Towards a conceptual framework for analysing the gendered experiences of women in TVET leadership

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ABSTRACT

Gender inequalities handicap leadership structures in technical and vocational education and training (TVET) colleges in South Africa. TVET women leaders’ gendered experiences are, first, intrinsically connected to both a professional career in TVET and family roles – the two being mutually inclusive – and can, secondly, be linked to three career pathways, namely learning, acquiring and performing leadership roles. Based on the relevant literature, the authors present a conceptual framework where themes include: such women leaders’ demographically influenced experiences; the stages in becoming a leader; gender-related notions and challenges; leadership contexts; and strategies for managing gendered experiences. Based on Maritz’s business coaching model, the framework contends with factors that may influence the current lack of women in TVET leadership. This article raises gender-related issues that are relevant to the entire TVET college sector, including current and future leaders, decision-makers and policy developers.

KEYWORDS
TVET; technical and vocational education and training colleges; conceptual framework; gender inequality; gender transformation; women in leadership
Introduction

Although the notion of women’s participation in leadership has received substantial attention nationally and internationally, there is still a considerable way to go in advancing gender equality (O’Connell & Gavas, 2015), as women striving to become leaders continue to face gender discrimination and inequalities in the workplace (Dlamini, 2013). Gender quotas constitute one policy tool that has been designed to increase the representation of women in leadership (Foster, 2011; Pande & Ford, 2011; Dlamini, 2013). South Africa has formalised gender quotas to comply with its international commitments (RSA, 2013a). However, a census of the South African Businesswomen’s Association indicates that women are still under-represented in both private- and public-sector leadership positions (Oberholster, 2015). These findings are also true for educational leadership globally (Moltz, 2011; Walker, 2013).

As recently as June 2019, despite legislation and policy initiatives regarding gender equality, technical and vocational education and training (TVET) colleges in the South African public sector only had 17 women principals nationally out of a possible 50 such positions (DHET, 2019). Although there are currently three men and three women principals in the TVET colleges in the Western Cape province, for example, the ratio among the rest of the senior management staff (deputy principals, campus managers, academic heads, and portfolio managers) is still disproportionate in such individual colleges (for more details on the context, see Bonzet, 2017; Bonzet & Frick, 2019).

TVET colleges in South Africa have a history of drawing instructors from male-dominated sectors of industry; it is therefore not surprising to find men also predominating in TVET leadership positions. Thus, the Department of Higher Education and Training affirms that TVET college management should be transformed (DHET, 2017).

Moreover, Dlamini (2013) maintains that in-depth studies of South African women leaders’ life stories are deficient and that frameworks which enable the analysis of such stories are limited (Moodly & Toni, 2017). Contextually sensitive frameworks provide a point of departure against which future research in this area can be reflected. The studied literature on women leaders’ gendered experiences depicts frameworks that illustrate the relationship between gender and leadership – for instance, leadership approaches (Stout-Stewart, 2005), career pathways (Acker, 2012), environmental factors (Doubell & Struwig, 2013), barriers to women’s career progression (Walker, 2013), and intersectionality concerning race, gender and class (Dlamini, 2013). However, limited additional and/or relevant notions of leadership as it pertains to vocational education and training are covered in each of these existing frameworks. The purpose of this article is therefore to resolve the current lack of a coherent, contextually sensitive conceptual framework encompassing all of the above notions in a non-empirical manner by conceptualising gendered experiences in a vocational leadership context. We start the article by providing the methodology, followed by a context-sensitive, heuristic conceptual framework that addresses this current
gap in the South African TVET literature. We then proceed to unpack the different dimensions of the framework itself, which was developed through a conceptual analysis of the relevant literature as cited above. We conclude by challenging other researchers in the TVET field to use this framework as a point of departure to make sense of the current TVET leadership realities in South Africa.

Methodology

In attempting to encapsulate the gendered experiences of women leaders in public TVET colleges in South Africa, we conducted a Google Scholar search in January 2019 across disciplines to find relevant literature published in the period 2000 to 2019. Google Scholar was selected as the search engine for this study as it has a wide-ranging coverage and an advanced search function which can be used to delimit searches more accurately by keywords, authors, publications and time range. It allows for results that cover a wide variety of materials, including articles, books, book chapters and conference proceedings. Although we acknowledge that Google Scholar is not the only or a fully comprehensive search engine (no existing search engine is), it is one of the most wide-ranging search engines currently available. Since research related to gender and leadership cuts across disciplines and genres, it was important to use a search engine that includes an expansive range of literature, as is the case with Google Scholar. Even though Google Scholar includes so-called grey literature and does not provide criteria for what makes its results scholarly, we, as active researchers in the field studied, were able to judge the scholarly merit of sources presented to us during our searches. We excluded sources where the full text was not available in English and also non-peer-reviewed articles, although conference papers were taken into account. By using the search terms ‘TVET colleges’ AND ‘South Africa’ AND ‘educational leadership’, we retrieved a total of 53 sources. A further delimitation – AND ‘women/gender equity/gender transformation’ – reduced the retrieved sources to 20. Then we conducted another Google Scholar search using the search terms ‘TVET colleges’ AND ‘South Africa’ AND ‘women leaders’/‘female leaders’, but retrieved only six. Consequently, it was pointless to delimit any of the last two searches further to include only articles and books, because saturation had been established.

In total, 82 references were included in producing this article, but we had to use separate notions during our search and cast the net wider than South Africa and TVET to retrieve relevant sources. The selected texts were interpreted, focusing on excerpts that contained the terms ‘TVET’ / ‘vocational education’ / ‘higher education’ / ‘leadership’ / ‘gender equity’ / ‘gender transformation’ / ‘wom*n’ / ‘female’ / ‘feminine’ / ‘LGBTIQ’, the latter being an abbreviation representing lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer/questioning communities (Greenblatt, 2011). We employed an informal approach in the interpretative process (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2005). Contrary to other methods of text interpretation, the informal approach is not dependent on coding schedules, but is rather guided by the interpreter’s free and sensitive engagement with the text. In such an analytical approach, the authors’ positionality and reasons for undertaking a review such as the one presented here, need to be
clarified. We have approached this study from the position of both practitioner and researcher and build here on the interplay between empirical and non-empirical research. We have previously reported empirically on results from a narrative study conducted in the TVET sector (see Bonzet & Frick, 2019), but saw the need to extend our conceptual work further (which is what is presented here). Although we believe that many more, different types of research on gender and leadership in vocational education in the (South) African context are necessary, the work presented here adds to a small but growing body of scholarship in this area. What is more, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori (2005:870) argue that approaching texts informally is particularly applicable when analysing written texts. They explain further that

> [i]n many cases, qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis. By reading and rereading their empirical materials, they try to pin down their key themes and, thereby, to draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen.

In our case, the key themes entailed typical meanings of women in TVET college leadership and their gendered experiences as they appeared in the selected literature. These themes were then linked to multiple facets that influence women leaders’ experiences, including: such women leaders’ demographically influenced experiences; stages in becoming a leader; gender-related notions; challenges; leadership contexts; and strategies for managing gendered experiences. These facets or theoretical notions, and other relevant literature, informed our interpretation. As a result, a framework of six key links could be identified, as outlined below.

**Towards a conceptual framework**

Women are not a homogenous category and, furthermore, there are differences in race, age, and so on that influence the ways in which gender transformation in TVET colleges is experienced. In addition, the notion ‘gendered experiences’ could include transformation, discrimination, stereotyping, diversity management, intersectionality, and the LGBTIQ community. Owing to the extensive nature of the different experiences of women in leadership positions, less attention was paid to particular notions during the design of the conceptual framework (Bonzet, 2017). Based on Maritz’s (2013:7) business coaching model that provides a positive intervention in building and supporting management capability, the framework contends with factors that may influence the current lack of women in TVET leadership. Conceptualising women leaders’ experiences is multifaceted, and they are concretised in the framework presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 depicts the ways in which the gendered experiences of women leaders in public vocational education are intrinsically connected to both a professional career in TVET and family roles – the two being mutually inclusive. It also shows their experiences can be linked to three different career pathways. Thus, gendered experiences may be influenced by the way in which women balance their family roles and their professional careers. Also, these gendered
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Experiences could emerge at all three phases of their career paths, namely learning, acquiring and performing leadership. Lastly, experiences could be influenced by demographics, gender-related notions, challenges, and leadership processes and contexts. Furthermore, strategies and initiatives for advancing their careers are recommended. Although the proposed framework above pre-suggests possible outcomes, Walker (2013:107) maintains that the purpose of a heuristic framework is to postulate themes and trends to assist in producing findings. Saldana (2013:175) refers to ‘theming the data’ as part of the ‘codus operandi’ (Saldana, 2013:26) before the findings can be re-storied by means of a specific plot structure (Ollерenshaw & Creswell, 2002).

From the literature studied, it became clear that a gendered perspective on leadership is not easily established and that scholars differ in their conceptualisation of it. It may therefore require a closer consideration of what ‘gender’ itself may mean; gender as the first concept of the proposed theoretical framework will accordingly be discussed next. When conceptualising gender transformation, diversity management and intersectionality also need to be clarified, as these notions are closely related to the notion of gender. Then we conclude this section with an explanation of gender stereotyping.

Conceptualising gender

Nazar and Van der Heijden (2014) depict gender as a critical variable in career progression and an approach to work, yet there is often not conceptual clarity on what is meant by the term. Haque (2011) highlights two notions of gender: a sexual categorisation (focusing on the
biological human dissimilarity), and socially constructed gender. While Risman (2004) labels gender as a social structure (behavioural habit), Priola (2007) argues that social interactions imply gender (sexual type, masculine/feminine traits) and that cultural rules infuse gender. These varying conceptualisations have implications for the enactment of gender-based policies and practices in the workplace.

Gender, according to Priola (2007:29), defines the woman leader as ‘a specific gendered subject position by the contingently-determined context who is continually judged because of her gender’. Disputes among colleagues burden a women leader’s feminine subject position (perceived as soft/weak/emotional), while the male leader’s battles are believed to be determined by ‘objective’ (Priola, 2007:29) reasons owing to the masculine subject position being seen as powerful and related to logical and competitive dialogue. Haque (2011) puts gender in an analytical framework that helps us to denaturalise men or women and masculinity/femininity, seeing them as socially constructed (rather than by birth) and therefore different through time and place. Gender is therefore an interpretation of relations of dominance and marginalisation, and of hierarchy oppression as productive of gender identities, ideologies and practices. It follows that knowledge and experiences of being a man/woman as social practice are linked to power, which explains why Risman (2004:446) calls for the labelling of women as subordinates to be deconstructed.

However, beyond the binary sex–gender system with its perceptions of women and men, one needs to consider the notions of sex as male, female and a diversity of sexes, and gender as men, women and a diversity of genders (Strachan & Van Buskirk, 2011). Consequently, since the 1990s, the binary concept of sex and gender has steadily been reconceptualised. Gradually, it is acknowledged that, by birth, one can be born a male, female, or intersex, and one can grow into men, women, or members of the LGBTIQ community (Greenblatt, 2011). With this acknowledgement, it seems clear that the elimination of discrimination against women, specifically discrimination on the ground of the female sex and gender identity, is insufficient and should include sexual orientation. In doing so, it is important to take into account that the domination of heterosexuality creates different hierarchies of power within institutions.

From the literature studied, it is evident that gender refers to more than merely the biological difference between men and women. Gender concerns men, women, and members of the LGBTIQ community and, given the context of TVET in South Africa, may be a socially constructed notion of the masculine, feminine, or LGBTIQ community traits (Bonzet, 2017). Having dealt with gender as a concept, the need arises to explain gender transformation, diversity management and intersectionality too.

**Gender transformation in the South African TVET sector**

Transformation towards diversity became a key focus in South Africa after the advent of democracy in 1994 (Joubert & Martins, 2013). Besides the racial apartheid that had been entrenched since 1948, Dlamini (2013) points out that there were other entrenched constraints against diversity: for instance, all women were forbidden to buy property; married women lost
their permanent teaching positions; pregnant staff had to resign; and between males and females, married and unmarried, salaries were unequal. The Employment Equity Act (RSA, 1998) brought about some racial transformation, but the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill (RSA, 2013a) was passed only much later. The gender transformation process in TVET started with the passing of the Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges Amendment Act (RSA, 2012) and was formalised by the White Paper in 2013 (RSA, 2013b). These addressed, among other matters, gender inequality. Since then, TVET management has had to design, renew and submit a gender equity plan annually to their respective college councils for approval. Yet, according to Dlamini (2013), two decades after democracy, racial inequality still supersedes gender inequality, literature on gender is lacking, and gender transformation is still incorrectly monitored in terms of numbers only. Gender injustices furthermore differ from one structurally diverse group to another, such as geographical setting, parentage, gender, race, income and religion (Akala & Divala, 2016). Gender discrimination therefore latches on to the concepts ‘diversity management’ and ‘intersectionality’.

Diversity management and intersectionality
Diversity management involves recognising and managing individual differences (Gilbert, Stead & Ivancevich, 1999). Furthermore, diversity encompasses race, gender, culture, age, ethnic group, personality, tenure, organisational function, education, cognitive style and background. The interconnected nature of these social categorisations justifies the use of the notion ‘intersectionality’: the theory that the overlap of social identities contributes to the specific type of oppression or discrimination experienced by an individual where two or more are interdependent (Gilbert et al., 1999; Dlamini, 2013). Using gender as a unit of conceptualisation highlights the complexities and categorisations that women in TVET leadership positions contend with daily. Moreover, it is inevitable that categorisations are used in society, often making way for yet another gender-related notion, namely stereotyping.

Stereotyping
Fiske (1993) defines gender stereotypes as mental shortcuts by which people assign a distorted view of a person. People’s perceptions of women are often informed by stereotypical beliefs, such as the view that women are too emotional to handle leadership positions (Gouws & Kotzé, 2007). Thus, Diaz Garcia and Welter (2011) note that women have to escalate their performance constantly to be valued in a male-dominated environment such as the building industry – a notable component of the TVET college sector. For this reason, gender stereotyping often disadvantages women who aspire to achieve high-profile positions (Grant, 2012).

The gendered shaping of educational leadership is entwined with stereotyping (Doubell & Struwig, 2014). Lumby and Azaola (2014) state that men are believed to portray autonomy, whereas women are stereotyped as having caring traits which, thanks to stereotyping, are considered unfavourable to leadership success. Furthermore, Risman (2004) warns against gender-stereotypical labelling, such as women being regarded as subordinate to men. This form of power ranking nurtures stereotyping, while the stereotyping itself maintains power. According to Fiske (1993), stereotyping and power are mutually reinforcing: stereotyping itself suggests
control, upholding the status quo. As gender stereotypes are rooted in gender practice which supports the notion that leaders should be men (Diaz Garcia & Welter, 2011), by the time women become leaders they either intrinsically believe that power lies outside themselves (Debebe, 2011) or that they should perform like men (including any other stereotypical interpretation of masculinity) in order to be regarded as powerful (Wiley & Eskilson, 1985). On the other hand, stereotyping also restricts career progression for those men who display a different way of being that is not regarded as powerful or hypermasculine (Greenblatt, 2011).

The literature suggests that various gender-stereotypical views are assigned to leaders, which may affect the experiences of women leaders at TVET institutions and limit their career-progression opportunities more than those of their male counterparts. Furthermore, gender stereotyping often depicts women as lacking the very qualities commonly associated with effective leadership; therefore, in order to consider the narratives of TVET women leaders’ gendered experiences, leadership is conceptualised as the second notion of the proposed theoretical framework.

**Leadership: A gendered perspective**

Leadership is defined as a process in which a leader engages followers to share his or her vision and strategy, and to successfully implement and achieve the goals of that same vision (Gaunt, 2006). Robertson (2015) defines leadership as a set of behaviours that inspires followers. Leadership for Clarke (2009) is a unique demeanour when interacting with followers and entails, for example, skill, relations, change, contextual factors, dialogue, growth and interaction. These notions are encapsulated in the local community concept, ubuntu (from a Nguni proverb meaning ‘humanity to others’ or ‘a person is a person through other persons’ (Eze, 2008:388)). Thus, by adopting ubuntu leadership practices of mutual dependence, the ethic of African humanism is strengthened constantly (Khoza, 2012) and links to another South African leadership concept, Batho Pele, meaning ‘people first’ (Khoza, Du Toit & Roos, 2010:58). Therefore, just as leadership can be seen as a process that includes a leader, followers and a context influencing the leadership process, Pierce and Newstrom (2006) regard the leadership process as an interactive relationship between leader, follower and context, yielding a specific outcome. Robertson (2015) therefore argues that leaders at TVET colleges should adopt a shared-leadership approach in which leaders have a shared role of being both leader and follower, thus sharing power in support of the distributive leadership style. This exploration of some theoretical understandings of leadership now calls for a more contextual approach to leading, underpinned by gender diversity. The focus in the next part of this section is thus on leader traits and approaches with specific reference to the role of sex and gender in the leadership equation.

From a gendered perspective, if the leader is a woman in a male-dominated context (e.g. a TVET college campus with men lecturing in motor and diesel mechanics), the outcomes may be adverse, although, according to Lumby (2015), this is a complex issue with counter-
arguments that a woman’s accomplishments can outweigh adversity (e.g. a woman campus manager who previously owned a diesel-truck transport company). These examples illustrate that the relationship between gender and leadership can be complex, and the literature indicates that debatable views about gender and leadership exist. A few social scientists maintain that leadership styles are gender-specific (White & Özkanlı, 2010), but most have agreed that no specifically different behavioural patterns can be discerned in the leadership approach of women compared with men as leaders (Baril, Elbert, Mahar-Potter & Reavy, 2006). Yet, there are scholars, such as Booysen (2001) and Pierce and Newstrom (2006), who argue that leadership styles are gender-stereotypical. The implication is that women leaders’ traits are generally participative or intuitive as opposed to those of men (which are domineering and competitive). First, although controversial, Pierce and Newstrom (2006) note that scholars ascribe different leadership style preferences to men and women. Interpreting democratic (so-called women leaders’ preference) versus autocratic approaches (so-called male leaders’ preference), Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and Van Engen (2003) argue that followers are more irritated with women (as opposed to men) who focus on autocratic leadership approaches. In other words, women followers would rather tolerate autocratic men leaders than autocratic women leaders (Eagly et al., 2003). Secondly, Pierce and Newstrom (2006) state that different approaches might be caused by different gender traits, but could also be perceived as role requirements. Power imbalances influence conduct, which coerces women to revert to a rigid approach (Mauthner & Edwards, 2010). Furthermore, leading is affected by gender congeniality, shaping sex differences according to task style (Eagly & Johnson, 2006) – meaning that men become more task-oriented if the leading function is more male-friendly, whereas women are more task-oriented if the role is female-friendly. This would indicate that a relationship exists between gender diversity and context.

The literature indicates that some scholars offer a distinct view of gender and leadership, arguing that women and men may lead in different ways; other scholars maintain that demarcating leadership styles on the basis of gender alone is perhaps too simplistic and does not consider contextual variables, such as a woman leader on the campus of a male-dominated TVET college where engineering is the dominant discipline. In addition, different contexts call for different leader behaviours: one leadership approach simply does not attend to the needs of all followers, nor does it necessarily work for all situations in which leaders and followers find themselves. Thus, overgeneralising gender difference in leadership styles may be unwise, even though it seems to help clarify types of gendered expectations that may influence women in the leadership structures of TVET colleges. Women are still under-represented in this setting despite legislation and, although affirmative action has been embraced by most colleges, new appointments of women in the top structures may signify tokenism instead of significant leadership success on the part of a woman (Pande & Ford, 2011). Women’s experiences of their career journeys towards leadership are complex and often unforeseen, and they change as they progress. As gender imbalances still exist in the TVET sector, a further overview of the career paths of women leaders is warranted – yet another facet in our conceptual framework.
Career pathways: Experiences with gendered implications

Moorosi (2010) and Acker (2012) promote a strategically planned career route. Both found that women experience discrimination at different phases in their careers. Thus, Moorosi (2010) modified Van Eck, Volman and Vermeulen’s (1996:403) ‘management route model’, an analytical framework for gender concerns in educational leadership. Moorosi’s model identified three phases that educational leaders encounter during their career, namely anticipation, acquisition and performance. Initially, potential leaders equip themselves through furthering their postgraduate studies, attending workshops and participating in colloquial networks (anticipation). The second phase (acquisition) is typified by potential front-runners pursuing access into positions of leading. Regrettably, this is the phase categorised by high discrimination (Blackmore, 2013) and often sabotaged through unfair stereotyped selection criteria that withhold women from top positions (Moorosi, 2010). In the third (performance) phase, women are under-represented. And those who do attain a position of leadership may lack the networks and support systems that are often imperative to success in this phase (Moorosi, 2010).

In contrast to Moorosi’s (2010) interpretative approach using semi-structured interviews to identify the career phases, Acker (2012) presents her own encounters as president of a Canadian university, through a narrative approach. Like Moorosi (2010), Acker (2012) provides three frames of analysis: learning leadership, surviving organisations and performing leadership – all of them with gendered implications – to interpret her own story. To begin with, Acker (2012:412) explains how she gained leadership skills by incorporating the feminine inclination to care and share, which she refers to as ‘women’s ways’. Secondly, she explains surviving organisations as a phase in which the woman leader operates in an organisational culture where masculinity still permeates most of the leadership approaches. In this phase, she endures masculine hierarchies, the preservation of gender segregation, the marginalisation of women, and discrimination. Furthermore, workloads, domestic/family duties and intensified accountability may adversely impact on the woman leader. Acker (2012) highlights the notion of a glass ceiling and defines it as an unseen obstacle within a chain of command that precludes women from top leadership positions regardless of their abilities. Her last phase (performing leadership) expands on the gendered organisation approach, providing the metaphor of an actor ‘doing gender’ (Acker, 2012:423) in order to survive in the conventional masculinist leadership culture.

A theoretical understanding of a strategically planned career route which sheds light on the complexities that potential women leaders at TVET colleges may encounter on their way to top leadership positions may serve to change existing perceptions among the authorities concerned when drafting legislation in this sphere. From the literature it becomes more and more evident that gender transformation should not be legally recognised in terms of equal numbers only. The above conceptualisation of gender pathways confirms that the women who journey towards leadership positions may be influenced by challenges that are different from those of men, including personal, institutional and social dynamics (Moorosi, 2010). Suter (2006:95) talks
about ‘a complex interplay of factors operating at individual, interpersonal, organisational, and societal level’. The factors affecting the career journey therefore need to be clarified conceptually too, and this is therefore one of the central facets at the base of the proposed framework.

**Demographic factors influencing experiences: Biographical, cultural, organisational**

Hall (1997) posits that biography is key to understanding women leaders’ performances, which are rooted in childhood, educational and career experiences that cannot be separated from their gender identities. Furthermore, culture – explained as the intersection between race, gender, class and disability – and organisational demography play a role in the career progression of women leaders, which is the focus of the remainder of this section. To begin with, Doubell and Struwig’s (2014) research framework highlights biographical demographics that may influence the career pathways of women, such as their age and birth order, the gender of their siblings, their ethnicity, their and their parents’ education, as well as their marital status and the number and ages of their children. Although family obligations do not necessarily hinder career progression, Risper (2011) concurs that relocation does pose a problem to women leaders with children. Moreover, work–life balance becomes a problem if the dependants are under 13 years of age, or there are more than two siblings (Risper, 2011). In addition, dual-income families are becoming the norm, placing greater demands on women leaders who need to balance their work and family roles in the absence of family-friendly policies at many institutions (Suraj-Narayan, 2005).

Secondly, racial discrimination, violence against women and a patriarchal society plague the South African organisational culture by depriving women of leadership positions – often in subtle ways (Van Wyk, 2012). Cultural traditions (Maseko, 2013), disability, and generational perceptions (Dlamini, 2013) may furthermore privilege hypermasculine men (Maseko, 2013), and this partiality is often strengthened through affirmative action legislation in South Africa (RSA, 1998). Blackmore (2013) and McNae and Vali (2015) support the notion that ethnicity is still a debilitating factor for women when it comes to career progression. Blackmore (2013) affirms that the way gender, race, religion and class interact is not sufficiently highlighted in the mainstream educational leadership literature. This is also evident in Maritz’s (2013) model that was used as a basis for the conceptual framework presented in this study. As an intersectional approach was beyond the scope of the study that this article draws on (Bonzet, 2017), only limited attention was paid to these notions. However, this conceptualisation provides the basis for further work and critique that should bring a more intersectional analysis into prominence in the debate about gender and leadership.

Thirdly, research on organisational demography by Ely (1994) indicates that competitiveness and envy among women inhibit teamwork in male-dominated workplaces, while imbalanced job specifications, a lack of flexible working hours (Auster, 2001) and the absence of family-friendly policies, on-site day-care centres, care facilities for sick children, and support groups for employed parents (Suraj-Narayan, 2005) may further inhibit women’s career progression. The issue of gender inequality is universal in nature, with issues such as accessible, affordable
childcare which is needed before women can participate effectively politically and economically, remaining unresolved.

But, apart from the abovementioned demographical influences such as biography, culture and organisational demography, there is a dichotomy between the woman leader’s family roles and her professional career in TVET that might restrict her from obtaining top positions. Figure 1 depicts how the gendered experiences of women leaders in public vocational education are intrinsically connected to both a professional career in TVET and family roles – the two being mutually inclusive. Thus, gendered experiences may be influenced by the way in which women leaders in TVET colleges balance their family roles and their professional careers.

**Dichotomy between family roles and a professional career in TVET**

Globally, women express frustration regarding a twofold burden encountered in the leadership culture of educational institutions (White, 2003). Although all leaders face challenges (White, 2003), Diaz Garcia and Welte (2011) argue that many women who are in leadership positions may, in addition, be confronted with two conflicting discourses, namely:

- a professional career, and
- family roles.

Vinnicombe and Singh (2003) maintain that this twofold burden may restrain career progression. Also, work–family conflict and domestic duties after work may be detrimental to the woman leader’s health (Ng & Fosh, 2004). Suraj-Narayan’s (2005) study reports that these conflicting roles are linked more to leaders with a higher blood pressure than to those with lower job strain. Moreover, their workload could result in burnout, as Karanika-Murray, Bartholomew, Williams and Cox (2015) explain. Women often face discrimination; as a result, they tend to develop more coping skills than men (Eagly et al., 2003), which, in turn, may coerce them to work even harder (Risper, 2011). Women may end up lecturing (rather than leading), given the possible leeway it may provide to combine work and raise children (Hall, 1996). Because in-depth studies of South African women leaders’ life stories are limited and women remain under-represented in leadership positions at TVET colleges, the twofold burden of family roles and a professional career in TVET might not be the only reason why there is a dearth of women in top leadership positions. For this reason, *challenges* – another notion in the proposed conceptual framework – may affect the career progression of women in leadership, and they are therefore explored next.

**Career-progression challenges of aspirant women leaders**

Walker (2013) lists the following as barriers to women’s career progression: sexism, isolation, racism, lack of role models, long working hours, role-identity transformation, lack of self-belief and tokenism. Nieman and Nieuwenhuizen’s (2014) list includes limited assistance, negativity towards cultural or ethnicity differences, individual adversities and a lack of funding (for the
necessary postgraduate studies). Moreover, Pande and Ford (2011) argue that, with the limited availability of leadership opportunities, many working women are reluctant to fund their own (often costly) postgraduate studies – even more so in South Africa, where free education is currently demanded by and earmarked mostly for members of the formerly disadvantaged communities and only for full-time students at the undergraduate levels of study. In addition, Walker (2013) avers that TVET college portfolio managers in marketing, finance, student support, and human resources have reached the so-called glass ceiling and battle to obtain (the next level of) promotion as campus managers or deputy principals because they are not seen as TVET curriculum specialists.

Eagly et al. (2003) note that double standards may produce highly skilled women, but that men tend to undermine them, whether through gatekeeping on appointment committee panels or subjecting them to intense scrutiny after they have been appointed (McNae & Vali, 2015). Priola (2007:21) explains that the ‘maintenance of masculine practices is associated with downplaying women’s achievements’. Women also act as gatekeepers themselves, protecting their own positions (McNae & Vali, 2015). Moreover, women’s leadership behaviour is not evaluated equally with that of men and prejudice has a negative effect on promotion, a notion Van Zyl (2009:32) calls the ‘PHD (pull-him/her-down) syndrome’, with those women who attain higher positions being the victims of this syndrome. The over-manipulative (man or woman) transactional leader’s compliance-based influence approach is in a way related to this so-called PHD syndrome. Kanungo and Mendonca (1996:73) explain:

[T]he near destruction of the followers’ self-esteem for the benefit of the leader makes the transactional influence process highly offensive to the dignity of people; therefore, it cannot be considered to be an ethical social influence process.

This ruining of an individual’s self-belief leads to yet more barriers – self-doubt about leadership talents and a loss of ambition due to a lack of peer support and backing from seniors (Walker, 2013).

Eagly et al. (2003) believe that the gap between competent women leaders and the dearth of women leaders in top roles suggests that behaviour which fosters or impedes promotion should be scrutinised by researchers. Kent and Moss (2006) found a growing tendency to accept women as leaders and argue that challenges restricting women appear to be declining steadily. Conversely, the rest of the literature indicates that insufficient progress regarding gender transformation is being made in terms of gender stereotyping, subtle (man-to-woman and woman-to-woman) discrimination and other gender-related challenges. This lack of progress is disturbing and could be the reason why competent, potential women leaders in the TVET college sector surrender and/or even leave the sector. This study therefore needs to consider yet another facet of the conceptual framework, namely gender transformation initiatives, and also the development needs and support that women consider they require to advance their careers effectively.
Gender transformation strategies and initiatives for advancing women’s careers

The clear proof of the under-representation of women leaders at TVET colleges in South Africa means that gender transformation and developmental support are needed for them to progress to senior positions. Through legislation, the government is key in introducing equality initiatives. These have been well timed for TVET colleges, as Dlamini (2013) states that progress made in the private sector is much slower. Yet, research shows that there are more ways – strategies and initiatives – to address transformation, which is the focus of the remainder of this section.

At the leadership level, both Tessens, Web and White (2011) and Dlamini (2013) identify ways through which to promote equity: the roles of government, the workplace (mentorship, leadership, and organisational culture, structure and policies), household support, society at large, and the woman’s role in her own development. Walker (2013) adds self-belief, career planning and professional networks in order to inspire women on their career journey. As the government’s gender transformation initiatives were described above, the focus now shifts to the role of the workplace.

First, Booysen (2001) solicits all-inclusiveness in equity initiatives, ultimately achieving an organisational culture that values diversity. Tessens et al. (2011) suggest a restructuring of working terms and workloads regardless of gender and raise the gendering of academics (only men receive support, resources or recognition) as a phenomenon to be eliminated. White (2003) recommends diversity management courses to boost the participation of senior women in higher education. Furthermore, developing individual women through mentoring (Doubell & Struwig, 2013), adapting the promotion process to eliminate apparent bias (White & Özkanlı, 2010), and specifying transparent advancement procedures (Agocs & Burr, 1996) may be additional ways in which to advance women’s careers.

Secondly, household support is key in women’s career progression (Tessens et al., 2011). This includes safety measures to reduce stress factors, such as the risk of being hijacked after late meetings (Suraj-Narayan, 2005). TVET college campuses in South Africa are often geographically far apart, and women leaders frequently have to return college vehicles to their respective campuses or the central office after dark. This has to be an untenable position for women, and one that should be reconsidered for its discriminatory nature. In addition, Hoyt (2010), Doubell and Struwig (2013), Hacifazlioğlu (2010) and White and Özkanlı (2010) stress the importance of sharing domestic and caregiving duties with spouses: for instance, children’s lifts to and from school to reduce anxiety about home-related matters while at work.

Thirdly, Dlamini (2013) advises that society should be sensitised to gender transformation initiatives. Haque (2011) avers that equality may be realised if social transformation (via recognition, justice or redistribution) and women’s full participation in the labour force (via no discrimination or violence against women and equal empowerment), underpinned by education and raising consciousness levels (via political parties, the media, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the government, and family support), are all encouraged.
Fourthly, as qualifications may influence women’s career progression, aspiring women leaders at TVET colleges should be encouraged to invest in postgraduate studies, as funding from government is not readily available for master’s and doctoral degrees (Pande & Ford, 2011). In agreement with White (2003), Tessens et al. (2011) propose women-only programmes that focus on people management, political, personal or operational career development, and executive skills. Likewise, according to Walker (2013) and Vinnicombe and Singh (2003), high-achieving women mention self-belief and career planning as having influenced their careers positively. Georgopolos (2014) avers that multicultural capacity-building leadership courses for women may improve their self-belief.

Finally, Tessens et al. (2011) regard peer support and networking as being key to women’s development. Pande and Ford (2011) and Lumby and Azaola (2014) agree, as networking connects leaders to influential members of organisations. Supportive professional networks provide a countermeasure to the male-dominated leadership cadre (Davidson, 1997; Marbley, Wong, Santos-Hatchett, Pratt & Jaddo, 2011). The women presidents of Harvard University, Brown University and the University of Pennsylvania in the United States advise women, as part of their career planning, to join influential committees, take risks, be self-assured and make their presence felt in meetings (Moltz, 2011).

The literature highlights ways of dealing with gender transformation that may enhance the progress of women leaders at TVET colleges to senior positions in the sector and prevent them from leaving prematurely. Yet, although it seems as if sufficient strategies are provided to deal with gender transformation to counteract gender discrimination, there is insufficient evidence to show that legislation has succeeded in equipping respondents with strategies to deal effectively with such discrimination.

In closing, defining gender, providing a gendered perspective on leadership, and discussing career pathways with all their challenges and initiatives to overcome these challenges have made it possible to produce a contextually sensitive framework and establish a point of departure against which future research in this area can be reflected.

**Conclusion**

Some progress has been made regarding gender equity, but gender stereotyping and subtle forms of discrimination still prevail in the TVET sector. From a study of the literature surveyed here, it was determined that there is certainly wide scope for developing a holistic conceptual framework that will support the range of gendered experiences of women leaders at TVET colleges. Matters of gender, power, educational leadership, micro-political positioning and individual life experiences make the story unpredictable and uneasy. All the varying and conflicting intersectionalities and unconventional behaviour of stakeholders complicate the reasoning behind what is at issue when women leaders decide to leave the sector prematurely or abandon top leadership positions. Adopting the holistic framework in the reported study and looking through a series of lenses will therefore deepen our understanding of the gendered
experiences of women in academic leadership as long as we acknowledge that each individual perspective – including those of the researcher and the reader – is necessarily imperfect. Through reflection, a fuller appreciation of the complexities and difficulties of transformation can be developed. Regarding the broader significance of this article, a great deal remains to be done; it should therefore serve as a point of departure in addressing all-inclusive gender transformation, to the advantage of both women and men in TVET college leadership positions.

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