SUCCESS FOR WOMEN: A CRITIQUE OF THE LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT *Why should an educator care at all about what success is? The issue is that whatever we may think as teachers, we still teach our pupils to work towards something. That is, we seem to have a long-standing commitment to helping students develop their potential and to achieve success. As teachers our educative philosophy seems to be that we are trying to teach people to fulfil their potential, towards this something called success. But, this 'thing' is a very vague and nebulous concept that many educators really don't know what they are teaching towards. In this paper I am going to suggest what success means but most particularly how it is different and more difficult for women. I believe there is a need for educators to know what they are ultimately teaching towards. This paper also challenges the reader to consider the impact of their understanding of the word success and how the associated assumptions impact on teaching practice.*

INTRODUCTION

In 1997 it would seem that there is theoretically no longer the need for women to be anything but equal with men. However, cultural, historical and economic influences still have an impact on the attitudes and expectations of both sexes (Apter, 1985; Roland & Harris, 1979). Apter goes on to suggest that the dominant expectation for women still tends to see them as dependent, home orientated, emotional and susceptible to influence. In fact the social environment of a society still has a strong influence on the success potential of their women (Harris, 1993). As teachers we have a very important part to play in that social environment.

Success for women can be complex, strained, tenuous and influenced by many factors. These factors need to be fully explained by referring to the literature. In defining success for women, a clearer understanding should be reached of what the significance of success is for this gender and by what criteria it is achieved. Through the literature I intend to demonstrate the meaning of success for women in today's world. Teachers might also consider the influence that concept could have on their teaching in the classroom and beyond.

In this paper I will first explain my understanding of the concept of success, then look at what affects success for women, as well as the characteristics of their success. Because the literature is to some extent inadequate, particularly in the 1990s, I will also critique my findings.

UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF SUCCESS

It is worth noting that in various sociological and psychological dictionaries, the word 'success' is not specifically defined but 'achievement' is. Very often the two words are used interchangably in everyday conversation.

The *Dictionary of Sociology* defines achievement as the successful accomplishment of, or performance in, a socially defined task or goal (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988). This dictionary does not define the term success.

In today's society, achievement is usually measured by examination or performance against a set of criteria that will recruit, select or evaluate as is seen to be appropriate for an individual (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988). Such issues tend to relate to social stratification according to such factors as race and sex. However, success could be seen as the completion of the achievement. Harris (1993) suggests that success is becoming committed to a goal and then completing it.

Achievement motivation is another term that is relevant in the context of this paper because success is usually seen to be the end product of the motivational goal. According to traditional views, if motivation is not there to drive the performance, in whatever the endeavour, success is not achieved. Success results from the desire to achieve and there can be no success without the desire. Achievement motivation is explained as the need to perform well or the striving for success and evidenced by persistence and effort in the face of difficulties. It is regarded as a central human motivation (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988). From research and theory, Faver (1984) defines the concept of achievement motivation as "a concern for attaining excellence, whatever the behavioural domain" (p. 11).

The word success means different things to different people as it relates to different situations, different cultures and different time expectations. Success can not be achieved without achievement and achievement motivation being present. It is relevant that what one person might consider is success, might not meet the criteria of another person. This concept is often evident in the classroom. For the purposes of this paper, achievements will be regarded as the individual elements that make up success. My focus is on success which is the end product of the achievement. Is this, as teachers, what we are striving for in our pupils?

In order to understand success, it is important to recognise that success for men and women is only relative to the effort that it takes for them to achieve it. However for women there are many barriers to their success which include the changing contexts that affect their lives. Before I look at success for women, these contexts which affect their success need to be considered.

THE CHANGING CONTEXTS THAT AFFECT SUCCESS FOR WOMEN

Success means different things in different contexts, and for women over the years, factors affecting their success have shifted and changed. It is by considering the influence of patriarchy and the changing social roles and expectations for women that these changes can be understood.

Patriarchal Influences and Social Expectations

There is the suggestion that women have been subordinate to men because "men impregnate and women menstruate, gestate and lactate" (Kreuger, 1984, p. 5). It was the latter two activities that have made women less mobile and more sedentary than men in the past. Women's nurturing roles focussed on domestic duties and child rearing which encouraged dependency on the male who was the hunter, fighter and protector (Apter, 1985). It is supposedly from these biological roots that men have taken a dominant role. It is also this role that is still being seen in our classrooms and in our teaching resources (Hunter,1 993; Wort, 1995).

Success, as it has been discussed, has been very much influenced by men or the patriarchal perspective. Considering that men have been responsible for setting the standards, codes and rules over the centuries for the church, the governing bodies, the education system, the media and even the social system, women have had little recognised influence or input (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). Throughout history, men have dictated what possessions have been of value to them; men were the gender to achieve occupational or professional status and so they set the rules of how to get these; men were the ones to have been acknowledged for their success in an activity and men usually held the positions of power and status.

According to Ellis and Wheeler (1991) women have had to overcome the subtle but influential dictates of the patriarchal system to achieve success. These authors believe that otherwise their success has been on men's terms. These dictates included the social expectations that have been placed upon women, the expected role of women and the issues that have an influence and impact on success for women. Patriarchy is therefore an element which makes success more difficult for women. It must be remembered that these influences are not the only ones affecting women's success, but they are of major significance.

Clearly, given the above, success for women tends to be seen as different and more difficult than it is for men. To achieve success, many women need to overcome the patriarchal influences and consequently change their social expectations and roles. As teachers, are we still influenced by this patriarchal perspective as we educate the women of the future?

However, before looking at these changes that have occurred for women it is necessary to look at what has been their expected social role, first from an historical perspective, then at how childhood influences could have affected them, and also how these roles change as women progress through their life stages.

Historical Influences

Until the last two decades or so, the expectations for the ideal woman in the western world was for her to be submissive, dependent and passive (Harris, 1993) or low-keyed, underplayed, essentially private and not acknowledged (Monopoli in McIlroy, 1993).

The subtle absorption of this lesson about women's place in society is aptly explained in Ellis and Wheeler's (1991) suggestion that, "Our role is to wait until asked, to dance backwards, on a course set by others" (p. 1).

Although Ellis and Wheeler (1991) also acknowledged that these may not be the expected cultural norms of the New Zealand women of today, it may be that these negative expectations have had an influence and they are hidden issues still affecting the decisions and activities of many women. Again the question must be asked, do these influences continue to affect the way we teach our students?

At the conclusion of World War II, paid employment continued as part of the lives of many women (Faver,1984). This began a new phase in the social change of women's expected roles. However, for women of today, the nurturing 'role' has still not completely disappeared. Many women, indeed, perform both the "nurturing" role as well as the "career" or "breadwinner" role which often causes stress when the roles conflict (Vander Zanden, 1993; Livingston Booth, 1988).

Childhood Influences

As discussed above, historical influences of societies play a big part in influencing expectations of success for women, but a woman's childhood also has an influence on her expectations for her future, the goals she might set herself and the expectation from her teachers of her performance at school.

As Faver (1984) and Ellis and Wheeler (1991) suggest, for many women, role models can set a focus and direction of expected future achievement. Whether these role models are recognised during childhood or adolescence or adulthood, they illustrate for the future achievers that others have been successful and have overcome the hurdles that might have blocked their way. There are still few women in positions of responsibility, such as principals in schools today, to provide such role models.

It is not just the adult female who has been expected to play roles as a woman throughout the generations. Kreuger argues that girls also have limitations and expectations put on them as they are growing up which influences their expectations for achievement and success as women. Gender role attitudes and the behaviour of their parents towards them have been shown to affect their daughters' achievements. This includes their educational aspirations and eventual adult attainment (Faver, 1984).

Boys have generally been encouraged to be free and independent, to take on personal responsibility and independence early, to be self- reliant, competitive and high achievers, and to take physical punishment if it is warranted. These are all considered useful skills that will be used to help them to achieve the expected role of an adult male (Kreuger, 1984).

On the other hand, many girls have had a tradition of home-bound activities that have encouraged and involved warmth, nurturing and gentleness, physical closeness, obedience, responsibility, close supervision of their activities with little freedom, and no physical punishment. These childhood activities are experiences that may not have helped women to cope and compete in the demands of career, profession or business (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). Again I ask, are we, as teachers, changing our expectations of the behaviour of the girls we educate?

The Changing Expectations at Life Stages

Not only have there been the changes over time, but also for individual women, their expectations of success change as they pass through the various stages of their lives (Faver, 1984). Faver suggests that many women may be more motivated to achieve in the recognised traditional women's roles than in intellectual pursuits. She suggests that achievement in the areas of affiliation and social skills can also be recognised areas of success. However, these roles can also change over a lifetime.

Most women pass through stages in their lives, from their basic schooling to career training or employment, to seeking a partner and establishing a relationship, to motherhood, or opting not to have children. Then as their children mature and leave home, options of the freedom years in adult maturity arrive and these changing roles reflect different needs and expectations for success and achievement (Faver, 1984). The suggestion that the "power over the timing and sequencing of one's roles may be a key to mental well-being " (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991, p.31) could reflect success criteria for some women over the various stages of their lives.

To this point, success has been acknowledged as relating to occupational or professional accomplishment or recognised status and control. However, the ways of achieving success and the expectations of success for many women are often seen as being more difficult and different from that accepted for men. Patriarchy and the women's changing social roles and expectations have tended to act as barriers and hurdles to the many women who have set their goals to achieve in some area.

Many women have, indeed, overcome these hurdles and achieved success for themselves in the business and professional world. Women's skills or 'feminine qualities', their aspirations, aims and ambitions also help to play a large part in determining their future successes in their careers in the business sector, and towards achieving a real equality of opportunity for all in the years ahead (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991).

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESS FOR WOMEN

It was mentioned above that success is different and more difficult for women. However, there is one major area that only women can claim as a success, and that is in the traditional motherhood role and thus it will be addressed first in this discussion. Even this focus is changing, however, as some men are now opting to be househusbands. It is also important to recognise that there are areas of success that are important to both men and women to achieve. These parallel areas include success in relationships, careers and to a lesser extent material possessions, fame and charitable involvement. However, women's successes in these areas continue to be different from those of men.

Motherhood as a Success for Women

Whether as a traditional nurturing mother, or as a career woman, motherhood is still considered by most women to be one of the most satisfying and successful ventures that a female can undertake (Faver, 1984 ; Kreuger, 1984).

Motherhood has been described as "every woman's true destiny, her primary goal in life and her sole means of achieving fulfilment as a human being" (O'Connell, 1994, p.20), whereas fatherhood does not get this same kind of recognition (Apter, 1985). The patriarchally defined social expectation for men is more focussed on career than fatherhood. However the social expectation for women is still for them to have the nest-building instinct and the desire to procreate (Livingston Booth, 1988). As mothers most women are expected to be the nurturer, primary caregiver and to provide the emotional support to their children (Nicholls, 1993). In almost every society, women are the principal carers of children and in many societies, motherhood ensures an important recognition of social status and personal achievement (O'Connell, 1994; Faver, 1984).

Women's success at motherhood does not come naturally, however. Men have left the mothering role to women because they have traditionally had the power and control to do so (Livingston Booth, 1988; Higginson & Quick, 1980; Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989). Even so, some men still have the power of decisions over women in this area. Ellis and Wheeler (1991) found that 34% of male managers agreed with the statement "If economically possible, a mother should not work until the children are of school age" (p. 81). Where some women might feel that they have the ability to be both a success as a mother as well as being part of the workforce, this finding suggests that many men still feel that women should remain at home. Men still have the power to control this and hinder many women's opportunities of other kinds of success by preventing them from getting back into the workforce. Some other ways that men can hinder women's re-employment are by not providing creches, or by not being understanding to women when their children require extra support during their mother's work hours (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991).

Ellis and Wheeler (1991) go on to say that unfortunately for the women who remain at home looking after their children, the motherhood role requires many sacrifices and receives low status. Many women feel insecure and defensive about their lifestyle if homemaking is their chosen career, as our patriarchally dominated society tends to undervalue the important role of motherhood (Kerr, 1985). As Apter writes "The tragedy of motherhood is that it is not a sacrifice for nothing, but an unnecessary sacrifice for something of overwhelming value" (p. 136). For many women, success for them can be balancing the demands of their job and the needs of their children with a compatible relationship (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991).

There are few guidelines for women as to their value and use as mothers (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). For many women who are in the work force, it is recognised that they often find time for their children by forgoing more demanding jobs, working part-time or eliminating personal leisure time (Apter, 1985). It is usually the woman and not the man who is most affected by the juggling of two careers in a two parent family situation (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). It is the woman and not the man who takes time off work or other activities when

children are sick (O'Connell, 1994) and it is the woman rather than the man who pays the higher price as a result (Kreuger, 1984).

When a mother works in paid employment and before a child is of school age, the many choices about organising child-care are usually her responsibility (Spurlock & Robinowitz, 1990). There are concerns relating to the benefit or harm that being put into care can do for the child, what the best age is for this to occur, and the quality of the child care. However, if the child is happy and well, the mother can have a much more uninterrupted path to achievement and success in paid employment than if the care is inappropriate and she has to put time into dealing with these negative outcomes (Roland & Harris, 1979).

For women who were in successful careers, Apter (1985) found that their response to motherhood tended to be in one of the following ways after the birth of the child. They felt that they were compelled to prove themselves as soon as their baby was born, or they happily reordered their priorities, or they gave up work because they were unexpectedly satisfied with their children, or in some cases these new mothers were confused, depressed and anxious at their feelings and changed emphasis (Hare Mustin in Travis, 1990). In my own experience, there is often a combination of all of these feelings.

In summary, motherhood is valued to differing degrees depending on the particular society. For New Zealand women, success in motherhood tends to be the ability to handle parenting tensions and problems associated with other career issues, with competence. Success in motherhood relates to a woman's ability to nurture, encourage, and emotionally support her offspring until that child becomes independent. It appears that for many women their success in motherhood often comes at the cost of personal sacrifice and in conflict with their potential success in careers.

Relationships as Success for Women

Success can include the achievement of a compatible partnership with another person, whether in a heterosexual or lesbian relationship. For the remainder of this discussion, the former relationship will usually be referred to. However it is important to remember that the issues usually apply to any relationship, whether it involves a woman and man or two women. The rest of this discussion will consider personal relationships as success and indicate where this is different for women.

Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber (1989) suggest that although seldom mentioned openly, one of the indicators of success can be reflected in the power and influence that society also accords the spouse (i.e. the woman's partner). This can be a kind of reflected glory or lack of it when, if a woman marries a man of potential status, this can be considered a successful move on her part. Even before marriage, early dating is one of the areas where many young girls are considered to have achieved a kind of social success (Bardwick in Rousso, in Fine & Asch, 1989).

Keeping an enduring, happy relationship is still regarded as being a very important feature in most women's lives, because it offers one of the major opportunities for personal growth and the intimacy of emotional equality (Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989). It does appear that being in a relationship will continue to be regarded as a criterion of interpersonal success for women,

especially if the marriage appears compatible (Faver, 1984). In fact, Faver suggests that in the USA marriage could be regarded as a central achievement for women as it still is seen as being the simplest route to financial support and security. It may be that many New Zealand women also view marriage as a successful achievement. It could also be that this perception is constructed by the patriarchal influence on society which still views marriage in that way for women. When teaching about sexuality and related issues, how this role is portrayed for women in classrooms id og inyrtrdy.

For women, success in relationships is particularly difficult. In modern times Vannoy-Hiller notes that success at work appears to diminish a woman's chances of a successful marriage.   This is because of the battle that occurs within many women between their love and their work and the expectation that taking care of the couple is still usually regarded as the woman's job (Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989). For a successful and enduring marriage, their research has suggested that the role expectations of the partner's needs needs to have been discussed, that competition does not occur between the partners and that the balance of costs and rewards within the marriage are equal.

Careers as Success for Women

The changing role of women over the ages has had the greatest impact on the previously limited expectations for their success in occupational or professional accomplishment. Women are gaining more opportunities to prove their abilities (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). However, it is still difficult for many women to achieve successes in their careers.

Neville, cited in Ellis and Wheeler, found in her research that for women to be successful and career focussed, they usually needed to remain single or have very supportive husbands, remain childless or reenter the work force promptly after childbearing, face 'going it alone' and deal with loneliness, stereotyping, loss of leisure, and have fewer holidays or be 'very bright' (Davidson, 1985; Ellis & Wheeler, 1991; Kerr, 1991).

Success is Relative

Success for women in their careers is relative to the effort it takes to achieve it. As Ellis and Wheeler (1991) acknowledged, this is because women have to overcome barriers such as the power that men have established in the business world and the influences and expectations of society for their role as women. Success for women means absolutely nothing unless we understand the level of these barriers and the difficulty these barriers impose on women attempting to advance their careers.

These barriers can be grouped into those relating to the responsibilities of motherhood, patriarchy and society, the lack of career expectations or opportunities, and the blocks that can be in their way to gaining success. The strategies that some women have used to help them achieve success are now presented.

Many women combine the responsibilities of motherhood and work. They re-enter the workforce and use their skills to move into positions of authority and

responsibility even after having spent some years out of the workforce child-rearing (Vander Zanden, 1993). Others spend fewer years out of the workforce by putting their preschool age children into child care, overcoming the limited access or lack of access to child-care facilities (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). Because of time taken out for child rearing, other women use broken service to develop other skills (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991). In some cases women choose to transfer for promotional reasons despite the difficulties involved, such as moving partners who have their own career commitments and interrupting children's schooling (Davidson, 1985; Higginson & Quick, 1980).

Other successful women manage to handle the issues relating to the influence of men and society's expectations. They manage to overcome feelings of guilt when using a care giver or house keeper, (Livingston Booth, 1988) even though, according to Apter (1985), there is still a lot of subtle social pressure from the patriarchal influences for women to put their nurturing role ahead of their career goals.

Some successful women have managed to gain promotion and advancement by bypassing the "old boys' network" which acts in a supportive way for men, but does not exist as a type of support for women (Ellis & Wheeler, 1991; Fine & Asch, 1989). Through their own skills, some women have overcome the block of the hypothetical "glass ceiling" which limits the majority of women getting past middle management positions (Kerr, 1991). Are these hypothetical blocks being established and reinforced in classroom politics?

Both Apter (1985) and Kreuger (1984) suggest that successful career women have dealt with shifting role expectations by overcoming the fear of success, relating to the consequences that occur and the feelings that many women have when they have found that they are becoming successful. They also suggest that they have overcome their fears of losing their sexual identity and attractiveness to men, and of not wanting the label of success. Also, they have not stayed in the background, which some women choose because it guarantees their safety and does not reveal their supposed weaknesses and inadequacies. Alton-Lee, Densem and Nuthall (1990) found in their research that many girls were not confident and did not strive for success in their classrooms, especially when boys were present.

Davidson (1985) and Higginson and Quick (1980) commented that some women are positive about career expectations and can juggle the high level of stress involved as they successfully combine two jobs, that of career woman with that of home executive. Apter (1985), Ellis and Wheeler (1991), Kreuger (1984) and Livingston Booth (1988), also commented that these women tend to deal with the issues of being seen as "super women", which occurs when some women try to be perfect mothers as well as successes in their working lives. They also suggested that these career women do not feel unreasonably anxious when making appropriately assertive and responsible decisions and do not put their own abilities down.

Ellis and Wheeler (1991) found that some successful women use opportunities to restore their loss of confidence, when they had some time out of the work force, by attending motivation and confidence workshops and other similar activities. They found that positive business women who are achievers began their occupation by thinking of their work as a career rather than just an income. When these women became managers they continued to "look upward"

and aim for future promotions. Higginson and Quick (1980) also found that they set down specific career goals which they work towards. In equity issues, these women positively channel any resentment over discrimination by using assertive action.

These are some of the strategies that women use so that they can achieve and be successful in their chosen career or professional achievement. As can be seen, for women to be successful in careers, they require sacrifices, determination, focus and goal setting. For women to have success in careers, they need to use career opportunities as they arise, handle the issues associated with motherhood, overcome the patriarchal influences, make assertive decisions, work towards their career goals as well as aim for future promotions. Are such survival skills taught to girls in classrooms so that they have these expectations of leadership and responsibility in their future careers?

Additional Issues that are Valued as Successes by Some

The literature shows that there are additional issues that are valued as successes, i including having material possessions, receiving public acknowledgement and being involved in charitable work.

Success can mean the possession of articles that are of some recognised value. This wealth can be transitory depending on the situation of each individual. In financial terms, it is comparable to the norms of that particular culture in society. Forbes (1935) found that in one South African tribe, the wealth of the chief depends on the number of rings around his wives' necks. In New Zealand, assumptions of an individual's wealth are often made from the size of their house, the type of car they drive and whether they live in the 'right' socio-economic area. Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber (1989) suggested that the achievement of much wealth in America also has a social recognition and status, definitely regarded as meeting a criterion of success. There are many similarities that New Zealand has with the USA, so that acquiring wealth might also be regarded as a type of success here, too.

Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber (1989) go on to comment that success for women with respect to material possessions might relate to what each woman values for herself. They also suggest that the power and influence recognised by society in a spouse might also include the possessions that a person might own. Material possessions can also include owning a home or a vehicle or having financial security. Having these at a socially acknowledged level is seen as meeting some success criteria.

Success tends to relate to the recognition an individual gets from some particular action or activity that is recognised as being outstanding in some way. This 'fame' can range from a very local perspective such as playing in a local sports team, to representing New Zealand overseas in a sports activity, or international recognition as an opera star.

Another way that some people achieve success is from recognition of their willingness and dedication to give of themselves to help others in some kind of need, through charitable or unpaid involvement in the community. An example of a woman who has received this kind of recognition is Mother Teresa, for her charitable work among the poor of India and Ethiopia.

Women who have given of themselves for charity in New Zealand were acknowledged by Ehrhardt (1993). In her book *Women and Welfare Work*, she recognised the achievements of fourteen New Zealand women in their welfare roles over the past one hundred years. She also acknowledges the dedication and commitment that these women had to create significant and lasting change for their country. These women could all be considered successful achievers for the work that they have done for others. Their stories reflect their success in creating change that helped the lives of other people in need and in achieving the goals that would affect these changes. This could be an appropriate book to include in school libraries because it portrays positive role models of New Zealand women.

CRITIQUE

There are many issues about the concept of success that have proven to be particularly difficult with this literature search. Among these I would include: confusion over the term success, finding discussion that was not influenced by the male perspective, finding current literature on the topic, finding material that showed the New Zealand interpretation and having so much of the literature that was available focussing only on success as it related to career and professional accomplishment. I now briefly expand on each of these issues.

The definition of the term success and its strong similarity to the word achievement has tended to see these words interchanged frequently in the literature. As a result, comments and observations relating to success tend to be muddied. The definition that I adopt is to regard success as the completion of the achievement.

The literature suggests that criteria for success have been affected by the male influence and that there is limited literature presenting the women's view. It seems that there has been a strong historical influence hindering women achieving in their careers, on their own terms. This needs to be challenged in the future. There is a need for 'success' to be studied more from the feminist perspective. Society needs to remove the blocks affecting women's opportunities for achieving success so that they can have an increasing share of success, especially in their careers, in the years ahead. This process is one that could begin in the classroom.

Much of the literature used in this study came from the late 1970s and early 1980s. This reflects the upsurge of women in the workforce at that time and the upsurge of interest in equity issues and human rights. There is very little current literature available on this topic and as the context is different now, new studies are needed in the area of success for women.

There was very limited literature on the topic of success for women that illustrated the New Zealand experience. Most of the literature recorded the issues from the United Kingdom, Canadian and USA experience and certainly did not include Māori concerns.

Most of the literature that discussed success looked at the topic from an occupational or professional focus and did little to address the success that women might have in motherhood or other specifically female pursuits. Once again this reflects that perspective of success which seldom acknowledges the importance of the nurturing role of women. Much of the literature suggests that,

in the past, men were the gender who controlled women, made the decisions of power, and set the criteria for their (women's) success.

SUMMARY

In summary, the characteristics of success for women to achieve in motherhood, a relationship, a career, or through material possessions, fame or charitable involvement, have many subtle patriarchal influences that are still setting the criteria for these successes.

Success has many concepts. Success in motherhood (which is different from that of fatherhood) relates to the competent nurturing of children to adulthood. Success in careers relates to competence, responsibility and recognition in the paid workforce. Success in relationships is about an enduring and happy partnership with another individual. Success with material possessions usually relates to financial security. Individual recognition usually relates to public acknowledgement. Finally, success in charitable involvement in the community usually relates to dedication and commitment to some particular cause. Success for women can be the same as it is for men in some issues but there are also many differences relating to role expectations, barriers and limitations. However, this expectation of achievement for women should begin in the classrooms of our schools.

Motherhood is an important issue for most women and for many, having children is part of their success criteria but it is not always seen as the dominant focus of their lives. Motherhood for many women is a very fulfilling role with many rewards, but combining it with a career can create many problems.

Part of this discussion suggested that women can be considered successful if they achieve their goals. As Kreuger said, "success and achievement, in whatever context, are the fullest expressions of the developmental thrust of mastery" (p. 120).

Even as teachers are focussing on equity in the classroom, the literature is still arguing that success for women is still not seen as the same as it is for men. Teachers who are educating the women of the future need to be aware of how they see success for them. The question that needs to be asked is as follows: Is success still being defined on patriarchal terms and being taught to our girls and young women from that perspective ?

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