unwanted pregnancy. There is a growing resistance on the part of the women. This manifested in their implicit disobedience to the dictates of the men. On a concrete level these women exercise agency by finding a way to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancies by taking contraception secretly, without the men knowing about it. Aware of male infidelity, and equally aware that their men refuse to condomise, the four black African participants in particular, express concern that they as women are exposed to the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (cf. 6.3.4.4.). These women voice their frustration and anger that men, thinking of their own sexual gratification, refuse to consider the risk to a woman's health (cf. 2.2.1.2., 6.3.4.4.). A 'narrative linkage' across self-narratives to do with men condomising, is that of sexuality being linked to health and well-being.

6.4.3. The participants' response to patriarchy in their professional domain

A 'narrative linkage' points to the inequality of power relations in the participants' school contexts. The participants express their frustration when gender, and not qualifications, becomes the criterion for promotion. Males, they say, get preferential treatment when it comes to appointments to management positions. The way in which adult jobs are distributed in the school transmits a message of gender inequality to the learners. There is a dearth of male teachers in the foundation and intermediate phases (Grades R – 6) and women are under-represented on the School Management Teams (cf. Renzetti et al., 2012). A man's need to be in control is highlighted by six of the participants who expressed their anger, directed at male colleagues who undermine those women who do hold leadership positions (cf. 1.4.1., 6.3.5.3.). Women in leadership are marginalized and undermined by their male counterparts (cf. Coleman, 2007; Moorosi, 2010; Muzridziwa, 2007; Stratchan et al., 2010). A 'narrative linkage' shows that men command more respect and have more authority than women. The learners respond more favourably to men disciplining them. The implicit message is that women are not strong enough to enforce discipline effectively.

The participants are in agreement that the curriculum should include the teaching-learning of gender equality (cf. 6.3.6.). One participant in particular, voices the importance of education in changing gender discriminatory attitudes. However, another participant tells us that her Deputy Principal who is an educated man, who has attended transformation forums, still practises gender discrimination, treating the female colleagues as inferior (cf. 6.3.5.3.). This raises the question as to whether or not becoming more educated will in practice, change gender biased attitudes. As educated women, the participants themselves are not exonerated from practising gender discrimination. This is illustrated by three of the participants who admit that their male colleagues are *used* by their female colleagues who outsource certain tasks to their male colleagues (cf. 6.3.5.3.).

6.4.4. The participants' teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice

A 'narrative linkage' points to the lack of training experienced by all the participants in the teaching-learning of Life Orientation (cf. 1.1., 6.1.). This is unhelpful for the participants who refer to the difficulties they experience in the teaching-learning of gender equality (cf. 6.3.6.), as they are not equipped to manage these difficulties. A 'narrative linkage' shows that the efficacy of the teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice can be undermined by what the learners see in practice, pertaining to gender equality, in the school environment as a whole. In some school contexts, the way in which the school is spatially organised (for example, separate staff rooms for males and females) and managed (the male members of staff having all the power in the school), reflects and perpetuates gender inequality (cf. 6.3.5.3.) (cf. Okin, 2007). This has the potential of actively maintaining and reproducing structures and relationships of male dominance (cf. Mac an Ghail, 1994) (cf. 1.4.2.).

Three participants vociferously addressed gender equality both explicitly and implicitly, in their classroom practice, seeking to transform attitudes, not just in the classroom but also so as to impact the broader community (cf. 6.3.6.1.). These participants dis-identify (cf. Pecheux, 1982) with culturally dominant meanings (cf. 2.2.2.) of gender. In particular, Thabi's gender identity transformation empowers her to conscientise her learners to their right to gender equality (cf. Perumal, 2012), to enable them to agitate for gender equality. Thabi, Ruby and Annie actively encourage their female and male learners to practise gender equality outside the classroom environment.

Several participants voice their concern to their female and male learners about possible resistance from their homes and communities should they challenge gender discriminatory practices (cf. 6.3.6.1.). Only two participants discuss possible ways to manage resistance to their promotion of gender equality in their homes and in the broader community.

A 'narrative linkage' shows that the participants who address gender equality marginally in their classroom practice miss the opportunities of engaging critically with religious and

cultural practices which promote gender discrimination. Their teaching-learning lacks a transformative edge. An example would be that of the participant who did not critically discuss with her class, the virginity testing celebration *uNomkhubulwano*. This celebration does not create a 'safe space' for the female learners who become targets for arranged marriage or abduction (cf. 2.2.1.2.). Nor did she critically engage them with regard to the cultural practice, *uKugoma* (cf. 6.3.2.). This practice sets the female learners up for potential failure in terms of completing their education. If they fall pregnant they have to leave school (cf. 2.2.1.2., 6.3.2., 6.3.6.1.). It would seem that these cultural practices are accepted as a given and not substantially questioned in a forum, such as the Life Orientation curriculum which provides the opportunity to do so.

A 'narrative linkage' shows that some participants voice a warning to their female learners about being promiscuous (cf. 6.3.6.). The participants voice their concern that the female learners are aggressively pursuing their male counterparts (cf. 6.3.6.2.). They warn their female learners about the dangers of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and also about the consequences of falling pregnant, one of those being the probable discontinuation of their education as they stay at home to raise their children (cf. 6.3.1., 6.3.6.1.). One of the participants voices the opinion that female learners fell pregnant purposefully, so as to qualify for the government child grant. However, the HSRC report (cf. Panday et al., 2009) shows that only 2% of learners fall pregnant so as to get the grant.

A 'narrative linkage' shows, as illustrated by two of the participants, that the teachers' personal convictions inform their teaching-learning of gender equality. These two participants, informed by their religious discourse of abstinence before marriage, discouraged their learners from using contraception. They taught their learners that contraception is permissible only within a marriage context (cf. 6.3.4.4.). By contrast the Department of Basic Education (cf. Panday et al., 2009), aware that learners are sexually active, encourages education about using contraception correctly and promoting responsible and healthy sexuality (cf. Varga, 2003). Three participants impress upon their female learners their own convictions with regard to female dress (cf. 6.3.6.3.), suggesting that the way in which girls dress will determine the level of respect boys have for them. The

implicit message that these participants are passing on to the female learners is that females are responsible for male behaviour towards them.

‘Narrative linkages’ show that all the participants are of the opinion that their religious and cultural identities inform their classroom practice (cf. 6.3.6.3.). What becomes apparent is that some of the participants experience something of an identity dissonance (cf. Costello, 2004) between their personal and professional domains. Continued reflection with regard to their gender identity formation could be beneficial in the movement towards identity consonance (cf. Costello, 2004) and this in turn could better inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice.

6.5. SUMMARY

The participants’ self-narratives show that each of the participants experiences, or has experienced, the effects of patriarchy to some extent in their lived experience. The participants are educated women who disapprove of gender discrimination, rejecting the culturally dominant meanings ascribed to gender to a greater or lesser extent in their personal, social and professional domains. While the participants voice their disapproval of patriarchal structures and practices in the society in which they live, the majority of the participants do not substantially challenge patriarchy in their religious and cultural discourses. They stop short of seeing themselves as agents of transformation. While they encourage changed attitudes in their personal domain, they make no significant impact in challenging male hegemony in their social domain. The intangible attitudes of male superiority are internalised by the majority of the participants and they assimilate what is expected of them and they comply in their social and professional domains. In this way both the females and males keep these attitudes alive.

It can be concluded that while the participants are ‘made’ to varying degrees by the patriarchal structures of society, as illustrated by the participants in this study, they have the capacity, to varying degrees, to ‘make’ themselves (cf. 2.2.2.), illustrated by the position they adopt as independent women in their personal domain. In order to transform their gender identity, they need to strengthen and build their ‘identity capital’ (cf. Côté, 1996,

2005; Côté & Levine, 2002) and resist patriarchy not only in their personal domain, but also in their social and professional domains.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, provides the conclusion to this study, crystallising the theory as presented in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.4.) and Chapter 2, and the findings of the data analysis as presented and discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. These findings are summarised and the relevance thereof discussed. The research question (cf. 1.2.) is answered. Recommendations are offered in pursuit of further research possibilities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Signature

CONCLUSIONS: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In this final chapter an overview of the study (cf. 7.1.) is provided. The research findings and answer to the research question is presented (cf. 7.2.). The relevance of the research findings (cf. 7.3.) is stated. Recommendations for further research (cf. 7.4.) are tendered. A short conclusion (cf. 7.5.) will complete the chapter, and this study.

The aim of this empirical research study was to provide an insight into how the religious and cultural identities of female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. This is achieved by exploring teachers' religious and cultural identities and the position of women within these religions and cultures. The study also explores how female teachers in general construct their own gender identity in a multi-religious and multi-cultural context. An analysis of the data shows how and to what extent their gender identity, shaped by their religious and cultural identities, informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. The findings of the study are presented below (cf. 7.2.).

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study, including the rationale for the study and the research question to be explored. A review of literature provides clarification of key concepts, including, gender equality, and also classroom practice. Having reviewed literature related to this study, in Chapter 2 the theoretical framework for the study is presented. This includes modern and postmodern approaches to identity construction and a psychological approach to personal identity, namely, the Dialogical Self Theory. The self-narrative and the dialogical-self are discussed in terms of gender identity construction and a model (Table 1, pg. 70) is offered for fragmenting the master narrative of patriarchy. The theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 provides the lens through which the data are viewed and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 3 the narrative research design within a feminist research paradigm is presented. Narrative inquiry as the research

methodology and the research methods and instruments used for data collection are tendered. This chapter submits an account which includes the selection of participants, the researcher's role and positionality, data collection processes, and narrative inquiry as the methodology for data analysis. Issues of authenticity, ethical considerations and limitations of the study are included in this chapter. In Chapter 4 the data collected from the self-administered questionnaires, written narratives and semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews are crystallised and presented in a portrait of each of the nine selected female teachers. In Chapter 5 each individual portrait (as presented in chapter 4) is analysed and discussed using the concepts of the Dialogical Self Theory as the theoretical lens for analysis. In Chapter 6, a sociological approach to the notion of self and identity is employed and accordingly the analysis of the data constructed in the teachers' interviews. Drawing on the conceptual framework provided in Chapter 1 and the theoretical lens presented in Chapter 2, the central theme of patriarchy and the sub-themes which emerged from across the nine self-narratives are analysed and discussed.

7.2. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANSWER TO RESEARCH QUESTION

This study makes a contribution to research on teacher identity, the development of normative professionalism for teachers and teaching-learning in the classroom. The findings show that inequalities in society and, in particular, gender inequality, need to be addressed in teacher education and professional development programmes. This needs to be done by exploring the personal identities of teachers and how this can be used to stimulate the development of the learners.

The findings of the data, analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, are presented as they address the research question: ***How do the religious and cultural identities of female teachers inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice?***

Based on the literature reviewed (cf. 1.4., 2.2., 2.4.), and the findings of the data analysis (cf. Chapters 5 and 6) it becomes apparent that the religious and cultural identities of teachers do inform their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. The extent and strength of a female teacher's 'identity capital' (cf. 2.4.1.) determines her

voicing and/or practising her 'counter-position' to patriarchy, and the agency which she exercises in promoting gender equality and challenging gender discrimination, to a greater or lesser extent, in her classroom practice.

The specifics of the findings are organised to respond to the intentions noted in 1.2., namely:

- To explore what selected female teachers envisage by gender equality (cf. 7.2.1.);
- To explore how the religious and cultural identities of selected female teachers shape their gender identity in a multi-religious and multi-cultural context (cf. 7.2.2.); and
- To determine how the gender identity of the selected female teachers informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice (cf. 7.2.3.).

7.2.1. Selected female teachers' understanding of gender equality

The participants are unanimous in their understanding of human rights as rights attributed to everyone by virtue of being human. Gender equality, as a human right, is understood to mean that female and male should be valued and treated equally. They refer to the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) and the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) recognising that gender discrimination is unconstitutional and an infringement of human rights. While eight of the participants claim to be practising Christians, two participants refer specifically to their religion, saying that God created female and male to be equal. For them, God's law supersedes the law of the land.

7.2.2. Intersectionality of religious and cultural identities and their gender identity

The selected female teachers, who are shaped by the religious and cultural discourse in which they are positioned, exercise agency, by dis-identifying with, and adopting a 'counter-position' to the master narrative of patriarchy, in their personal domain. They experience a dilemma, however, as they are, to a greater or lesser extent, unable to exercise the gender identity transformation which they experience in their personal domain, in their social and professional domains. For the majority of the teachers the

extent and strength of their 'identity capital', which they have in their personal domain, diminishes en route to their professional domain.

All the participants articulate their disapproval of patriarchy, as a gender structure in which men dominate women (cf. Renzetti et al., 2012) (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.). They do so by voicing implicitly to an internal audience in their 'society-of-mind' (cf. 2.4., 5.3.). They also express their disapproval in their self-narrative, to an external audience (the researcher) (cf. 4.3., 6.3.). The extent and strength (or lack of strength) of their 'identity capital' determines their voicing implicitly, explicitly, or not at all, and/or practising or not practising a 'counter-position' to patriarchy. To varying degrees the participants exhibit the potential to re-position the 'collective' voice' of patriarchy in their personal, social and professional domains.

Personal domain

The findings in Chapter 5 show that the selected female teachers experience a dilemma. They are able to voice and practise a 'counter-position', repositioning the 'collective' voice of patriarchy in their personal domain. This 'dominance reversal' is not, however, transferred to their social and professional domains. While they may voice something of a 'counter-position', in these domains, they are unable to practise a 'counter-position'. The sociological analysis in Chapter 6 underpins this dilemma, showing that these selected female teachers are unable to dis-identify (cf. Pecheux, 1982) with patriarchy in their social domain.

All the selected female teachers do dis-identify with patriarchy in their personal domain. The gender identity transformation which they practise in their personal domain, can be seen by the way in which they treat their children and their partners (cf. 6.3.5.1.), promoting gender equality in their homes. Having said this, however, even in their personal domain, males are considered to embody the benchmark to be attained by females. Two of the selected female teachers refer to their daughters saying that they are *just as smart, just as fast, just as able* as boys are. One of the female teachers tells her daughter that *she is equal to a boy*.

Social domain

Findings show that women have no, or very little, voice in the social domain. While educated women, such as the selected female teachers who participated in this study, have positionality as teachers in society, the men, in their view, nevertheless insist that they remain silent and that they should not challenge male hegemony. Purity expresses this clearly when she says *I am educated but I don't have a voice*. This denotes issues of power and the position of these educated women as the other (cf. 2.2.2.1.). By remaining silent and not challenging male hegemony in their social domain, the selected female teachers are submitting to the collective voices of men in their religious and cultural discourse. By doing so they become brokers of their own oppression (cf. 2.2.2.1.).

Professional domain

In their professional domain, the findings show that the female teachers have no, or very little, voice and that they are subjected to male hegemony. One of the female teachers expresses this when she says that as a female colleague *you just keep quiet...because you are a woman*.

Their male colleagues undermine the few women who are on the School Management Team as the men do not want to take orders from a female. In the words of one of the female teachers, *the men don't feel it is suitable for women to control them*. The men are viewed as authority figures by the male learners especially, and command more respect from their learners than that afforded to the female teachers.

The above findings show that the female teachers construct their gender identity to a greater or lesser degree relating to the extent and strength of their 'identity capital' (Côté, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002). They need to strengthen and build 'identity capital' (cf. 7.4.3.) in order to respond to this dilemma of practising a 'counter-position' to patriarchy in their personal domain only.

7.2.3. Gender identity and teaching-learning in the classroom

7.2.3.1. Life Orientation Education within a Teacher Education Curriculum

All the interviewed teachers experienced what Costello (2004) refers to as identity dissonance (cf. 1.4.2.). At no point, in neither their initial teacher education programmes, nor in any in-service courses, did any of the selected female teachers receive formal preparation in the teaching-learning of Life Orientation as a subject specialisation, nor in related topics included in the Life Orientation curriculum, such as gender equality. The majority of these teachers do not know how to negotiate their personal gender identity with that which is required of them as professional teachers expected to foster gender equality in their classroom practice. In their self-narratives the teachers express the difficulties they experience in the teaching-learning of gender equality as part of the Life Orientation curriculum. Their self-narratives reflect that some teachers avoid teaching-learning about gender equality, while others do so, but superficially. The findings show that as the selected female teachers engage with the curriculum, their gender identities inform the teaching-learning experience of their female and male learners (cf.1.1.). Experiencing identity dissonance (cf. 2.2.1.1.) makes the teaching-learning of gender identity difficult for some of these teachers. As a result, many of the selected female teachers do not substantially and critically engage with issues of gender equality, either explicitly or implicitly, in their classroom practice (cf. 6.4.4., 6.5.). This is clearly expressed by one of the teachers when she says *I feel like I am a liar*, because what she is expected to teach is in contrast with the position held by women in her religious and cultural discourse.

To achieve identity consonance or harmony between their personal, social and professional domains there is a need for identity negotiation (Nias, 1985, 1989) to establish identity stability (cf. 2.2.1.1.). Self-dialogue, providing the dynamic flexibility for continued internal dialogue and the re-positioning of internal and external positions in the 'society-of-mind', can lead to external identity stability. However, as the findings show, the selected female teachers are able to achieve this to varying degrees, and more so in their personal, than social and professional domains, dependent on the extent and strength of their 'identity capital' (cf. 7.2.2.).

Based on the extent and strength of their 'identity capital', and the status of their gender identity in their professional domain, the majority of the selected female teachers engage with gender equality in their classroom practice in a marginal way with no transformative edge to their teaching-learning. Three of the nine teachers are able to engage critically with issues of gender equality and conscientise their learners to their right to gender equality and enable them to agitate for gender equality (cf. Perumal 2012), not only in the school context but also in the broader community. However, the learners are not provided with any scaffolding to enable them to respond to possible resistance in their home and community contexts.

7.2.3.2. Reflective teachers

The findings show that the selected female teachers become accustomed to gendered lived experience. While they are reflective, they cease to reflect at a certain level because they do not as yet know how to respond to the complexity of the situation. The consequence of their reflection can be seen in their gender identity transformation in their personal domain while in their social and professional domains they are inclined to accept the status quo of male hegemony. The findings show that teachers find it difficult to teach human rights and in particular, gender equality without having negotiated their own gender identity as shaped by their religious and cultural discourse (cf. Bell et al., 1997; De Wet et al., 2012; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Jarvis, 2008, 2009; Samuel & Stephens, 2000; White, 2012). The findings signal that the deeper their reflection on their personal lives and how they experience gender equality, and the gendered expectations they have of their learners (cf. 1.4.1.1), the better their teaching-learning will be, moving from classroom practice to praxis (cf. 7.2.3.3.) (cf. McCormack & Kennelly, 2011). Classroom practice refers to a technical skill, whereas classroom praxis refers to more than only skills. A female teacher who engages in classroom praxis is able to reflect on gender discriminatory practice, challenge gender discrimination, and internalise new knowledge so as to inform new action (cf. Roux & Du Preez, 2006). In the next section, Thabi is presented as an example of a female teacher who has moved from voicing implicitly to voicing explicitly and practising her 'counter-position' to gender discrimination, not only in her personal domain but also in her social and professional domains and in her classroom praxis. As she reflects upon and

encourages her learners to critically engage with gender discrimination, her classroom practice becomes praxis.

7.2.3.3. Thabi - gender identity in classroom praxis

Thabi (cf. 4.2.2., 5.3.2.), who resides in another town, is an outsider in the community surrounding the school in which she teaches. She is, however, an insider in the school in which she teaches and where she is a member of the School Management Team. She is an insider/outsider. As such, by not acquiescing to the religious and cultural discourse in the community surrounding the school (cf. 'subcultural diversity', Parekh, 2006) (cf. 2.2.1.2.) she represents a disruptive moment. Thabi's personal gender identity transformation translates from her personal domain into her professional domain. The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' is such that she can challenge any form of gender discrimination in the school. She treats the female and male learners in the school equally and says: *I discourage abuse...whether it is verbal or physical*. The female and male learners in the school know that they can report incidents of gender abuse to her and that she will react upon their reports and punish gender abusive behaviour.

In her classroom practice she is aware of the difficulties involved in adopting an approach to teaching-learning which challenges her learners to think critically and adopt a critical approach to their daily life, especially when it comes to entrenched religious and cultural practices with regard to gender. The extent and strength of Thabi's 'identity capital' is such that she is competent to explore with her learners, for example, interpretations and perceptions of gender equality in different religions. By doing so she encourages her learners to consider hierarchies of power and authority. She encourages her female and male learners to critically consider the gender dynamics in their homes and in the broader community. She teaches her female and male learners that the gender discrimination *they see in their homes/families is not right* and that *all individuals are equal*. Reflecting on the ill-treatment of women by their husbands, Thabi especially encourages the boys, not to copy *their father's way of treating their mother*. She emphasises that *girls and boys should be equally treated in families and in communities*. However, she does not provide any concrete tools for doing so. Thabi is aware that her female and male learners will not be able to change the pattern of behaviour entrenched in their homes. She discusses a way

forward with them. The outcome is that from their position as children, her learners will not openly challenge their parents. Rather, she encourages her male and female learners to critically observe and consider how the females in their homes and broader community are treated. They should measure this against the teaching-learning of gender equality and human rights. While they are unable to openly challenge gender discriminatory practices in their families, she urges her female and male learners not to assent to gender discrimination in their social domain and to decide to be different themselves one day when they have their own homes. However, she does not scaffold them into a new way of gendered living together. Thabi's classroom practice becomes praxis as she engages in reflective practice together with her learners.

Thabi adds to and strengthens her 'identity capital' by maintaining her position as an emancipated, educated woman when she interacts with her others. Her internal dialogue, including the 'micro-dialogue' (Burkitt, 2010) with the voice of her late mother who encourages her to resist male hegemony, also plays a decisive role in strengthening her 'identity capital'. Each time Thabi positions herself and challenges gender discrimination, practising her 'counter-position' in different situations in her personal, social and professional domains, she strengthens and extends her 'identity capital'.

In her personal domain her gender identity transformation is evident in the freedom she expresses when she says that she and her daughter *are free to say whatever [they] feel like saying...and wearing*. She says: *We are free*. Thabi exercised agency in her personal domain when she told her adulterous husband to leave the home.

This agency is transferred into her social domain which includes her religious and cultural discourse. Thabi does what she believes *God expects [her] to do...whatever God is requiring from [her]*, as opposed to submitting to male dominance. Disentangling from her other (men) is a process. Thabi is able to see where she is mutually entangled (Nuttall, 2009) with the other. She is conscious that she abides by the dress code for women as dictated by the men in her church, but she chooses to abide by this in the interests of leading worship and serving God. For Thabi, there is a hierarchy of authority and God holds a more important position for her than the men in her religious and cultural discourse.

The extent and strength of her 'identity capital' can be seen in the way in which she exercises 'dominance reversal' saying that if a man *wants to say something to me, tell him to come straight to me*. She also, on occasion, told a potential suitor to *get lost*. By exercising 'dominance reversal', Thabi challenges accepted social practice. She contends that *all persons* [in society] *should be treated equally regardless of gender* and that *gender abuse should be reported*.

In her professional domain, as a member of the School Management Team, she acknowledges that she no longer delegates work to her male colleagues who *always have something to do...[or] if you ask them they don't want to do it...they don't like to see you just taking a position*. She is not intimidated by these men who try to undermine her. Thabi does not remain silent about gender abuse and she says that the *girls and boys* [in the school] *whose rights are violated know that they are free to report to me* and she then administers appropriate punishment *depending on the type of offence*. She openly challenges *male and female educators* [who] *are treating and talking bad things about one another*. Thabi campaigns for *all educators* [to] *be taught or workshopped to help them see the need for it* [gender equality] *being implemented*.

The development of Thabi's gender identity in her social and professional domains is continually created, recreated, reinforced and re-invented through everyday social and cultural practices. When she chooses to challenge male hegemony she begins the process of disentanglement from the other. Thabi's gender identity was 'made' to varying degrees by the dominant religious and cultural discourses of patriarchy, but her 'identity capital' is such that it enables her to transform her gender identity by resisting male hegemony, challenging gender inequalities and becoming committed to eradicating gender discrimination. Thabi's classroom praxis is intended to bring about transformation.

7.2.3.4. Self-narrative - an intervention in teacher identity construction

While not the intention of the interviews, it can be concluded that the self-narrative which the teachers shared with an external audience (the researcher) served as an intervention in teacher identity formation. Sharing their self-narratives (cf. 2.3.) with an external audience

during the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face, interview (cf. 3.5.3.) created a reflective space for the selected female teachers to consider their position as women in their personal, social and professional domains. In the interview they were given a 'safe space' to reflect upon and further construct their own meaning and interpretation of elements of the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. Tsang, 2000). Sharing their self-narratives gives them the opportunity of reflecting on, and making sense of, their lives past and present, thereby also possibly enabling them to consider how, in the future, to exercise agency to resist this master narrative. Their self-narratives help them in becoming aware of gender identity entanglements that needed to be disentangled (cf. Nuttall, 2009), so as to build new gender identities. Recounting their self-narratives also gives the participants the opportunity of considering how their gender identity informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice and the gendered expectations they have of their learners.

7.3. RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Corroborating similar research projects (cf. De Wet, 2008, 2012; Measor & Sikes, 1992b; Morrell, 2003; Subrahmanian, 2005), emerging from the data is a sense of the enormous power of patriarchy in society, entrenched as it is in religious and cultural discourses. Educated women who are able to exercise their independence in their personal domain struggle to dis-identify (cf. Pecheux, 1982) with the position assigned to women in their social domain. They are able to voice and practise their 'counter-position' to patriarchy in their personal domain, but are silenced in their social and even more so in their professional domain. In this domain it would seem that their positionality as educated professional teachers is disregarded and they are reduced to the position of woman, as this is ascribed by society, the other, who is required to be subordinate, remaining silent, not challenging male hegemony.

This study extends research which focuses on the self-narrative (cf. Goodson 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2008, 2011; Chase, 2010; Nuttall, 2009; Riessman, 2008) by extending the focus on the teacher's unique, authentic voice (cf. Nothling, 2001; Elliot, 2006). This is achieved by exploring, not only teachers' self-narratives but also their self-dialogue. By

doing so, this thesis contributes to the body of knowledge, extending Hermans' (2002) Dialogical Self Theory to a non-western context located specifically within education, exploring as it does, how teachers' gender identity is informed by their religious and cultural discourses.

The findings point to the importance of building 'identity capital' (cf. Côté, 1996, 2005) for the domain of teacher education. In order to do so, female teachers need to take cognizance of the important role they have to play as independent, educated women who are teachers and who can develop their learners in their classroom practice. The extent and strength of female teachers' 'identity capital' determines their ability to manage the identity dissonance (cf. Costello, 2004) they experience. Sharing their self-narrative both with an internal audience (in their 'society-of-mind') and with an external audience (in this study, the researcher), contributes to building 'identity capital' as they reflect on and renew their gender identity. As they tell their story they reclaim themselves as they discover the extent to which it is possible to become disentangled (cf. Nuttall, 2009) from their other (men) in order to renew their gender identity. This process initiates self-empowerment of the teachers. The extent to which female teachers allow their transformed gender identity, which they exercise in their personal domain, to transfer into their social and professional domains, is related to their classroom practice. Increased extent and strength of 'identity capital', enabling the articulation of gender identity transformation in every domain of their lives, has the potential of developing their classroom practice into classroom praxis (cf. 7.2.3.3.).

7.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Emerging from the literature review and the data analysis, the following recommendations for further research are necessary in order to improve education in issues pertaining to gender equality.

7.4.1. Education and gender equality

The findings of this study and the literature (cf. 1.4.1.) show that educated male teachers dominate women and educated woman feel they have to remain silent. Level of education

does not appear to be synonymous with practising gender equality. One participant refers specifically to a male Deputy Principal who, having attended transformation forums, continues to *talk down to women*. Research is needed to establish how the level of their education informs the social actors to deconstruct gender imbalances both in their religious and cultural discourses. Not least, the educational programmes and forums, focusing on, inter alia, gender transformation, need to be investigated with regard to their efficacy.

7.4.2. Initial Teacher Education Intervention

Roux (2012) questions the minimal progress in upholding human rights, such as that of gender equality, in schools. While none of the selected female teachers in this study practised a null curriculum (cf. 1.4.2.), the findings signal the possibility that a teacher experiencing identity dissonance (cf. 2.2.1.1.) could purposefully omit addressing gender equality either implicitly or explicitly in her classroom practice. The research findings in this study show that while the policies are in place, the religious and cultural identities of teachers play a decisive role in the tardiness of progress. While they are aware of human rights as policy, in the way they give words to their understanding of gender equality, teachers' classroom practices are informed largely, to varying degrees, by their religious and cultural identities (cf. 5.4., 6.5., 7.2.3.). Teachers cannot mediate or facilitate knowledge and skills pertaining to human rights without understanding their own position, gender identity and religious and cultural beliefs (cf. Roux, 2012).

Personal development is one of the main aims of the Life Orientation curriculum. It is also a requirement of the Norms and Standards (Department of Education, 1998) for teachers. Providers of Initial Teacher Education are duty bound to provide intervention strategies in their tertiary programmes to enable pre-service teachers to engage with their personal and professional teacher identity development. Further research is required into the development of Initial Teacher Education programmes to provide opportunities for student teachers to reflect on the relationship between their personal, social and professional identities in relation to their classroom practice and praxis. Pre-service teachers could be provided with the opportunity of considering how to manage identity dissonance (cf.

2.2.1.1., 7.2.3.1.) and respond to the dilemma of how to transfer a transformed gender identity in their personal domain into their social and professional domains (cf. 7.2.2.).

Interventions could be designed for these student teachers to consider, for example, what their religious and cultural discourses articulate with regard to the position of women. Debates could be designed around unpacking the implications of customary law, individual rights and constitutional rights as expressed in the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). The following aspects could be included in an Initial Teacher Education intervention strategy which could be employed in Initial Teacher Education programmes that focus on, for example, teacher identity development, social justice education, human rights education or Life Orientation Education. Drawing on the model presented in Table 1 (pg. 70) (cf. 2.5.), female and male students could be given the opportunity of writing their self-narrative (cf. Lengelle, 2012) in which they reflect on how their religious and cultural discourse shapes their gender identity. Not only the females, but also the males (cf. Bhana et al., 2009; UNAIDS, 2000) could be involved as they have an important role to play in countering gender inequality. The female students and male students independently could share their self-narratives in a Community in Conversation (cf. 2.5.), exchanging perspectives and personal experiences in a 'safe space' (cf. Du Preez, 2012b; Redmond, 2010; Roux, 2012; Stengel & Weems, 2010). The aim of the CiC would be to understand self-respect and own positionality, foster respect for each other, and inspire reciprocal exchanges with empathetic understanding. This could, potentially, lead to the emergence of collaborative initiatives for transformation (cf. 2.5.). A class discussion with students could focus on how their personal identity could inform their teaching-learning of gender equality, in their classroom practice. The discussion could include notions of transformation into praxis. This constructive engagement could lead to new layers of consciousness (cf. Ritchie & Wilson, 2000; White, 2012) which have the potential of leading to action.

7.4.3. Teacher Education

The responsive participating female teachers in this research study had not received any formal preparation to equip them for the teaching-learning of Life Orientation in their classroom practice and the confrontation of gender issues. Further research could

incorporate a study which explores the classroom practice of LO teachers who have been prepared to facilitate LO and the related topics in the LO curriculum, including gender equality. This research could explore whether these teachers are better prepared to manage identity dissonance (cf. 1.4.2., 2.2.1.1.).

7.4.4. Further research in respect of the need for positioning whole-school transformation

Research has shown that learners learn messages about gender by watching what is modelled in the school and the way in which adult jobs are distributed and managed (cf. Renzetti et al., 2012). The findings suggest that gender inequality is perpetuated by the way in which the school is organised spatially, with separate staff rooms for female and male teachers (cf. Appendix J, 4.2.1.), and by the unequal power relations on the School Management Team (cf. Okin, 2007). Further research is needed with regard to whole-school positioning in terms of transformation, with particular attention being given to religious and cultural considerations, including those pertaining to gender. The architecture of the school needs to be considered as well as the ideology and curriculum, so that schools can become 'safe spaces' for living and promoting gender equality. Helping individuals to recognise gender discrimination is not enough, but rather an enforcement of gender equal rules is needed (cf. Dunne et al., 2006). Research is required into the re-thinking and re-construction of benchmarks for school leadership and management and excellence in teaching-learning that is acceptable both for women and men.

7.4.5. Communities in Conversation (CiC)

This study has the potential of troubling entrenched norms of gender inequality. Doing so can be emancipatory for teachers and they can encourage their female learners to re-assess and deliberate on gender practices, not only in their school context, but also in their homes and social environment. This has the potential, however, of endangering the female learners if they challenge gender discriminatory practice in their homes and/or religious and cultural discourses. In an attempt to minimize this potential danger, and to possibly bridge the divide between the classroom and the broader community, further research needs to

be undertaken with regard to the role that can be played by Communities in Conversation (cf. De Wet & Parker, 2013; Roux, 2012). Bringing female care givers and female teachers together in an informal exchange, with “equality of difference” (Becker, 2012, p. 88) will lead to more collaborative initiatives for transformation (cf. 2.5.).

7.4.6. ‘Identity capital’

The findings of this study highlight the dilemma faced by the female teachers who experienced gender identity transformation in their personal domain but who do not articulate this in action in their social and professional domains. The literature suggests that the extent and strength of their ‘identity capital’ (cf. Côté, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002) (cf. 2.4.1.) possibly contributes to this. Each of the selected female teachers has ‘identity capital’ to a greater or lesser extent. It would appear that the participants in this study lost strength of ‘identity-capital’ as they moved from their personal domain, through the social to their professional domain. The findings further indicate that some of the participants voice their ‘counter-position’, others practise their ‘counter-position’ and yet others both voice and practise their ‘counter-position’ to patriarchy in particular contexts. Both voicing and practising are needed. Voicing of the practice is particularly important in classroom praxis so as to extend the learners’ gender literacy.

Thabi (cf. 7.2.3.3.) is an example of a teacher, the extent and strength of whose ‘identity capital’ enables her to practise her ‘counter-position’ to gender discrimination in her personal, social and professional domains. By positioning herself and repeatedly resisting patriarchy in many different situations, she strengthens her ‘identity capital’. She is also able, in her classroom practice, to implicitly encourage her learners to consider their ‘identity capital’ as they critically evaluate the gender discriminatory practices they see in their homes and in the broader community.

I argue that it is crucial to resolve the dilemma and in order to do so further research is required to investigate how female teachers can be scaffolded to increase the extent and strength of their ‘identity capital’. This is important for them as women to effectively challenge gender discrimination in their social and professional domains, to resist attaining to men as the benchmark, and to establishing new norms for gender identity.

7.5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the research question in this study has been addressed (cf. 7.2.) by referring to the literature and the findings crystallising from the data analysis. Recommendations for further research are identified as they emerge from the findings in this study (cf. 7.4.).

Located within a feminist research paradigm, this study articulates, values and includes 'the other', challenging gender inequalities in society and by doing so makes a contribution to the transformation of the lives of women (cf. Merrill & West, 2009), and more specifically female teachers. This is done by showing that female teachers' gender identity is shaped by their religious and cultural identities. While they experience gender identity transformation, this is located primarily within their personal domain and is only to a certain extent articulated in practice in their social and professional domains. For most of the selected female teachers who participated in this study, this lack of articulation informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice. The extent and strength of teachers' 'identity capital' is such that the majority of teachers do not position themselves so as to critically engage with the master narrative of patriarchy and accordingly, gender imbalances in society and their schools. This research points to the need for further feminist gender-based research in teacher education and professional development programmes.

Female teachers need to be afforded the opportunity of exploring their self-dialogue (to an internal audience) and self-narrative (to an external audience) in relation to their lived experience of patriarchy.⁷⁰ Both are effective as an approach to fragmenting and undermining the master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 2.5.). By doing so there is the potential of 'dis-identifying' with gender discrimination, of 'dis-entangling' from their other, and of establishing gender identity 'consonance' between their personal, social and professional domains. As teachers do so, they have the potential of moving from classroom practice to

⁷⁰ It should be noted that while this study is female-gendered, this type of research can also be applicable if used in a male-gendered study. Male teachers, equally, should be afforded the opportunity of exploring their self-dialogue and self-narrative with regard to the position of women in their religious and cultural discourses.

classroom praxis, engaging in reflexive practice together with their learners, developing them into agents of change in South African society.

The teachers' portraits represented in this thesis-as-artwork fill an empty space in the metaphorical exhibition of literature pertaining to teachers' gender identities. The researcher's signature appears in the conclusions drawn from this study that illuminate the broader landscape of gender transformation in education.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A⁷¹

Self-administered questionnaire

Thank you for participating in this research project. Your anonymity is assured and you are asked to answer the questions set out below as honestly and as fully as possibly.

Please tick in the relevant boxes where applicable and fill in your responses in the space provided in the right-hand column where applicable.

1	First Name: Surname:
2	Contact number: Email address:
3	Province: Name of school at which teaching currently:
4	How long have you been in the teaching profession? 0-5 years ☐ 5-10years ☐ 10 -20 years ☐ 20-30 years ☐ 30-40 years ☐
5	What age group do you fall into? 23 - 30 years ☐ 30 -40years ☐ 40 -50 years ☐ 50-60 years ☐
6	Do you teach Life Orientation? Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes, please indicate which grade/s: 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐
7	What post school qualifications have you attained?

⁷¹ Please note that sufficient space was allowed for the completion of this self-administered questionnaire. In the interests of saving paper, the questionnaire, as it appears in this appendix A, does not include this space.

8	Which tertiary institution/s did you attend?	
9	What is your religious affiliation? If you are a Christian please state your denomination e.g. Catholic, Anglican, etc. If you are a Muslim, please state Sunni or Shiite etc. or any other grouping religious or not, that you belong to.	
10	Would you consider yourself to be a practising member of your religion or alternatively a member in name only (nominal)?	Practising ☐ Nominal ☐

11	What, if any, was your parents' religion and culture and did this have an influence on you in any way as you were growing up?	
12	Would you describe your experience of this belief system or practice during your formative years as positive or negative? Explain.	
13	At what stage did you decide to embrace the belief system/ value orientation/ worldview/religion you now hold? How did this happen?	
14	What do you understand by the term 'human rights'?	

15	What do you understand by the term 'gender equality'?	
16	Do you think your religious and cultural affiliation affects the way in which you view the human rights issue of 'gender equality'? Please explain.	
17	What human rights issues have you taught as part of the LO curriculum?	
18	What do you think is the purpose and value, if any, in exploring gender equality as a human right within the LO curriculum?	
19	Have you ever taught a lesson that focused on gender equality?	

	If so, please describe the lesson and any possible challenges you faced in preparing for the lesson and in teaching it.	
20	Are there any gender sensitive issues that have become evident in the school in which you teach?	
21	Do you know what your school policy is with regard to 'gender equality'? If there is a policy, do you think it is being implemented satisfactorily? Please elaborate on your answer.	
22	Do you think that the human right to 'gender equality' is promoted in your school? If not why do you think this is the case and if it is promoted in what way is this done?	
23	In respect of gender related issues do you feel like you have a voice in the school and that your voice is heard? Please elaborate.	
24	Have you ever experienced discrimination based on the fact that you are a woman/female a. in the school context? b. in your community ? If so please elaborate.	

APPENDIX B

Your Narrative

Please could you write your narrative (story) in which you include responses to the following questions:

- As a woman how would you describe your religious and cultural identity?
- What does your religious and cultural tradition have to say about the place and role of females in the family and in the community?
- How do you think your religious and cultural identity influences your understanding of the human right to gender equality?
- How do you think this understanding informs your classroom practice?

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

1. What do you understand by the term 'religious identity'?
2. What do you understand by the term 'cultural identity'?
3.
 - a. Do you consider your religious and cultural identity to be different?
 - b. If yes, how do you experience them as different?
4.
 - a. What does your religion say about your position as a woman? To what extent do you subscribe to this position?
 - b. What does your culture say about your position as a woman? To what extent do you subscribe to this position?
5.
 - a. Can you describe any practice in your religion that has made you as a woman feel uncomfortable or angry?
 - b. Can you describe any practice in your culture that has made you as a woman feel uncomfortable or angry?
6. What is your take on polygamy / contraception / women in leadership positions / equal job opportunities/ virginity testing / female circumcision / the right to choose a partner for oneself / dress code
7.
 - a. What do you understand by the term 'gender equality'?
 - b. Taking into account this understanding of gender equality, do you ever feel discriminated against because you are a woman?
8. Gender equality has been defined by Subrahmanian (2005) as female and male being equal to one another in quality and identical in value with female and male having the same rights and opportunities.
 - a. What do you think this definition means?
 - b. How does this meaning possibly differ from your own lived experience of gender equality?
9. How are you as a woman treated in your home?
10. How are your children treated?
 - a. Your daughters
 - b. Your sons (household chores/ toys that are bought/ who gets preference)
 - c. Why do you think this is so?

11. How are women treated in your community?
12. What is the attitude of your teacher colleagues towards
 - a. Woman teachers
 - b. Male teachers
 - c. Female learners
 - d. Male learners
13. What is the attitude and practice of the school management with regard to
 - a. Women teachers
 - b. Male teachers
 - c. Female learners
 - d. Male learners
14. If there is a reported incident of gender discrimination at your school what support would you anticipate from the Department of Education?
15. From your experience and observations how are female learners treated by male learners in the classroom and on the playing fields?
16. Teaching Life Orientation demands that you as the teacher promote human rights as part of the curriculum. This in turns implies teaching about gender equality and promoting gender equality in the classroom.
 - a. How do you think your religious perspective on the position of women will impact on the way in which you approach gender equality in the classroom?
 - b. How do you think your cultural perspective on the position of women will impact on the way in which you approach gender equality in the classroom?
17. How do you think the teaching-learning of gender equality in classroom practice will affect/impact female learners in their homes and communities?

APPENDIX D



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23 April 2010

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ETIEKAANSOEK

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Die aansoek is deur die etiekkomitee geëvalueer en word goedgekeur. Volle magtiging word aan die projek verleen. Die etiëknommer kan dus gewysig word na

NWU-00026-10-A2

Dankie en vriendelike groete

JLdeK Monteith

Voorsitter: Etiekkomitee Fakulteit Opvoedingswetenskappe

APPENDIX E

22. Apr. 2010 9:33

No. 0034 P. 1



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 KWAZULU-NATAL

Prof Cornelia Roux
 Director : Research Focus Area : Teaching-Learning Organisations
 Faculty of Education Sciences [Potchefstroom Campus]
 Potchefstroom, 2520

19 April 2010

**PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH IN KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
 SCHOOLS**

Your request dated 8 March 2010 has reference.

Your research project entitled Human Rights Education in Diversity : Empowering girls in rural and metropolitan school environments - using among other, researchers from the local Campus is very relevant.

Permission is hereby granted for the researchers to approach schools to participate in the collection of data. All information must be confidential.

Please forward a copy of your final Report to this office.

A copy of this letter may be presented to the Principals of schools to ensure co-operation.

I wish you all the best in this enormous task.

Dr HP Gumede
 Chief Director : Education Service Delivery Support Services
 KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education

...dedicated to service and performance
 beyond the call of duty.

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

POSTAL : Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa
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APPENDIX F



Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys
Department of Education
NORTH WEST PROVINCE

Dr. S.H. van Heerden (SDCES)
Teemane Building
Cnr OR Tambo & Embert Streets
Private Bag X1256
POTCHEFSTROOM 2520
Tel : 018 299 8238
Cell: 082 551 5724
Fax : 018 297 7574
E-Mail: fvanheerden@nwpg.gov.za

DR KENNETH KAUNDA DISTRICT

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT SERVICE

TO: Prof. Cornelia Roux
North-West University

FROM: Mrs. F.P.L. Bungane
Chief Education Specialist: Professional Support Services

DATE: 6 April 2010

SUBJECT: Permission to conduct research in schools in the North West Province Dr. Kenneth Kaunda District:
Human Rights Education in Diversity: Empowering girls in rural and metropolitan school environments.

Dear Prof.,

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your request as stated above. Permission is granted to conduct the research in schools in the Dr. Kenneth Kaunda District on the following conditions:

- The activities you undertake at school should not tamper with the normal process of learning and teaching.
- No research activities must take place during teaching hours. Only to start after 14:00.
- Inform the Principals of the identified schools of your impending visits and activities.
- Inform the Department via the Area Office Managers and Circuit Managers about the selection of schools. Selection of schools according specified criteria. According to race or language, according to gender, all schools, according to environment, according to culture, etc.
- The ages/grades of girl learners to be involved.
- The Department of Education in Dr. Kenneth Kaunda District must be informed of all findings and conclusions.

We wish you and the project members a significant and meaningful research period and we are sure that this research will make an enormous contribution towards development in education and towards the future of our children.

Thank you.

.....
DR. S.H. MVULA
DISTRICT EXECUTIVE MANAGER
DR. KENNETH KAUNDA DISTRICT

APPENDIX G



DIRECTORATE: STRATEGIC PLANNING POLICY RESEARCH AND SECRETARIAL SERVICES
 Dr A S Heckroodt: Director: Strategic Planning Policy Research and Secretarial Services,
 Institute for Leadership, 25 Epsom Road, Stirling, East London, 6241,
 Tel: 043 7027 430, Cell: 083 275 0716, Fax: 086 5410 38
 Email: bernardia@iafrica.com, annetia.heckroodt@edu.ecprov.gov.za, Website: ecdoe.gov.za

FACSIMILE

ATTENTION: Professor C Roux

DATE: 22 April 2010

ORGANISATION: North West University

REF:

FAX NO: 0182935245

FROM: Dr AS Heckroodt

SUBJECT: APPROVAL LETTER TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH

NO OF PAGES: 3 (Including Cover Page)

MESSAGE:

Attached are the documents for your attention.

Thank you

Irene



All responses should be directed to the Superintendent-General,
 but for the attention of Customer Care



APPENDIX H



UMnyango WezeMfundo
Department of Education

Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys

Enquiries: Nomvula Ubisi (011)3550488

Date:	06 April 2010
Name of Researcher:	Roux Cornelia Delina
Address of Researcher:	Building C6 Office 259
	North West University
	Potchefstroom 2531
Telephone Number:	0182994780/08207749201
Fax Number:	0182935245
Research Topic:	Human Rights Education in Diversity: Empowering Girls in Rural and Metropolitan School Environments
Number and type of schools:	1 Primary and 1 Secondary Schools
District/s/HO	Johannesburg East and South

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

Permission has been granted to proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met, and may be withdrawn should any of these conditions be flouted:

1. *The District/Head Office Senior Manager/s concerned must be presented with a copy of this letter that would indicate that the said researcher/s has/have been granted permission from the Gauteng Department of Education to conduct the research study.*
2. *The District/Head Office Senior Manager/s must be approached separately, and in writing, for permission to involve District/Head Office Officials in the project.*
3. *A copy of this letter must be forwarded to the school principal and the chairperson of the School Governing Body (SGB) that would indicate that the researcher/s have been granted permission from the Gauteng Department of Education to conduct the research study.*

Office of the Chief Director: Information and Knowledge Management
Room 501, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2000 P.O.Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000
Tel: (011) 355-0809 Fax: (011) 355-0734

APPENDIX I

Ethical Code signed by researcher and participants

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Female teachers' religious and cultural identities and gender equality in classroom practice.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Janet Jarvis who is a PhD student registered and supervised at North West University (Potchefstroom). The research results of this study will be made public in the form of a PhD dissertation.

This PhD study forms part of a bigger SANPAD (South African Netherlands Projects on Alternatives in Development) project entitled: *Human Rights Education in Diversity: Empowering girls in rural and metropolitan school environments*.

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are female, and a General Education and Training/Further Education and Training teacher of Life Orientation at a school selected for the wider SANPAD research project (Roux, 2009a).

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore how the religious and cultural identities of female teachers of Life Orientation (LO) inform their teaching-learning of the human right to gender equality.

The main objectives of the research to be undertaken are:

- To explore what selected female teachers envisage by gender equality;
- To explore how the religious and cultural identities of selected female teachers shape their gender identity in a multi-religious and multi-cultural context; and
- To determine how the gender identity of the selected female teachers informs their teaching-learning of gender equality in their classroom practice

2. PROCEDURES

Participation in this study will entail the following:

- The completion of a self-administered questionnaire;
- Writing a self-narrative; and

- Engaging in a semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interview with the researcher.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

The study to be undertaken will not provide any potential risks nor discomfort to you, the participant.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You will not necessarily directly benefit from the research. However, the research output may inform the implementation of Life Orientation in particular, as well as initial teacher education.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payment will be made to participants in this study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Information will not be released to any other party for any reason.

Any digitally recorded or transcribed data can be reviewed by you at any stage during the research process. The digital recordings will be destroyed as soon as they have been transcribed by the researcher. You will be assigned a pseudonym, both for yourself and for the school at which you teach, in the interests of promoting anonymity.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to participate in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequence of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATOR

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Prof Cornelia Roux (supervisor of the study) at 081 2994779.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please feel free to ask the supervisor of this study, Prof Cornelia Roux.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

I.....

(full names of participant)

hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am free to leave / withdraw from the project at any time, if I want to.

.....

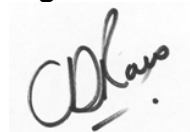
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE.....



Signature of Researcher

Date



Professor Cornelia Roux
(Supervisor)

APPENDIX J

School and interview contexts of participants

In this appendix, the school context in which the semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews (cf. 3.5.3.) took place, provides a background to the individual teacher portraits as presented in Chapter 4. Previous to the interview⁷², participants completed a self-administered questionnaire (cf. 3.5.1.) and written personal narrative (cf. 3.5.2.). They were then contacted and appointments made to meet at a convenient time. Once-off interviews which were approximately one hour in duration, were conducted in an available venue on the school property, either after school or during a free period in the participant's timetable. The participants were reminded about the purpose of the study. They were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and reminded that their participation was voluntary (cf. 3.8., Appendix I). At the beginning of the interview, the oral consent of each of the participants to digitally record the interview was obtained. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended but semi-structured questions to guide the interviews, so as to provide an orderly experience to the participants and to ensure that each participant completed a comparable set of questions (cf. 3.5.3.).

What follows is a description of the school context and the interview context of each of the participants. In some cases two participants taught at the same school. This is indicated.

Appendix J 1: Purity (cf. 4.2.1.)

School context

Midlands Comprehensive School is an English medium, co-educational Government school situated in the Vulindlela area of KwaZulu-Natal, about 150kms west of Durban and about 60kms away from the province's capital, Pietermaritzburg. The school was built in 1996 to accommodate the overcrowding in the nearby existing high school, and started with 160 pupils. Currently the school, offering Grades 7 – 12, comprises 1156 learners and an average class size of 50 learners. The school population is predominantly Zulu. Thirty

⁷² In some cases, about six months before the interview.

percent of the school population are orphans and vulnerable⁷³ children. The religions practiced in the area are predominantly Shembe⁷⁴ and Christianity. There is a predominance of single parents, usually mothers, mainly because many of the fathers work away from home, or have simply left the familial home or have died. There are also several (approximately 40%) child-headed households in the area.

The School Management Team comprises the Principal, two deputy principals and four Heads of Department. Two of the seven members of the School Management Team, both Heads of Department, are women. There are two staff rooms at the school, one for the men and one for the women. Most Friday afternoons the men get together to braai⁷⁵ meat and the women go home.

The teachers are well dressed. The men wear trousers and a shirt and tie and their clothing appears to be clean and in good condition. The women by and large wear labelled clothing like *Ginger Mary*⁷⁶ and a couple of women wear trousers. The cars parked at the school, amongst others a Volkswagen Jetta and a Toyota Corolla, appear to be in a roadworthy condition. The school itself is in a general state of disrepair. There are several broken windows and toilets that are not working. A gardener has recently been employed to plant up the bare soil surrounding the school in an attempt to obviate the repeated dust storms which permeate the school. A vegetable garden which was planted about 18 months previously, in order to provide produce for indigent children, has not been maintained.

Midlands Comprehensive School has been the site of a number of interventions and workshops within the Learning Together Project (2004 – 2006), (Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2005) related to issues of HIV/AIDS and gender.

⁷³ Vulnerable in this context, refers to those children who are heading households or who have parents who are terminally ill and children who are exceptionally poor.

⁷⁴ Shembe, also known as The Church of the Nazarites, is an African Initiated Church which strongly emphasizes Zulu culture, including traditional Zulu dress and dancing.

⁷⁵ Equivalent of a barbeque, that is, cooking meat on an open fire.

⁷⁶ *Ginger Mary* is an exclusive, expensive brand of clothing.

The researcher's impression on the day of the interview was that very little teaching was taking place. The teachers appeared to be busy in the staff room and the learners were left to their own devices with the exception of one class in which a lesson was in progress.

There is no school policy relating to gender equality. What is evident, is a form of gender parity. This can be seen with regard to the Learner Representative Council which has both female and male members. Both girls and boys are given the same activities, for example sweeping, and are responsible for cleaning the school during detention.

Interview context

The interview took place in an office/workroom assigned to Grade 10 - 12 teachers that was situated at the end of a corridor of classrooms. This space was dark, dusty and draughty. In the room, there were work areas with desks and chairs and filing cabinets and also a big cupboard which dominated the room. A kettle in this venue meant that this was also a place where staff members could make something hot to drink. There was considerable noise coming from outside the venue, both from the learners, and also from the sirens indicating the change in lesson times. Staff cars were parked outside this room and the movement of these cars at intermittent intervals also created some noise.

Initially Purity seemed hesitant about what was expected of her. After explaining the interview process and the purpose thereof she visibly relaxed and seemed keen to participate. At times she paused to reflect on questions that were asked and then proceeded comfortably with her response. The seating arrangement in the room meant that Purity and I sat at a 90degree angle next to one another. The interview unfolded amicably and at the end of the interview she said that she was glad to have been able to tell her story and to have someone listen to her. She also said that she was happy to have participated in the research.

Appendix J 2:Thabi (cf. 4.2.2.)

School context

The Midlands Comprehensive school context is the same as that described above for Purity.

For the past five years Thabi has served on the School Management Team in the capacity of an academic Head of department. She also, of her own accord, has kept a log of indigent children and their needs. She would arrange for sick children to get to a clinic and would try to meet uniform requirements. She organised an ad hoc feeding scheme where children could get two slices of bread donated by a local bakery. Since 2011, in response to a plea which she motivated, all learners are fed once a day at the school. The outsourced feeding scheme is funded by the Department of Education.

In response to the needs at the school of which Thabi made the researcher aware during the pre-interview appointment, food and clothing were taken to the school on the day of the interview. The bags of food and clothing were stored in the venue where the interview was held. Thabi would see to the fair distribution of the donations to the poorest of the poor children. Meeting some of the physical needs of the learners seemed to be a way in which to give back to the school community in return for Purity and Thabi's participation in the study, and also the participation of the learners in the wider SANPAD project (Roux, 2009a). Subsequent to the interview the researcher was able to raise a substantial amount of money which bought new school shoes and other items of school clothing for the indigent learners. These she delivered to the school (cf. 3.3.2.).

Interview context

The interview took place in the same venue and directly after my interview with Purity. The interview was interrupted several times by both staff members and learners entering the room to collect books and files. Several staff members entered the venue to make themselves something to drink. Despite the interruptions, Thabi seemed comfortable. She

sat in a chair next to me at a desk, with her hands folded loosely in her lap. She made eye contact when talking to me and at no stage during the interview was there any tension. The silences that occurred intermittently were not awkward, but rather reflective pauses. Thabi appeared to be enthusiastic about the research and willing to participate. She told me that she liked participating in research.

Appendix J 3: Jabu (cf. 4.2.3.)

School context

Beachwood Primary is an English medium, co-educational, government school situated in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. It was started in 1977 as a private school and then converted to a government school in 2001. The school, with approximately 745 learners from Grades R to 7, and approximate class sizes of 40 plus learners, operates across two different school premises, sharing the premises of a high school across the street for its Grade 6 and 7 classes. The rapidly increasing population in the area is extremely diverse. The majority of school applications the school receives are from parents who come from Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, and Ghana, many of whom are refugees. With the school-going population in the area increasing, physical space is one of the main concerns as Beachwood Primary has little or no space to expand. Learners are drawn mainly from the surrounding flats with several children coming from nearby shelters for the poor. Both the learners and the teaching staff represent different racial groups. The predominant religions in the area are Christianity and Islam.

The Principal commented that the non-South Africans are unfamiliar with the values underpinning the South African Bill of Rights (1996) and that this poses a challenge for the school which aims at establishing a culture of human rights. Many parents engage in illegal activities such as becoming street vendors, engaging in theft, illegal use of drugs and drug dealing and prostitution. Learners from this school experience social problems such as broken homes, mixed marriages and neglect or ill-treatment at home. In their homes and in the neighbouring parks several learners are exposed to drugs, smoking, gambling, drinking and prostitution. Learners often display disruptive behaviour at school.

Driving through the surrounding area it was notably busy, densely populated and also very dirty, primarily because of the litter and rubbish that had piled up due to municipal strikes⁷⁷. There were many vagrants and prostitutes in the area.

The School Management Team, which consists of an equal number of females and males, is led by a female Principal and the Deputy Principal is a male. The teachers are casually dressed, with most women wearing trousers. There are very few cars in the school car park. Those that were visible, were luxury cars, in good condition. The school is not in disrepair and there is evidence of security measures, including a security guard at the high, heavily chained school gate. The school is very noisy and while attempts are made to control litter and to present a picture of an ordered school, the general impression is that of a school that is poorly run as evidenced by the chaos in the school.

Interview Context

The researcher arrived for a pre-arranged interview at 9.40 am. This interview only commenced at 10.25am and took place in the staff room on the Grades R - 5 site. In the room was a tea/coffee making facility and several noticeboards. A couple of couches and a long table surrounded by chairs, constituted the furniture. The curtains were in disrepair and the overall impression was of a room that is functional, but tired. There were several interruptions during the interview, as well as a lot of noise coming from the children in the classrooms and corridors. Eight officials from the Department of Education were conducting an inspection in the school. The Principal and Deputy Principal were busy showing the officials around the school as well as presenting school documents and records for inspection.

Jabu and the researcher sat at one end of the long table as far away as possible from the door which provided through traffic to the Principal's office. Jabu was initially very hesitant and cautious about the interview process. After the initial introduction, when the purpose of the research was explained, and that her anonymity would be ensured, she relaxed and visibly settled into her seat. As the interview proceeded she participated more and more

⁷⁷ The Municipal strikes referred to took place in June 2011.

readily and by the end of the interview she said that she was so pleased to have had an opportunity to share her story and to have participated in the study. She requested that a photo be taken of herself and the researcher.

Appendix J 4: Amy (cf. 4.2.4.)

School context

Clifford Primary is situated in an industrial area in Germiston, on the Witwatersrand, in Gauteng. It is an English medium, co-education, government school from Grades R to 7, with 830 learners and an average class size of 38 learners. The school is a well-established, extremely well-resourced school with 29 classrooms, a library, an art classroom, a swimming pool and other facilities for extra-mural activities. The school recently received sponsorship from a company in the area for Notebook computers and computerized white-boards.

The area in which the school is situated used to be a very wealthy area, but it has fairly recently become more of a middle-class area. There is a squatter camp in the vicinity of the school. Learners are drawn mostly from the middle-class or lower middle-class. Seventy percent of the learners live in the area directly surrounding the school, and the others, commute from the surrounding suburbs and townships. A few learners are drawn from a nearby childrens' home. Several indigent learners are part of a feeding scheme which provides them with food from the tuck shop. The learners in the school represent 18 different languages and include Bulgarians and Yugoslavians. Many of the children come from divorced families, the divorce often caused by drinking or gambling or both. The dominant religion is Christianity with Islam as the minority religion. The Muslim parents do not allow their daughters to continue with an education beyond Grade 7.

The school's security system, locked gates and security guard demonstrate that the area is not crime-free. Within the school there has been an increase of learners who steal and show a lack of respect for teachers. Some Grade 7 learners have been exposed to drugs

by learners in the nearby secondary school. Clifford Primary works with the local police in an attempt to address this problem.

With the exception of the Principal and three male teachers, all the staff members are female. The male Principal is about to retire and appears to have abdicated his position to the female Deputy Principal, who, in effect, runs the school. The School Governing Body Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson are both male.

The teachers are well dressed and several ladies wear trousers. There are no luxury cars parked in the car park, however, the cars that are there appear to be in good condition.

The researcher's impression is that the school is in good repair, that it is well organised and resourced and that there are structures in place to encourage effective teaching-learning.

Interview context

The researcher was provided with a Head of Department's office situated in the administration section of the school, which was favourably disposed to an interview situation. The office was equipped with a table and two chairs, a fan and an intercom system. The space provided a private, quiet interview environment. The setting was rather formal and so the chairs were placed on the same side of the desk, creating more of a conversational context. Amy arrived promptly at 2pm and seemed to be more than willing to participate in the study and to tell her story. Her body language was relaxed and she seemed eager to begin once we had chatted about the purpose of the research. After the formal interview, the conversation continues with Amy and the researcher discussing the repercussions of a divorce, having both been through a similar experience. This turned out to be quasi-therapeutic situation (cf. 3.4.4.). Working within a feminist paradigm, the researcher was at ease with this.

Appendix J 5: Bongji (cf. 4.2.5.)

School context

Breakthrough High school is surrounded by a township called Claremont in the metropolitan area of Pinetown, in KwaZulu-Natal. It is an English medium, co-educational, Government secondary school, comprising Grades 8 - 12. There are over 1300 learners in the school with an average class size of 48 learners. The school is clean and tidy and the school grounds and buildings are well maintained and show little sign of dilapidation. There are however problems with the electricity supply which cut off several times during the researcher's visits to the school. The school has invested in computer LANs which, in terms of resources, place this school ahead of the neighbouring schools of which there are three in the immediate radius of twelve kilometres. The classrooms and hallways are bare, with no signs of any visual material, posters and the like, advertising any school activities, neither social nor academic. What is evident, however, are signs all over the school prohibiting guns, knives, alcohol, drugs and smoking. There is no evidence of gardening, and the school is surrounded by bare ground. The dominant religions represented in the school are Traditional African Religion and Christianity.

The staff members are friendly and accommodating. The Principal explained the structures that he has put into place for the smooth running of the school. Teachers are well-dressed, many wearing label clothing. Female staff members are permitted to wear trousers. The cars in the car park are roadworthy and there are some luxury vehicles such as Mercedes and Audis in and amongst.

The Principal confirmed that there is no school policy relating to gender equality. The School Management Team is structured in such a way that there is gender parity, with 4 male and 4 female members. It is mandatory for all school committees to exhibit a gender balance. Up until the previous year, female and male staff members met in separate staffrooms during break.

Having spoken to the Principal and the teacher to be interviewed, and spending time in the school environment, the researcher's impression is that the school is fairly well-organised and well-managed. Exams were being written and although there was a lot of noise in the school, the exam programme seemed to be unfolding.

Interview context

Bongi did not arrive for the first appointment and she gave no reason for her non-arrival. A second appointment was made and she arrived late for this appointment. The Principal's office was made available for the interview as he was away that day. There were many interruptions and also, the school was very noisy despite it being half year exam-time. The interview space was rather sparse and clinical. The researcher arranged the chairs in such a way as to create a more congenial space, whereby she and Bongi sat, face-to-face, in close proximity to one another. Initially conversation was a bit stilted but then as time passed, the conversation became easier, Bongi, seemingly unperturbed by the surrounding noise in the school, and interruptions by staff members looking for the Principal. She chatted away easily until it was time for her to leave to invigilate a history exam.

Appendix J 6: Kate (cf. 4.2.6.)

School context

Outreach High School is situated in a small town in the North West Province. It is an English medium, single sex, government girls' school from Grades 8 - 12. There are approximately 500 girls in the school with an average class size of 28 learners. 80% of the girls are boarders who mostly, come from Johannesburg, approximately 250kms away. About 80% of the racial demographic is black African. The learners, on the whole, do not come from affluent homes, but neither are there indigent learners at the school. The predominant religion is Christianity followed by Traditional African Religion.

The teachers are middle-class and well-dressed. The cars in the car park are roadworthy, however, none of them is a luxury car. The school grounds and buildings are well

maintained and clean and uncluttered. Attention had been given to establishing gardens in and around the school. For security and privacy the administration offices adjunct to the school foyer are enclosed by glass. This does not create a very welcoming first impression. The School Management Team is all female and so are the staff members, with the exception of three male teachers, recently employed. The Chairperson of the School Governing Body is male.

The researcher's impression of the school is that it is very organized and well-managed and that the structure and environment lends itself to significant teaching-learning taking place. There is, however, an air of orderliness and rigidity which does not make the school feel very inviting.

Interview Context

The interview took place towards the end of the school day in Kate's classroom. The researcher tried to create a conversational space in one corner of the classroom which was unfortunately situated beneath the intercom. The interview was interrupted by intermittent, end of day school announcements, but these did not deter the interview process. The interview was paused for the announcements and then carried on. Kate was noticeably apprehensive about the interview and she also seemed to be tired at the end of a long school day. She and the researcher chatted informally and the purpose of the research was explained as well as how valuable her input would be to the study. She was also assured that there is no right or wrong answer. She warmed to this and visibly relaxed. As the interview progressed she engaged more enthusiastically, at times sitting at the end of her chair when making a point.

Appendix J 7: Ruby (cf. 4.2.7.)

School context

Ruby's school context, Outreach High School is the same as that described for Kate, above.

Interview Context

The interview took place during the early afternoon after the academic programme had ended, in Ruby's office, in the hostel of which she is in charge. Her office is attached to the flat which she shares with her husband and two children. The environment was conducive to an interview. It was quiet and a familiar setting for Ruby and there were no interruptions. Initially Ruby was quite abrupt and she did not seem too enthusiastic about the interview. Once she and the researcher got chatting and established a commonality as teachers and mothers (and both former drum majorettes trainers), she relaxed and participated in a generous manner. This interview was one of the longer interviews and Ruby found it quite therapeutic to open up and tell her story. After the formal interview, a quasi-therapeutic situation (cf. 3.4.4.) evolved. Working within a feminist paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.), the researcher was at ease with this.

Appendix J 8: Annie (cf. 4.2.8.)

School context

Coastal Primary is an English medium, co-educational primary school situated on the outskirts of East London in the Eastern Cape Province. There are approximately 300 learners in this school which includes Grades 1 – 7, with an average class size of 35. The surrounding community is poor and a squatter camp has grown up across the road from the school. Driving to the school, wild hogs had to be avoided as they roamed freely on the roads. The languages spoken in the area are English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The dominant religions are Christianity, Islam and Traditional African Religion. The staff represents a diversity of population groups. The learners represent primarily the so-called Coloured⁷⁸ community, although recently a substantial number of black African learners have entered the school. Many of the families of the learners are poverty stricken.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that the researcher does not endorse politically racial classifications, the nomenclature of which is shifting. The term 'Black' has been used by some scholars to refer to 'Africans', 'Indians' and 'Coloureds'. In this study, reference is made to 'black Africans', so-called 'Coloureds,' referring to people of 'mixed race', and Whites and Indians are referred to by those names.

There is no gender policy in the school. The School Management Team is led by a male Principal and the School Management Team is male dominated with the exception of two female Heads of Department. The teachers are well dressed with the men wearing ties and jackets. Female teachers are not permitted to wear trousers. The female learners are not permitted to wear trousers and the boys are not permitted to wear long pants. The staff cars in the car park, while not luxury cars, were in road worthy condition. Staff members, in their individual capacity, often meet the dire needs of some of the learners especially when it comes to medical attention and clothing. The school building itself is not in a state of disrepair and on the contrary is clean, well-maintained and well-organised. There is no evidence of an initiative to plant a garden around the school, and there is a lot of sand, creating dust that blows into the school. When it rains this sand turns to mud.

The researcher's overall impression of the school is that, despite the poor area in which it is situated, the staff members are doing everything that they can, with the limited resources they have, to provide a good education for their learners. There was order in the school and teaching-learning was taking place.

Interview Context

The interview took place in the morning. Having met the school Principal, the researcher was taken to Annie's classroom to meet her. She settled her class with the teacher who would be relieving her and, we made our way to the staffroom. This large room has been made functional as a meeting place for the staff. There are several small tables with tablecloths, curtains and some evidence of some initiative with regard to décor. There are various notices pinned on several notice boards. A serving hatch at one end of the staff room opens into a very busy kitchen where meals are prepared for the indigent children and also where staff members can make use of various appliances such as a microwave, urn and so forth. The interview took place during teaching time and so, with the exception of one or two staff members popping their heads around the door, there were not too many interruptions. Annie and the researcher sat at one of the small tables near the window and furthest away from the kitchen which produced a fair amount of noise. Annie seemed distracted and we chatted for a while, mainly about the research project, before she gathered her thoughts and seemed ready to proceed with the interview. She then

proceeded easily to tell her story. Annie's home language is Afrikaans and there were times when she would explain something in Afrikaans. The researcher is fluent in this language and so was able to understand what Annie was saying.

Appendix J 9: Merlot (cf. 4.2.9.)

School context

Merlot's school context, that of Coastal Primary School, is the same as that described for Annie.

Interview Context

The interview followed that with Annie, and took place in the same venue, just at a later time, towards the end of the school day. Before the interview the researcher was introduced to Merlot in her classroom and she was also able to meet her Grade 7 registration class. Being the end of the school day there were several interruptions in the staff room in which we were talking, but Merlot took this in her stride. She was very forthcoming and engaged in the interview process with evident enthusiasm. At the end of the formal interview, a quasi-therapeutic situation evolved (cf. 3.4.4.). Working within a feminist paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.), the researcher was at ease with this.

APPENDIX K

PORTRAIT OF RESEARCHER'S 'SOCIETY-OF-SELF'⁷⁹

Working within a postmodern feminist paradigm (cf. 3.3.2.), I find myself simultaneously in two worlds: the centre (as a woman reflecting on my own position as I engage with this study) and the margin (as an outsider conducting research on others). Collins (1991) describes this as 'outsiders within'. Accepting that this is the case, I include as an appendix in this research, a personal portrait of how I see self-narration and self-dialogue as having helped me to construct my own gender identity. This brief narrative is an authentic account of my real lived experiences providing a framework through which I interpret and make sense of my world. My past and present are linked in a spiral of interpretation and reinterpretation. This portrait allowed me to update my self-narrative so as to produce a continuing narrative of myself which I have found to be both emancipatory and empowering as I tell my story and reflect on it subsequently.

I am 52, a South African, white female, a wife, mother, grandmother, daughter and daughter-in-law, sister, friend, colleague, academic, and committed Christian, living in an upper middle-class suburb in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. My self-narrative is to a large extent, a response to the socio-political, cultural and familial context in which I was raised. Intrinsic to my self-narrative, is my self-dialogue as I move between internal and external *I*-positions in my society-of-mind'. I find myself contending with a multiplicity of voices representing various characters in my own 'polyphonic novel' (cf. 2.4.). My *I*-positions are both external and internal and the multiple voices both individual and collective. My self-narrative is woven around the master-narrative of patriarchy and that of gender equality. In line with postmodern identity theory, I have come to realise, that by recounting my self-narrative, in terms of my gender identity specifically, while I was 'made' by a master narrative in which key male figures were dominant, I have also had the capacity to 'make' myself by resisting the force of society and by reinventing my gender identity. (cf. 2.2.2.). In writing my self-narrative I focused on the master narrative of patriarchy and the critical

⁷⁹ The 'society-of-self' is the researcher's term for the dialogical engagement within internal spaces (to an internal audience, the 'society-of-mind') as well as in external spaces (to an external audience).

incidents that particularly impacted my gender identity formation. In doing so, I recognised the significance of intersectionality with, for example, race, culture and religion. At critical points in my life I began to see the master narrative of patriarchy for what it is. As I did so, I found myself beginning to question many of its 'givens' and my confidence grew in challenging these 'givens'.

I have structured my self-narrative under two headings: the master narrative of patriarchy and my continuing self-narrative. The theoretical lens I used to frame this self-narrative is identity theory (cf. 2.2.) and the Dialogical Self Theory (cf. 2.4.). The master narrative of patriarchy (cf. 1.) impinges on and weaves its way through my familial home (cf. 1.1.); years of schooling (cf. 1.2.); tertiary education (cf. 1.3.); teaching (cf. 1.4.), both at schools and at a tertiary institution; marriage (cf. 1.5.), including my first marriage (cf. 1.5.1.) and second marriage (cf. 1.5.3.) and the time in between (cf. 1.5.2.); and my religion and culture (cf. 1.6.). Thereafter I present my continuing self-narrative (cf. 2.).

1. Master narrative of patriarchy

I was born in Durban in 1960, when the prevailing master narrative in South Africa was powerfully racist and gendered. This was powerfully entrenched through key socialisation agencies such as the family, school, church and media. Through such agencies this master narrative formed me as a White female. I took for granted my privileged position in South Africa. While I experienced unequal gender power relations and was subjugated to White men, I was, nevertheless, considered to have a higher social standing to both non-white women and men. In my formative and early adult years there was nothing in my life that substantially challenged this master narrative.

1.1. Familial home

I was raised as the older of two daughters by my late mother who grew up embedded in an Afrikaner culture, and my father, who had immigrated from England to South Africa at the age of 25 years. Having been raised in a patriarchal Afrikaner culture, my mother saw her role as that of housewife and mother and this was a role she took very seriously. My father would not permit her to work outside of the home and, as a result, she was totally

financially dependent on him. Circumstances in my home made it clear that the relationship between my parents was one of male domination, and any notion that structures and powers relating to gender might in any way be challenged was not entertained. At times, gender-based violence was my lived experience. The gender discourse in my familial home was a product of the master narrative of patriarchy.

As a young girl, I knew little about gender equality, but, nevertheless, resolved not to find myself in a similar position as my mother who was subjected to abuse (both verbal, emotional and physical) and financial dependency on her husband. I therefore determined to study further once I had completed school, so as to become financially independent. By the time I left home to go to university at 17 years of age, my self-dialogue incorporated a negotiation of various internal and external *I*-positions in my 'society-of-mind' which led me to decide that I wanted to be independent of male dominance and the outworkings thereof that I had observed in my familial home.

1.2. Schooling

While not a member of the Catholic faith, I nevertheless, attended a private Catholic school which, in retrospect, I would have expected to have challenged the master narrative of patriarchy. By not encouraging the development of critical thinking in respect of political and social issues, including gender issues, the status quo of the era was endorsed. Gender inequality was reinforced by the dominant role played by the Catholic priests and the pronouncements of the Vatican with regard to the essentially reproductive and child nurturing role of women. The teachers at my school were all women, with the exception of one semi-retired, male mathematics teacher, who was treated differentially and given several privileges, seemingly simply because he was a man. No regard was taken of the fact that he was inept as a teacher.

1.3. Tertiary education

I furthered my education at the former University of Natal, obtaining my Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Arts Honours Degrees and a Higher Diploma in Education. I decided to study at the Pietermaritzburg campus as I saw it as a means of escaping an unhappy

home context, quite apart from the fact that I wanted to study Theology which was only offered in Pietermaritzburg.

At University I was uncomfortable with some of the practices that reinforced gender discrimination. I remember, for example, the way in which the young males on the RAG committee⁸⁰ would select female drum majorettes or RAG committee members on the basis of their physical appearance. I remember feeling excluded because I did not fit the required sexual profile as determined by these young White men. Having said this, it was at university, that certain lecturers, and specifically an outstanding lecturer who taught a course in the Philosophy of Religion, encouraged me to start thinking critically about the nature of the society in which I was living, and to reflect critically on the master narrative of patriarchy. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and similar political organisations also played a role in this. However, there was a definite preoccupation with race in South Africa at the time (cf. Steyn, 2001) and this meant that gender issues were not very high on the campus agenda. By the time I left university in 1982, however, there were gender activist groups which were beginning to emerge and challenge the master narrative of patriarchy.

1.4. Teaching

My first teaching post, in 1983, was at a predominantly German provincial school in rural Natal. There was no challenge to the master narrative of patriarchy, the more so because of the very conservative nature of the German people who had settled in the area. My move to a school on the Natal South Coast, in 1984, was also to a context in which all components of the same master narrative were firmly in place. This was communicated to me in several ways. As a female teacher I earned considerably less than my male counterparts. I was also excluded from receiving a housing subsidy which was a privilege that only breadwinners (male teachers) were entitled to receive. When a female teacher got married she was immediately put on to the temporary staff and lost her permanent staff status. This reinforced the notion that men were the providers and that women raised children and looked after the home (cf. 1.4.1., 2.2.1.2.). I was also subjected to certain

⁸⁰ The RAG committee was responsible for fundraising for charity.

dress codes (and checks to make sure that I was wearing the requisite foundation garments!) which were far more stringent than those assigned to the men. There were certain extra-mural activities that did not carry high profile, including chess, debating, choir and netball, and these were typically assigned to female teachers. The men enjoyed activities such as coaching sport and in particular, the major high profile sports such as rugby and cricket. These extra-murals were considered important for promotion purposes. Despite the fact that most of the teachers in the school at that time were women, the senior people in management were all men. By the time I applied for promotion the inclusion of women in management was more noticeable and in 1992, I was promoted to Head of Department at a girls-only school which had only female staff members. While not having to deal with male hegemony in this school context, I nevertheless continued to be subjected to Department of Education regulations which were instituted and enforced by men.

In 1994 I was successful in my application for a senior lectureship at the former Edgewood College of Education. Although 1994 ushered in democracy in South Africa and discriminatory laws were removed, conditions 'on the ground' changed more slowly. Chauvinistic attitudes were prevalent at Edgewood and the top-down management style was male dominated. The incorporation of the College of Education into the former University of Natal and the subsequent merger with the former University of Durban-Westville (UDW) to form the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), did little to make me feel secure as a White woman in academia.

The change from White male dominance to predominantly Indian male dominance on the Edgewood Campus did little to promote gender equality, although the policy statements were clear in this regard. My situational self (cf. 2.2.1.1.) told me I was less than the other, namely, male colleagues, whereas my substantial self (cf. 2.2.1.1.), of which I was privately aware, wanted to disentangle (cf. 2.3.) from this oppression and negotiate a consistent set of behaviours between my situational and substantial self so as to enjoy identity consonance (cf. 2.2.1.1.). However, the extent and strength of my 'identity capital' (cf. 2.4.1.) was such that I was unable to practice a 'counter-position' (cf. 2.4.) to male domination and I became a broker of my own oppression (cf. 2.2.2.1.). By not challenging

gender boundaries in any way, I perpetuated, explicitly and implicitly, a message of male dominance in my classroom practice.

Added to this, was the prevailing attitude that those of us who had been part of the former Edgewood College of Education were considered to be less than, by the academics from the former universities of Natal and Durban-Westville. I became integrally aware of academic politics and the power play between academics and how damaging this can be to an individual's sense of worth. Soon after I obtained my Master's Degree (cum laude) through Stellenbosch University, I found myself caught up in an unpleasant conflict with male senior academics at UKZN. As a result, I resolved not to register for my doctoral studies at this institution.

1.5. Marriage

1.5.1. First marriage (1985-1998)

My first marriage, at 25 years of age in 1985, was to an Englishman who would, I hoped, provide a marital home free of any form of gendered domination. This was not to be. When the marriage ended after 10 years (my former husband moved to Cape Town at the end of 1995 although the divorce was concluded in 1998), I was left on my own with two small children, the responsibility of selling our home and finding alternate more affordable accommodation. The assumption was that I would cope and that some natural, mothering instincts would help me to do so. This assumption invisibilised (cf. 2.2.1.2.) the multi-faceted role I played. Fortunately, I had a job, but making ends meet was not easy. For years, despite visits to maintenance courts, I received no maintenance in respect of the children, although the offending party still claimed a right to see the children whenever he chose to do so. This was a very difficult lived experience of gender discrimination. While maintenance courts called for the payment of maintenance, there was no follow up of offenders. By now I was lecturing at the Edgewood College of Education which, as I described previously, did little to foster gender equality. Too exhausted as a single, working mother, I did little practically, to challenge the master narrative of patriarchy, but in my 'society-of-mind' I negotiated a multiplicity of internal and external *I*-positions. The extent and strength of my 'identity capital' (cf. 2.4.1.) was such that I was only able to voice implicitly my 'counter-position' to male dominance. In my personal domain, however, I

practised a 'counter-position' to patriarchy by treating my daughter and son equally and teaching them to recognise gender discrimination.

1.5.2. In between marriages (1998 – 2002)

This period in my life made for a time of great reflection as I paused to look back over my life. In my dialogical-self I had to contend with a multiplicity of voices as I moved between different *I*-positions so as to work through feelings of inadequacy, desperation and anxiety. I internalised and assimilated the external position of the individual voice of my former husband, which led me to believe that the breakdown of our marriage was my fault, even though he had an extra-marital affair (cf. 4.2.4.). It was at this point that I experienced a 'rupture' (cf. 2.4.1.) with regard to the external position of my former husband. The other (my former husband) as part of me, became the other outside of me as I questioned the dissolution of the marriage, and came to the realisation that it was not my fault, but rather that it was my former husband's choice to have an affair. A period of transition followed this 'rupture' during which I renewed my gender identity and the other (my former husband) once again became part of me, but now holding a very different position in my 'society-of-mind', so that I could move on with my life, gathering up different facets of personal sense and collective meanings.

The extent of my 'identity capital' was strengthened by tangible resources such as the support of the church to which I belonged, and the support of family and friends. Intangible resources such as my faith, and the ability to reflect and negotiate my self-identity also served to strengthen my 'identity capital'. Drawing on this 'identity capital' I was able to renew my gender identity leading to personal gender identity transformation. I no longer felt 'invisibilised'.

1.5.3. Second Marriage (2002 – the present)

In 2002 I married my second husband, who is a widower. He is well educated and a committed Christian. Ours is a relationship of 'complementarity'⁸¹ and there is no sense in which I feel relegated to an inferior role or position within the marriage. On the contrary, I

⁸¹ A term used by Grudem (2004, 2002) to describe a pattern of Biblical equality in marriage.

have been, and continue to be, encouraged and supported in my academic pursuits, and my husband takes a keen interest in the progress I make.

In raising our children (my husband has two daughters from his former marriage and I have a son and a daughter from my former marriage) we have tried to encourage them to think through gender issues critically and empathetically and to resist and challenge the social and political dictates of a master narrative of patriarchy. We have seven grandchildren (the oldest are five years old), and as far as we possibly have influence, our intention is to try to ensure the same for them.

1.6. Religion and culture

A thread running throughout my self-narrative is my religion and my culture. My culture can be defined as that pertaining to an English-speaking, White South African, which, like all cultures, is constantly in a state of change. I place much store in my Christian faith which has sustained me through difficult times in my life and which has given me a sense of worth, dignity, courage and purpose.

I was not raised in a particularly religious home, although my parents did follow aspects of the Christian faith, but in a very nominal way. I became a committed, practising Christian in 1974. My direct exposure to Christianity has included, Catholicism, Anglicanism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, Pentecostalism and, from about the late 1980s, non-denominationalism. In these different church contexts, the issue of gender has been both explicitly and implicitly present. The dominant discourse about gender in Christianity is that the man is the head of the woman, supported by various Biblical texts, including Genesis 1 & 2, 1 Corinthians 11:3 and Ephesians 5: 22 -33 (The Holy Bible, 1978). These texts have been cited by men in the church to endorse patriarchy and male dominance in many ways, with women in different denominational contexts having fallen prey to this male hegemony and the gender discrimination which flows from it. I do not believe that this was ever the intention of the text. Over the past 16 years I have grappled with the Ephesians 5:22 passage which begins with the injunction: "Women submit to your husbands as to the Lord" (The Holy Bible, 1978). This passage would appear to stand in direct contradistinction to the human right to gender equality and appear to endorse patriarchy.

My research drew on the work of Pierce and Groothuis (2005, p. 16), who explain that within Christianity in particular, gender equality has been associated with terms including evangelical feminism, egalitarianism and biblical equality, or complementarity. Qualifying feminism as evangelical, is done so as to distinguish evangelical feminism from non-Christian liberal and secular feminism. The aim of evangelical feminism is to “be more supportive of a woman’s freedom and opportunity to serve alongside men in ministry and marriage” (Pierce & Groothuis, 2005, p. 16). This, in response to a traditional position which reflects the dominant tradition of the church, usually one of patriarchy, affirming male leadership and authority over women (cf. Pierce & Groothuis, 2005). An egalitarian approach to gender equality, by contrast, advocates that there is “no significant gender difference between men and women other than the anatomical” (Pierce & Groothuis, 2005, p. 16).

Biblical equality or complementarity draws on the Genesis 1: 27 (The Holy Bible, 1978) text: “So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them”, to illustrate that “men and women share equally...in being in the image of God” (Grudem, 2002, p. 20). This equality is further endorsed in the Bible including the following Scriptures: both men and women are filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts 2: 17 – 18); both men and women are baptized into membership of the Body of Christ (Acts 2:41); and both men and women received spiritual gifts for use in the life of the church (1 Corinthians 12:7, 11; 1 Peter 4:10).

Having settled therefore the issue of personal worth and value, I choose to marry the postmodern feminist position which I adopt in my study with my personal position as a committed Christian and this leads me to the place of Biblical Equality or ‘complementarity’ (Grudem, 2004, 2002; Pierce & Groothuis, 2005) which means that women and men are equal before God, identical in worth, but with specific, different strengths, teaming together in unity, each fulfilling different roles.

In marriage this translates into listening respectfully to each other’s viewpoints, valuing each other’s strengths and wisdom and honouring one another in private and in public. This position does not value men as better than women, nor permit husbands to act as

dictators, nor forbid women to have their own jobs outside the home, nor does it preclude women from being educated or owning property. This position does not regard women as inferior and it challenges any form of abuse and violence against women, including female infanticide, considering this behaviour to violate and deny the biblical truth of equality in the image of God (cf. Grudem, 2002).

My gender identity is in no way threatened by adopting this position of 'complementarity' which emphasises equality, difference and unity simultaneously. However, in the same way as Christ is the head of the church, His bride, I am submitted in my heart attitude to the "servant leadership" (Grudem, 2002, p. 24) of my husband.

2. My continuing self-narrative

As I reflect on my lived experiences, I have come to realise that the authors of any master narrative are those with the power to control. My 'society-of-self', namely my self-dialogue (to the internal audience of my 'society-of-mind') and my self-narrative (to an external audience) together, have helped me to fragment the master narrative of patriarchy, thereby undermining the power of male hegemony. Writing my self-narrative has been emancipatory and empowering, helping me to reflect upon and make sense of my life, past and present. My self-narrative plays a central role in the process of my gender identity formation which is found in the on-going story about myself. In my 'society-of-mind', I find agentic power by voicing explicitly, and practising, a 'counter-position' to gender discrimination in my personal, social and professional domains.

There have certainly been times in the past when I have uncritically accepted and endorsed the messages I have received from familial and cultural components of the master narrative of patriarchy. As a female there have been times when I have seen myself as less than the other (cf. 2.2.2.1.). In telling my story I am aware that there have been times when I have struggled with identity dissonance (cf. 2.2.1.1.) between my substantial and situational self (cf. 2.2.1.1.). By the time I was appointed to teach at a tertiary institution, I adopted a position of 'counter identification' (cf. 2.2.2.) by rejecting the dominant meaning ascribed to gender. My self-dialogue no longer classified me as a target (cf. 2.2.2.1.), but I stopped short of seeing myself as an agent of transformation. While

possibly encouraging changed attitudes, I made no significant impact in challenging male hegemony with the intention of bringing about transformation in society.

My gender identity was not made in a single moment, but rather is both historical and dynamic in that the transformation of my gender identity is an on-going project. Gender, for me, is about the meaning I attach to myself as a woman, based on a personal set of values, beliefs and assumptions that I have constructed through my self-narrative. I am very conscious that my gender identity is something which I am continually creating, recreating, reinforcing and re-empowering through everyday social intercourse.

As I engage in this study adopting a postmodern feminist position (cf. 3.3.2.), I realise that a degree of transformation has already taken place and that I have 'dis-identified' (cf. 2.2.2.) with cultural dominant meanings ascribed to gender. In rejecting the notion that there is only one way to be a woman, I have, drawing on my 'identity capital', through my self-narrative and self-dialogue, created the transformed gender identity with which I am currently comfortable. I am an identity subject and no longer the object of someone else's definition. I am no longer the target with regard to my gender identity and this spurs me on to explore and address gender discrimination across religious and cultural discourses.

I am aware that as I share my self-narrative with other women with whom I come into contact, be they female colleagues, walking partners, social friends or family members, 'linkages' are made between my story and theirs (cf. Perumal, 2012). There is the potential for these 'linkages' to build a collective gender identity which can challenge the status quo and enable individual women to exercise greater agency over their gender identity transformation as they redefine themselves.

As I address gender equality in the undergraduate and post graduate Life Orientation modules I teach, I am hopeful that my gender identity transformation will be transformative in my classroom praxis.

APPENDIX L



20 March 2013

I, Ms Cecilia van der Walt, hereby confirm that I took care of the editing of the thesis of Ms Janet Jarvis titled *FEMALE TEACHERS' RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND GENDER EQUALITY IN CLASSROOM PRACTICE*.

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