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2016-07-27
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TRACING THE CAREER TRAJECTORIES OF FEMALE ACADEMICS AT TWO UNIVERSITIES



A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters by Coursework and Research Report in the field of Industrial/Organisational Psychology.

Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

6 June 2016

By

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Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by coursework and Research Report in the field of Industrial/Organisational Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Signature: _____ Date: 6 June 2016

Word count: 23772

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor Dr Hugo Canham, my greatest appreciation and gratitude goes out to you for the all the support, guidance, patience and assistance throughout this project. No amount of words could express my gratitude. Thank you.

To my mother who has still remained my rock through all our difficult times. You have found it in yourself to continuously encourage and support me which has given me the strength and determination to persevere in all that I do. I am eternally grateful for all the sacrifices you have made that have gotten me to this point. All that I have achieved could not have been done without you. Love you always.

To my Fiancé, Prinashan, thank you for being there and supporting me through the last 6 years of my academic journey. For all the occasions we have missed and keeping busy while I was working; it has all been worth it. Love you forever.

A huge thank you to all my family and friends for supporting and encouraging me throughout this entire process; as well as helping me in the difficult times. Thank you for always being there!

Lastly, an extended thank you to all the participants for being interested in the study, and taking the time out to participate.

Abstract

This research traced the career trajectories of a cohort of female academics that were recipients of the Carnegie grant. These female academics were from two universities; the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT). The primary aim of the research was to explore the career trajectories of this cohort of female academics and gain further insight into the enablers and barriers to productivity and at their university. The impact of these enablers and challenges on the retention and attrition patterns was then analysed. The critical factors that were explored when interpreting retention and attrition were gender, race, intersectionality, belonging and culture. This analysis was enabled by applying critical race theory, intersectionality, and theories of belonging and non-belonging to the data. Due to the nature of this research, a qualitative approach was taken with the use of semi-structured interviews. The sample consisted of twenty-two female academics. In depth interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The results indicated that female academics face a great deal of challenges within the higher education sector. These challenges often present as obstacles in their career progression. More importantly, black female academics face greater barriers because of the intersectional nature of their identity as being both black and female, amongst other identity categories. One of the leading causes to these barriers is based on the masculine institutional culture that exists at each university that is instilled through various systems and structures. One of the key enablers for this cohort of women academics was the Carnegie grant that they had received. For many, it provided scarce financial resources to focus on conducting quality research and dislodged the systems of patriarchal patronage which sometimes leaves women's development at the mercy of male colleagues. The research suggests that notions of belonging are tied to epistemic access and the recognition and affirmation of the multiple identities that constitute women.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research traced the career trajectories of female academics from two universities namely; the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT). The research extended to the University of Johannesburg (UJ) and University of Stellenbosch because academics of interest had subsequently moved to these universities. It looked specifically at female academics that had received a Carnegie grant, and explored the potential contributing factors to their retention and attrition patterns. The contributing factors that were probed were gender and race bias, feelings and experiences of belonging or non-belonging and how these factors bolstered by the underlying institutional cultures of the various universities.

The Carnegie grant was a funding opportunity given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Andrew Carnegie founded this corporation in 1911 with the intended purpose and aim to further advance, instil and disseminate education, knowledge and understanding (CCNY, 2016). Thus, the Carnegie grant discussed in this paper was one of many funding initiatives developed by this organisation. The Carnegie grant was given during the period of 2005-2013, to three primary universities, WITS, UCT and the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), with the intention to support transformation in higher education through the enhancement of recruitment, development, and retention of both black, and women academics, and in doing so, assist in changing the existing institutional cultures (Badsha & Wickham, 2013).

The outline of this report starts with the literature review chapter which lays the foundation and theoretical frameworks for this research. This chapter encompasses the rational for the research, the aims, theoretical frameworks and lastly the research questions that were addressed. This is followed by the methodology chapter which explains how the research was carried out. The methodology chapter outlines the research design embedded within the qualitative research tradition. Thereafter, the sample that was used to collect data is discussed as well as the instruments that were used to collect the data which were the developed interview guides. The final two elements of the chapter are the methods of analysis that was undertaken to divulge the emerging themes from the data, and then the ethical consideration that were pertinent to this research. The subsequent two chapters of the results and discussion explore

and discuss the emergent themes and link those themes to the already existing literature. Bringing the report to a close, the limitations are explained, recommendation are given for further studies. The concluding chapter brings the project to a close.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review chapter forms the basis of this research. It discusses the rational for this research, gesturing towards its importance and significance not only as adding to a body of literature, but its impact towards the higher education sector in South Africa. It goes further on to list the aims of the research, and explores the theoretical frameworks for each construct. The chapter then concludes with the research questions which have been addressed.

2.1 Rationale

This research forms one aspect of the greater research project proposed by Carnegie, in which they aim to ascertain information about the movements of former recipients of their grant. This entailed looking at retention and attrition patterns as well as the challenges and successes of women academics that previously received a Carnegie Grant with regards to university transformation and institutional culture. This research is part of a larger tracer study but it focused on the movement of a cohort of female academics in the higher education sector in order to understand what drives retention and attrition patterns of women academics. This information was obtained by focusing on female academics at Wits and UCT. This research is important and relevant as it provides information and knowledge on the barriers that women face in higher education in their attempt to succeed. It will contribute to knowledge on how to overcome gendered barriers which may potentially strengthen other women in the academy. This intelligence will also assist university management and donors to craft interventions to improve the attraction and retention of women in the academy. The study will also assist in our understanding of how women academics navigate their experiences of possible gender discrimination and the intersecting agenda for racial equality. Linked to providing this understanding, the research provides a nuanced reading of women in South African higher education based on critical race theory, intersectionality and the politics of belonging and institutional culture. Finally, this study is relevant and important as it will add current data to the growing body of literature that already exists.

2.2 Research aims

1. To understand the reasons for women academics remaining in the higher education sector.
2. To understand the reasons for women academics leaving the higher education sector.
3. To understand how women academics navigate their experiences of possible gender discrimination and the intersecting agenda for racial equality.
4. To provide a nuanced reading of black and white women in South Africa in higher education based on critical race theory, intersectionality and the politics of belonging.
5. To understand the perceived benefit of the Carnegie grant on career advancement for women academics.

2.3 Contextualisation of Research Area

Tracer like studies looking at female academics and their career trajectories are rare. However, tracer studies have been found that have analysed both genders and others have looked at student populations tracing their academic trajectory and their potential for employability in the future. These have been done internationally and in South Africa. More specifically, tracer study research has been conducted on the student population with those who have received funding or scholarships, and these studies have been done more recently. Examples of these include a 2014 tracer study that was done on participants from Moldova, Russia and Ukraine who had been beneficiaries of a Law and Humanities Program Scholarship. The study was interested in how the scholarship had assisted in retaining tertiary level students, and thereafter their integration into the world of work (Lannert & Gazar, 2014). In 2015, the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU) and Norad's Programme for Masters Studies (NOMA) completed a graduate tracer study (Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation, 2015). This study was able to show a high employment rate of Masters Graduates and it revealed that they were able to influence policy and new standards in the workplace (Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation, 2015). However, this study did not focus on higher education employment and academics experiences.

Within the South African context, research has been done on female academics (e.g. Boshoff, 2005) but no tracer studies with a somewhat longitudinal view have been conducted looking at this population specifically. Prior research has looked at women and their paucity in leadership or management roles within the higher education sector (e.g. Zulu, 2009). This research was

specifically interested in examining the barriers that female academics face on their journey to success within higher education (Zulu, 2009). Other research analysing female academics has looked at gender equality issues, stress and burnout, and transformation (e.g. Bezuidenhout & Cilliers, 2010; Barkhuizen & Rothmann, 2008; Fourie, 1999). In addition, previous research preceding the 1980's was focused on males within management positions. It is therefore important and relevant to explore the perceptions of women in this sector using various theoretical frameworks. This research has attempted to do this.

Moreover, given this study's interest in attrition and retention patterns, a productive lens with which to understand women academics experiences within the academy is that of institutional culture. Pololi, Krupat, Civian, Ash, and Brennan (2012) have argued that institutional culture is an important determinant for why people leave or remain within a particular workplace. Research done in South Africa on institutional culture has predominantly looked at defining the cultures that universities have. Individual institutions have conducted institutional culture surveys but these have not often focused on particular groups and they have generally lacked a qualitative thrust. Bitzer (2009) has called for more research into institutional culture. In addition, in relation to retention and attrition, no research focusing on women academics has been found to date in South Africa. However, a study was found that was conducted in the United States of America in the faculty of medicine. This study concluded that the institutional culture that is embedded in universities is a crucial and leading factor for the retention and attrition of staff and academics (Pololi et al., 2012).

The section to follow will discuss the various constructs that this research has investigated and analysed namely, higher education in South Africa, critical race theory, intersectionality, belonging and non-belonging, institutional culture, and lastly retention and attrition. In discussing these constructs, definitions will be given where applicable and the related body of literature will be explored so as to create a holistic background and context, which forms a critical foundation for this research.

2.4 Theoretical Frameworks

2.4.1 Higher education in South Africa

Education is important for all members of society (De La Rey, 1999) as it is the route enabling individuals to gain knowledge and information, career advancement and to contribute to the livelihood of their families and communities. Universities are seen as the power source to new

developments and the development of citizens and their young minds (Cele & Menon, 2006). However, the development of knowledge can be best sustained through its transmission and advancement from generation to generation. It therefore becomes particularly important that there is a sustainable supply of academics through efforts to develop the next generation of academics. It has however proven difficult to develop and sustain this next generation of academics both in South Africa and elsewhere as there has been major changes within the higher education sector (Portnoi, 2009). With the widening of access to a greater number of students, there has not been a corresponding growth in the number of academics. There is a decrease in funding for research, a consequence of which has led to challenges in career development (Portnoi, 2009). De La Rey (1999) also points to the fact that some of the present challenges have their roots in the discriminatory practises of the apartheid government which was characterised by race and gender based exclusions and inclusions.

Apartheid higher education systematically ensured inferior education for black people which meant that they were poorly represented within the academic ranks at the end of apartheid. Based on the need to redress past inequalities, policies and strategies informed by the White Paper on Education and Training, Notice 196 of 1995 and Employment Equity Act Number 55 of 1998, were introduced in higher education institutions to create academic job opportunities for all South African's (De La Rey 1999; Cloete & Galant, 2005). While the implementation of these policies has made it possible for female academics to further their career development, the pace has been slow with black women in particular being the least represented within the academy (Wits Employment Equity Report, 2010). This creates substantial difficulties in developing the next generation of academics that is able to serve the needs of the sector and be representative of the current population. White males and females still seem to be advancing ahead of the rest which perpetuates the replication of white hegemony in senior roles. Moreover, the discourse that continues to exist is that black people do not succeed in academia. In addition, the teaching and dissemination of information and education continues to be underpinned by white Western theories and ideologies, without the exploration and teachings of local history and theory (Mamdani, 2007).

The statistics given in table1 and 2 below indicate that males and white males in particular, still continue to fare better than black males, as well as females in general. While the PhD enrolments of blacks have grown since 1994, white and male PhD enrolments still constitute the majority. However, black females are still the most poorly represented in terms of their positioning in higher education (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Badsha & Wickham, 2013).

	Male	Female	White	Black	Total
1994	3436	1488	4137	787	4924
%	69.8	30.2	84	16	100
2000	3958	2435	3993	2400	6393
%	61.9	38.1	62.5	37.5	100
2007	5803	4249	4751	5251	10 052
%	57.7	42.3	47.5	52.5	100
2009	6041	4486	5826	4637	10529
%	57.4	42.6	55.3	44	100

Table 1-Doctoral enrolments based on gender and population group; years 1994-2009

Data collected from HESA

	Male	Female	White	Black	Total
1994	518	219	666	71	737
%	70.3	29.7	90.4	9.6	100
2000	572	400	674	298	972
%	58.8	41.2	69.3	30.7	100
2007	744	530	691	580	1274
%	58.4	41.6	54.4	45.6	100
2009	807	573	697	675	1380
%	58.4	41.5	50.5	48.9	100

Table 2-Doctoral graduates based on gender and population group; years 1994-2009

Data collected from HESA

International philanthropic organisations have recognised the challenges that higher education institutions face. Some of these organisations such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York (Carnegie) have partnered to help and facilitate the transformation and redress process in order to build the next generation of academics of both white and black academics, male and female (Badsha & Wickham, 2013). Carnegie has facilitated the transformation process through providing donor funding to specific universities, which as previously mentioned are, Wits, UCT and UKZN. These institutions were identified as crucial for the development of the next

generation of academics as they have been historicised as white universities (Badsha & Wickham, 2013).

The University of Cape Town, formally known as the University of the Cape of Good Hope, is the oldest English university, and the first institution of higher education in South Africa. This institution has been known to be a white university whose primary concern was to further educate the white male population (Mabokela, 2000; Robus & Macleod, 2006). Later on in the twentieth century four other universities were built, one of which was the University of the Witwatersrand, and this too was a university built to cater to the needs of the white population (Mabokela, 2000; Robus & Macleod, 2006).

Both UCT and Wits are known to be white, English universities, and in the past they admitted very few black people on the basis of ministerial approval. Their policy has been "Academic freedom and non-segregation" however that policy never assisted or gained equality for any black students that entered either university. Thus the policy that they implemented only by name allowed for a little academic integration but social segregation (Mabokela, 2000). Consequently, this unfair treatment and inequality towards black students caused great unrest and students participated in strikes, boycotts and held mass meetings which unsettled the universities. Thus, the government put into operation a new policy called the University Amendment Act in 1983 which legalised the admission of black students to formally white universities (Mabokela, 2000). As was noted in 1995, the increase in intake of black students at UCT rose tremendously from 13.2% to 42.4% and over the years the numbers have increased and been maintained (Mabokela, 2000). Increase in a diverse student pool did not however lead to a related increase of black academics.

Since 2002, Carnegie has funded various transformation initiatives in higher education including a focus on student support. This funding was aimed towards the development of the next generation of academics to support young black, as well as female academics, and in so doing, enhancing transformation through increasing the support of black women academics and changing institutional culture (Badsha & Wickham, 2013).

In this conception, women are categorised within the broader construct of gender. Gender is therefore understood to be socially constructed with assigned roles and behaviours that are associated with males and females (Kari, 2014). Black includes those that are characterised as African, Coloured as well as Indian (HESA, 2014). Therefore, the group of females which were of interest in this research included all three categories including white women.

In view of past and ongoing gendered inequalities, it has been suggested that women predominantly face gender based discrimination as compared to their male counterparts. This can be seen in many facets of life but also particularly relevant for this study is its presence within career advancement. There is thus the need for funding and support targeted at women scholars (Walker, 1998). The relative inequality between black and white women means that there is also a need to understand what accounts for these. Critical race theory and intersectionality provide ways of addressing this concern which will be explored later on.

The idea of transformation in the field of education, specifically higher education is to change, reshape and alter the nature of the institution to create a culture of inclusivity and acceptance (Fourie, 1999). Hence transformation is different from reformation which is primarily modifying but not making fundamental changes to create absolute change. It can be seen as implementing strategic moves to create a facade that there is transformation when in actual fact it is just window dressing (Fourie, 1999). Thus transformation is not simply about putting into practice a policy and changing the staff and student demographics, but rather it is about transforming the core culture that instils the values, beliefs and thoughts into people, which can only be achieved through changing the mind set of individuals, particularly those in higher levels who are seen as the role models.

2.4.2 Critical Race Theory

One of the theoretical frameworks that is be used for the basis of this research is critical race theory (CRT) which originated in the United States of America in the mid-1970's (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). It is a ground-breaking and innovative theory that draws on a broad range of literature ranging from law and sociology to history and women's studies (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). It interrogates the role of race in the differential experiences and outcomes of different social groups. It therefore places race and other social asymmetries which intersect with race at the centre of critical analysis (Roithmayr, 1999). The theory came about when a number of lawyers, activists and legal scholars recognized that the advancements of certain groups was compromised in comparison to dominant groups as a result of subtle forms of racism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), and an activist movement was necessary in order to attempt to rectify and address these social issues (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005).

There is no clear definition of CRT, however it is based on two premises (Roithmayr, 1999). Firstly, it attempts to describe the supposed relationship between race-neutral ideals and the

structure that exists of white supremacy and racism (Roithmayr, 1999). Second, based on the legal background that the theory has originated from, it proposes ways to use the contrary bond linking racial power and law in order to transform the social structures in order to advance racial emancipation for all (Roithmayr, 1999). The aim of this theory is to help individuals that are interested in studying and transforming the association between race, racism and power, through anti-racism, but also includes other components such as economics, history, feelings and the unconscious, which adds to the overall broader theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Thus the theory is seen as a strategy that foregrounds and accounts for the role that racism plays in the environment, and it attempts to eliminate racism as well as other forms of subordination caused by factors such as gender, class, language and sexual orientation (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Although this theory was predominantly used within the discipline of law, it has extended to other disciplines such as political and ethnic studies, but more importantly and of relevance, it has spread over to the education sector (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). This can be credited to Ladson-Billings and Tate (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Gender activists and scholars have also crafted the theory to cover the intersections between race and gender (Crenshaw, 1991) and takes on other forms of subordination such as gender and class discrimination (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Thus in terms of education, CRT aims to identify, analyse and transform the structures and institutional cultures that exist at schools and universities that maintain, subordinate, and dominate racial positions held (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). It also challenges the claims that universities make that they are pro equal opportunity, race neutrality and objectivity when in fact they are not (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). This is further proven by the number of black academic staff members that are present at universities, where the Higher Education Summit (2015) has found there to be many less black academics than there are black students in universities. This is because of the continuous cycle of the unequal and poor quality of education that black academics received from attending rural or inferior quality primary and high schools. This level of educational foundation has made it difficult for black students to enter higher education and to pursue careers as academics (Moloi, Mkwanazi & Bojabotsoha, 2014). For those fortunate academics who did persevere and pursue their goals, they continue to encounter struggles to advance and to be promoted. It has been suggested that black academics do not move up in their career based on resources and informal and formal access to influential networks (Williams, 2013). However, while it is possible for black academics to be successful without

that access to resources and networks, it is likely that they take longer to advance when compared to white academic's progress faster (Williams, 2013). Therefore CRT attempts to open up discussions and challenge white privilege, which is defined as a system of opportunity and benefits that are presented and passed down to each generation simply because they are white (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Within the education sector the impact of race and gender discrimination has been on students as well as educators. In terms of individuals receiving education, the apartheid system segregated the schooling and higher education into four systems providing varying levels of quality for Whites, Indians, Coloureds and African's. With respect to educators, there was discriminatory career development opportunities, as promotions would be given based on skin colour and not merit (Roithmayr, 1999). Moreover, white academics were supported to facilitate their entry and advancement within the sector. However, in part informed by CRT and redress measures, the post-apartheid government has introduced policies and measures based on the premise that all members of society should get education, and educators should be developed and promoted based on merit and not skin colour (Roithmayr, 1999).

The central tool used in CRT is counter-story telling which allows for the challenging of privilege and also lets marginalised groups tell their story and have a voice and platform to share their experiences (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Story telling can take the form of one's personal stories or other individual's stories. The aim of counter story telling is then to allow those that are unaware of the lives and experiences of others, the disadvantaged black individuals as well as women, to be introduced to the unfamiliar and be informed of the discrimination and inequality that exists. Thus, using CRT offers a way to share and understand the experiences of people of colour through creating knowledge by investigating and analysing those individuals that have been and who still are marginalised, silenced and disempowered (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002) in order to expose and critique the common discourses that continue to maintain racial stereotypes (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

Having described the theory above, it can be seen that it is a relevant theory to apply to this research as it lays the foundation for looking at race, but can also be used to explore the dynamics of gender as well. It can be applied in such a way to assess the racial dynamics that exist within the higher education sector with regards to career development of all, but more specifically for females. It lends to ideas that can be proposed and interventions that can be

created to retain female academics, and in addition construct strategies to create and sustain a new generation of academics.

Very few empirical studies have been done to date, particularly in South Africa, that investigates the race and gender discourses that exist using CRT as a tool for analysis (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). The few studies that have been undertaken have been done in the United States as American universities marginalise people of colour (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Thus, using this theory for this research in the educational sector is important in expanding the little literature that exists especially in the South African context and looking at both black and female academics that are trying to further their careers.

2.4.3 Intersectionality

Linked to CRT, and examining the gender dynamics that exist, it is important to look at the concept of intersectionality. Critical race theorist have described intersectionality as an analytical approach that gives attention to the meaning and consequences of an individual inhabiting multiple demographic categories (Cole, 2009). The concept was first introduced into research and academia by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) when she was studying issues on black women and employment in the USA (Cole, 2009; Moolman, 2013). She was able to capture the complexities that exist and which influence the social identities of individuals. In this regard she suggested that one's identity is created through multiple dimensions (Moolman, 2013). However, the first and earliest expression of intersectionality was announced by a group of Black American feminists known as the Combahee River Collectives who in the 1970's wrote the black women's manifesto (Cole, 2009). This manifesto stated "We find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously" (Cole, 2009). This manifesto that was later cited by many opened the minds of researchers and academics to further investigate the multiple oppressions that one individual may be experiencing at many different levels. This was because subordination was examined as either based on race or gender or class but these were not studied for the ways in which they simultaneously marginalised people.

Since its formal introduction into academia it has been understood in various ways. Firstly, it is seen to be the analysis of race, gender identity, sex, sexual orientation, and nationality in addition to class. It scrutinizes how the combination of all these elements are experienced in various locations (Collins, 1998; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Secondly it has also been understood as the interconnectedness between a person and their social location with specific

reference to the power relations that exist in each social location (Mahalingam, 2007). Thirdly, Booysen and Nkomo (2010) perceive intersectionality to be the interdependence of multiple identities of race, gender and class that can be occupied in more than one location. It can therefore be seen that the main premise of intersectionality is the simultaneous combination of a number of related identity categories that are occupied by a single individual in a social space or location. More specifically, intersectionality became the response to the multiple oppressions based on race, gender and class as experienced by black women (Moolman, 2013).

Furthermore, intersectionality lays down the argument that an individual can occupy more than one space, that is, can be both black and gay, or female and disabled (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It then brings up a critical question on whether or not an individual should be disadvantaged based on one of their identities or a culmination of them, and that is then linked to the magnitude of their deprivation (Delgado, 2000). The reason for this is that one's race, gender or class is not seen as separate or additive entities but are linked and simultaneous (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010). As previously stated, intersectionality has been based on the oppression of black women, however the dilemma then exists when middle-class privileged black women are being subordinated and discriminated against because of their race and presumed class based on the connotations of being black (Collins, 1998).

Subsequently over time within the field of psychology, psychologists have become increasingly more intrigued about what effect race, gender, class, social status and sexuality have on constructs such as one's social identity, well-being and political views. But outside of management research, little research has been carried out that examines all these factors and their outcomes (Cole, 2009). More so, little consideration has been paid to how each of these individual factors and categories depend on each other to give meaning to one's identity, as each individual occupies multiple categories such as being black, female, a mother and lower class (Cole, 2009). Thus an individual may inhabit one role at a time, for example being an employee, but all these other categories impact and inform who that person is in that employee role and space (Cole, 2009).

Moreover, the ideology of intersectionality is one that is popular, but ironically has not been researched greatly (Holvino, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006b). One of the reasons for the lack of research is that there has been no established guidelines or frame of reference for empirically addressing academic research questions (Cole, 2009). However, in the early 1980's there was a great increase in research addressing both race and gender as well as class and sexuality as a

combination rather than separately, and this was carried out on black women (Cole, 2009), but since then there has been a reduction in research carried out within the South African higher education space.

A relevant study was found and conducted in South Africa by Bell and Nkomo (2001) where they analysed the race and gender dynamics of black and white female managers and how race and gender either inhibit or encourage their career success. In terms of these women's perceptions, it was found that the experiences of black and white individuals were different with regards to their barriers to advancement. More specifically, black women were discriminated against based on both race and gender and it negatively impacted their upward mobility in their careers. Whereas white women were only subordinated based on gender but they still achieved greater career success as opposed to their black counterparts (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). The authors concluded that white women were privileged and where only barred based on their sex, but black women face. racism and sexism (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). As can be seen this research was conducted in corporations and there is thus the need to utilise this theory in higher education as it will give more knowledge and understanding to a very important situation that needs to be investigated.

Therefore, in terms of gender, considering women specifically, it can be said they face oppression as their identity consists of various categories. They are female, possibly a mother and, or wife, black or white, from a specific class, South African or not; all of which have different connotations and roles associated with them. The points of the intersection of these various identities impact on their possible discrimination, advancement or oppression (Holvino, 2008). Hence it is essential and relevant to use intersectionality as another theory on which to base this research, as the women examined fall into various categories, and it was useful to discover how they identify themselves, and together with that, how they interpret their personal identification to impact their career development in higher education and in association to their retention or attrition patterns.

2.4.4 Belonging and Non-Belonging

Tying CRT and intersectionality together are the notions of belonging and non-belonging. Belonging is the idea that an individual feels "at home" and "safe" in the environment that they occupy (Yuval-Davis, 2006a). Moreover, one considers this within the context of a continuously changing environment, for example, being at home, then at work, as well as other social spaces such as shopping malls. This idea of being "at home" and "safe" is related to the

social construction of particular places and spaces being created for certain collective groups, and only those that fit within the collective are included and hence feel "at home" and "safe" (Yuval-Davis, 2006a). More so, it speaks to positions of power, authority and seniority and the fact that there are only certain groups that should be in these positions particularly men and those that are white.

Others that do not fall within the category are therefore excluded and interpreted as not belonging. Puwar (2004) deems this notion of non-belonging as "otherness" and has reinforced the idea that certain places have been historically and culturally built to house particular collective groups, for example Wits and UCT who have been historically known to be for the white elite. She also goes on to note that it is not only buildings and landmarks that are socially constructed, but also positions of power, which are primarily dominated by white masculine figures (Puwar, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006a). Belonging then is influenced by the view that these individuals hold the attitudes and behaviours that are associated with positions of power.

Drawing on intersectionality is the idea that an individual's identity is made up of multiple categories, and based on these categories, history and socialisation, people locate themselves within certain spaces or positions where they belong, or in some instance do not belong (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010). The most prominent and defining category that creates and maintains these spaces is that of race, as some races are more privileged and others are subordinated (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010). Therefore race, particularly in South Africa, continues to shape institutions as well as other places and social environments (Moolman, 2013). This idea brings about a key theoretical concept that Booysens and Nkomo (2010) discuss which is social location. It is the position that an individual occupies in a space based on race, gender, class or status. It is the idea that if you are a woman you belong in a specific space, but more so, if you are a black woman you belong in a different space as opposed to white women. This signifies that differential positioning does not exist only for men and women, but in addition also for men and women of different races (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010) showing that not only is one's identity informed and influenced by historical discourses but so are social spaces and places (Moolman, 2013). Thus one's identity impacts where we belong based what we have in common with some people and what differentiates us from others (Walker, 2005).

In terms of this research and exploring the experiences of female academics it is important to note that women in general have been under represented in higher ranks and are still seen as being fit for lower level jobs and tasks, or even female oriented careers such being a nurse (Walker, 1998), indicating that women belong in a certain space and role and are therefore excluded from "sitting at the adult table" so to speak. In 2009 the Business Women Association of South Africa conducted their annual census survey of women in their careers and they reported an increase of women in senior positions, however it is still seen as low as compared to their male counterparts (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010). Their latest census done in 2015 again indicated that there are more women in higher positions as opposed to previous years, but it is still significantly lower than men who are currently dominating those roles, and those that are in senior positions are still being left out of key decision-making tasks (Mall, 2015). As can be seen from figure 1, there are more women in power that are employed in state-owned enterprises as opposed to CEO's.

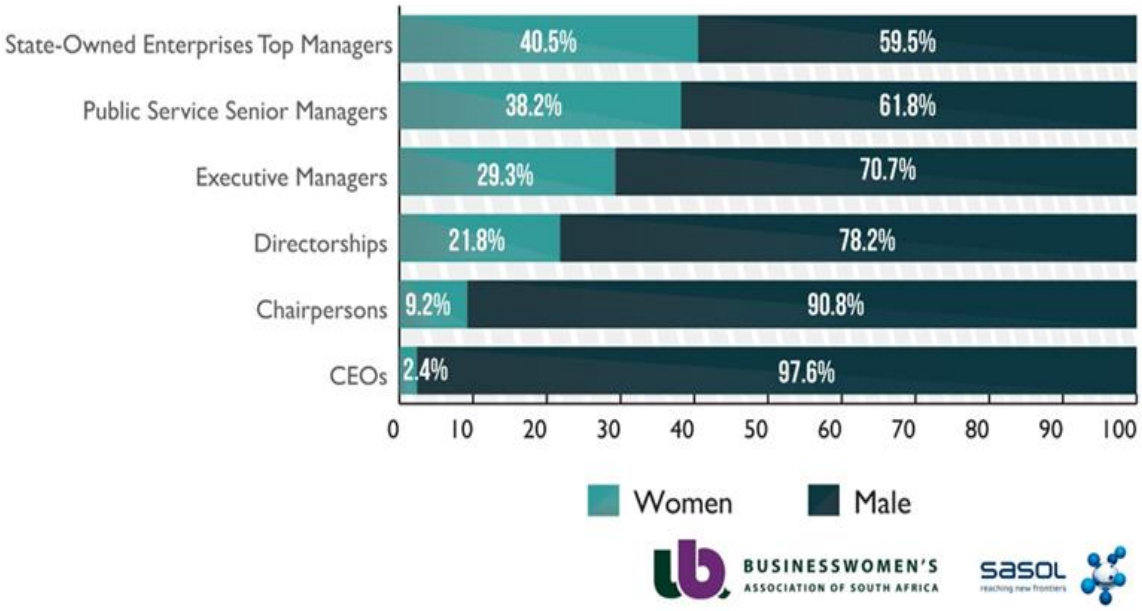


Figure-1 Graph depicting the women workforce across different organisations (Mall, 2015)

Another critical and relevant point that was made in the article was in relation to the educational sector. They established that out of all 26 universities in South Africa, men are still achieving better in their career advancement unlike women, where the ratio is 3 men in senior positions to every 1 woman (Mall, 2015). This number further emphasises and perpetuates the stereotype that senior positions are for men, and this causes more women not apply for senior and management roles and so the cycle of male domination continues. It has been found that at universities majority of women are predominantly in administration, clerical, or domestic

work, with as little as 10% of women in academia and professorial roles (Shackleton, Riordan & Simonis 2006). It can therefore be seen that women are not only under-represented in the educational sectors but the same pattern exists in the corporate space

With regards to research on belonging and "otherness" there has not been a great deal done exploring female academics. Much of the published research in South Africa has been done on analysing immigrant student populations and examined their perceptions of inclusion and exclusion (e.g. Brook, 1996; Walton, Hugo & Miller, 2009; Vandeyar 2010). The concluding remarks from these research articles is that there is a great deal of exclusion for those that are not South African for reasons such as language, culture, ethnicity and their country of origin. Many of the students faced experiences of xenophobic attacks and hate speech and there only solace was not trying to assimilate and fit in but rather removing themselves from the situation and trying to create their own belonging with others experiencing the same discrimination and exclusion.

This research therefore proves useful as this specific type of study has not been conducted on this particular sample previously. More so, it is important to analyse how women academics fair in positions of power and their experiences in those positions, as well as their experiences and perceptions of inclusion and exclusion. In addition to their experiences, ascertaining information of their journey to get into these positions is important as they are what Puwar (2004) terms discordant bodies that are occupying spaces that have not been traditionally made or occupied by them.

2.4.5 Institutional Culture

Culture has been said to be related to past history and tradition, it has a shared and collective meaning by all members, and it is interpreted through the beliefs, values and attitudes that are prized (Alvesson, 2013). In terms of organisations, culture is what differentiates one organisation from the rest and each member in the organisation shares and instils the culture of the environment (Robbins, 2009). Thus all individuals that come into an organisation are directly or indirectly taught the values and beliefs of the organisation, and they are expected to uphold these as employees of the organisation, and it is this culture that determines the way things are done (Bitzer, 2009).

All contexts including the academic environment have pervasive cultures. Within the higher education sector, there has been debate as to whether a University is an organisation or an

institution, but it has been found that it can hold true for both (Bitzer, 2009). It can be deemed an organisation with regards to the management and operations of the day to day functioning; and an institution as it is not only a place but a system that functions much like a community with its own values, attitudes and beliefs (Bitzer, 2009). For the purpose of this tracer study the analyses was done investigating the institutional component of universities and thus the institutional culture that they are perceived to bear.

Institutional culture is known to be a buzzword in education, specifically higher education in South Africa (Higgins, 2007). Since its inception there have been various definitions and understandings as to what is deemed as institutional culture, and it still remains a hard to define concept. According to Higgins (2007) it is perceived as the overwhelming "whiteness" of academic culture that institutions encompass. Where "whiteness" is understood to be the domination of Western, European and Anglo-Saxon values and attitudes that alienates and disempowers black individuals where they are not fully recognised and consequently disallows these individuals to feel "at home" within their institution. Fralinger and Olson (2007) referred to institutional culture as the values and beliefs that university stakeholders uphold in order to influence decisions and shape individuals and organisational behaviour. She further constitutes that institutional cultures can be seen as the personality of a university that is demonstrated through building architecture, building names, campus facilities and student interaction and attire (Fralinger & Olson, 2007).

More relevant conceptualisations have been given by universities through their transformation and equity policies. The Rhodes university equity policy (2004) states that institutional culture is the "way things are done" specifically looking at the traditions, customs, values and the shared understanding that underpin decision making and practices that are engaged in that are supported and rewarded. According to the Wits transformation office and the institutional culture committee (2015), they define institutional culture as the lived experiences of the university by all those that occupy it including students, academic staff, management, support staff as well as workers and other members of the public that immerse themselves with the institution. In addition, it is the policies and practices that these stakeholders need to adhere to and uphold.

Whitt and Khu (1988) have suggested a framework of analysis when examining university culture. The framework proposes four levels of analysis; first the environment surrounding the university and how society influences the space, secondly the institution itself and how history

and current events have shaped it, thirdly the subcultures that exist within the university based on different departments, faculties and subgroups, and lastly the individual actors and role players which include the faculty, students, and staff that create the bigger picture for the future. This framework pays cognisance to the fact that each university's institutional culture is based on a multitude of factors and made up of different levels that all need to be paid attention to in order for an effective and appropriate culture to exist and be instilled amongst others. In addition, universities need to foster a culture that is adaptable and willing to transform and integrate the gender and racial changes that have been brought to light since the end of apartheid and start of democracy.

Within the paradigm of higher education, research on culture is not new, however the vague understanding of what institutional culture is and its complexity has dampened its study capabilities (Peterson & Spencer, 1990) thus the empirical research that exists on institutional culture at universities is not overwhelming (Ndebele, 2007). It has been agreed that culture influences academic institutions however the functionality of this culture is unknown to individuals (Sporn, 1996), thus the qualitative nature of this research to ascertain perceptions of participant's in relation to their universities culture. In support of this, Peterson and Spencer (1990) have suggested the in order to investigate institutional culture a qualitative approach is needed through the means of observation and thick description, analysing documentation and conducting interviews (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). Quantitative methods have been attempted to measure institutional culture through the creation of typologies however the value and efficacy has not been proven in higher education, as the quantitative method does not identify the critical essence of institutional culture (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). However, in more recent times, new models are in the developmental stages such as the Competing Values Framework, Cameron's Matrix and University Cultural Model (Lacatus, 2013).

A more pertinent study commissioned by the Minister of Education into transformation, racism and social cohesion within higher education institutions was published in 2008. Their investigation was premised around the Education White Paper 3, which is aligned to the South African Constitution regarding discrimination based on race, gender, ages, sex, ethnicity and so on. Their investigation entailed a document analyses of submissions from various universities, as well as interactions with the institutions through discussion with stakeholders, academic and support staff, student's leader, management, councils and trade unions (Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008). Their study found high levels

of racism, sexism, inequality and poverty levels within the sector for both the staff and student populations. More specifically, it critiqued the limited amount of change that has occurred in relation to institutional culture which includes the curriculum used to teach students. It was suggested that the reason for this lack of change is based on the fact that institutions are too Westernised thus the perpetuation of "whiteness" (Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008). In addition, black staff mentioned that racism was rampant, even though it was expressed in subtle ways, those that experience it feel it. The same was said for gender and disability discrimination, though it was experienced as less malicious than racism, it does exist and was of great concern to the commission (Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008).

Therefore, the dominant culture of South African higher education institutions has been characterised as that of "whiteness" (Higgins, 2007). An institutional culture lens is therefore clearly aligned to a theoretical sensitivity to racial and gender inequalities which also inform conceptions of belonging and non-belonging, and Critical Race Theory. Based on the historical and contextual account of the location of UCT and Wits as former white, patriarchal and English medium institutions with an exclusionary orientation in the apartheid past (Mamdani, 2007), it is worthwhile to understand the cultures of these institutions in the present. This will give some insight into the experiences of female academics and the impact that their universities culture has on their career trajectory. As Mabokela (2000) suggests, an examination of institutional culture is needed to understand what makes the institution welcoming and comfortable for white people but unreceptive and inhospitable for black individuals.

2.4.6 Employee retention and attrition

Bringing all the theory together are the concepts of retention and attrition within the sample of female academics, and how their perceptions and experiences of race, gender, intersectionality and belonging impact their choice of remaining or moving from their institution. In the simplest understanding, employee retention refers to employees choosing to remain and "stick with" their current employer for a long period of time (Carsen, 2005; Phillips & Connell, 2004). On the other hand, attrition, also known as turnover, is understood to be the rate at which employees leave their organisation (Phillips & Connell, 2004).

These two constructs are vitally important in organisations as it is the aim of organisations to have increased retention rather than attrition rates. The reason for this is that it is costly for organisations to be continuously recruiting employees (Carsen, 2005; Phillips & Connell, 2004) thus it is critical for organisations to pay cognisance and understand what employees expect and what keeps them satisfied and motivated in their jobs (Phillips & Connell, 2004). In the educational sector this is quite important in higher education as institutions want to retain knowledgeable and skilled academics to groom and educate the next generation of students and future academics, which proves challenging for women and black individuals who continuously face barriers of racism and sexism.

There has been a great deal of research done and books published analysing and investigating retention and attrition from many angles and looking at different samples. The literature informing these two constructs have multiplied over the years since the 1990's, however in terms of the theoretical explanations research in that scope has declined (Lawrence, 2005). The most prominent global research undertakings have been on the retention and attrition of students at university level, starting with their intentions at 1st year level and moving onto graduate level (e.g. Fitzgibbon & Prior, 2006; Longden, 2006; Wild & Ebbers, 2002).

More specifically, research has been conducted by Furr & Elling (2002) investigating the retention rates of African-American students at white universities. Though the sample is not relevant for the research of this cohort of female academics the results are appropriate. These researchers found that there was a greater retention of white students than Africa-American students looking at their entire university lifespan from 1st to 3rd year and the reasons for this phenomenon are as follows. Students were not able to remain at the institution because of financial reason, coping with working and studying simultaneously, expectation of work load, and more significant are the fact that some students left because of the lack of racial integration, involvement and inclusion (Furr & Elling, 2002). On that basis it indicates that the university does not foster an inclusive culture and it was the recommendation of the researcher that the university get involved from 1st year orientation and assist in adequately and successfully racially integrating the student population (Furr & Elling, 2002). In addition, looking at the South Africa now, if the same sort of pattern exists within local universities and black students leave, what future success is there for those that want to be academics. There are various implications that exist if the cycle continues, firstly, there will be no black academics grooming other black academics and the "whiteness" of universities will remain, thus there will be no break in the existing hegemonic discourse. Secondly, there will be continued hostility and

alienation towards black academics. Lastly, white academic staff will continue to be unsupportive to black academics and the institutional culture of "whiteness" will manifest in future generations (Mabokela, 2000).

Mabokela (2000 used a broader sample of both black male and female academics to collect her data. She ascertained that the core contributing factor to black academics leaving their institutions is that they feel their institutional culture and environment is not supportive of their professional career development and success (Mabokela, 2000). To further illustrate this point an excerpt from the article will be used based on a comment a participant made.

> There is not that sense of ownership because if people had a sense of belonging, a sense of being a part of the institution, they would be able to resist the temptation from the private sector (p.105).

Furthermore, another participant stated:

> One of my colleagues said to me "if you don't like it here, why don't you go into the private sector or government; they have lots of opportunities for blacks". What many white colleagues don't understand is that not all blacks want government jobs, we want to be academics and we enjoy academia. Academia is not, and cannot continue to be a privilege of white people. We have black kids here, who will be their role models if we run to the private sector (p.105).

This research and the remarks from participants further exemplify the lack of transformation at universities and the attitudes of some white academic staff and their persistence in maintaining the white discourse that exists through pushing black academics out whether directly or indirectly by creating an environment where black academics to not want to be.

As can be seen, the literature mentioned above has been conducted more than ten years ago. Thus it is important to investigate and gain an understanding of academics now, to share their current experiences and see if the culture and feelings are still the same or a different discourse exists now. Thus aligning these theories and tying them into retention and attrition, and looking specifically at female academics will create a new dynamic for research and add to a body of literature that hasn't been investigated through this lens.

2.5 Research questions

1. What are the reasons for women academics remaining or leaving the higher education sector?
2. How are black and white women academics differentially impacted by gender and race (or class, ability status, sexual orientation) discrimination in higher education?
3. How do women academics understand their experience of belonging in particular spaces or locations within the academy?
4. What are the perceived benefits of grant funding towards the career advancement of women academics?

Chapter 3

Methodology

This methodology chapter will address how the research questions for this study were answered. The chapter outlines the research design used, sample and sampling technique, procedures followed, the instrument used to obtain the data from participants, method of analysis and lastly the ethical considerations.

3.1 Research design

This research was exploratory in nature. It was therefore undertaken within a qualitative framework. The research design used for this study is a cross-sectional, qualitative design conducted within an interpretive paradigm. Qualitative research is centred around an individual's experience as opposed to an impartial reality (Marlow, 2010) which is what this study set out to do. It takes the form of collecting data that is not numerical, but rather linguistic (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). It studies the meaning of people's lives in real world scenarios, and it represents the views and perspectives of individuals that can contribute insight into new and existing concepts and meaning making. Qualitative data also allows for understanding and explaining certain human behaviours (Yin, 2011). In this regard, the research sought to understand and gain insight into the reasoning behind women academics staying in higher education or moving to other sectors or institutions. This understanding was gained through conducting and analysing one-on-one interviews. Qualitative research uses interpretive techniques, thus this research is focused around an interpretive paradigm that analyses and explores interesting phenomena to find one's personal meaning based on language rather than numerical figures (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994; Reeves & Hedberg, 2003).

3.2 Sample and sampling

3.2.1 Description of participants

Twenty-two female academics were identified and were engaged as the sample for this research. The sample specifically consisted of eleven female academics who are currently at UCT; eight female academics currently at Wits. In addition, three female academics who left these two respective institutions to go to the University of Stellenbosch, University of Johannesburg, and left Wits to go to UCT were interviewed. The racial demographics are

eleven white females and eleven black females. The eleven black females consist of six African women, four coloured women and two Indian women. All these female academics have PhD's but range in their role and positions. The tables below describe the demographic and educational information of the participants interviewed.

University of Cape Town				
Participant	**Gender**	**Population group**	**Title**	**Years in academia**
A	Female	Coloured	Lecturer	12
B	Female	White	Associate Professor	20
C	Female	White	Senior Lecturer	21
D	Female	White	Senior Lecturer	16.5
E	Female	White	Senior Lecturer	15.5
F	Female	White	Lecturer	9
G	Female	White	Associate Professor	11
H	Female	White	Associate Professor	30
I	Female	Coloured	HOD	16
J	Female	Black	Senior Lecturer	16
K	Female	Coloured	Lecturer	7

Table 3- Demographics of participants from the University of Cape Town

University of the Witwatersrand				
Participant	**Gender**	**Population group**	**Title**	**Years in academia**
A	Female	White	Associate Professor	20
B	Female	Black	Professor	10
C	Female	White	Lecturer	7.5
D	Female	Indian	Senior Lecturer	14
E	Female	Black	Associate Professor	5
F	Female	Black	Lecturer	5.8
G	Female	White	Associate Professor	18
H	Female	Black	Senior Lecturer	15.5

Table 4- Demographics of participants from the University of the Witwatersrand

Left their respective institution				
Participant	**Gender**	**Population group**	**Title**	**Years in Academia**
A	Female	White	Senior Lecturer	10
B	Female	Black	Associate Professor	8
C	Female	Indian	Senior Lecturer	24.5

Table 5- Demographics of participants from other universities

3.2.2 Sampling technique

The sample that was used in this research was very specific; they are female academics that have previously received a Carnegie grant. Therefore, the criteria for inclusion to the study were that participants were female and received the Carnegie grant at any point during their academic career.

The technique that was used to get the sample is non-probability purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a technique that is used when the researcher specifies the characteristic of the population that is of interest (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). In this case these were female

academics that have received a Carnegie grant at either Wits or UCT. This sample was attained through the means of a representative of the Carnegie project at the two universities.

3.3 Procedures

This procedure section outlines the processes around the data collection for this research. The very first process was the development of the interview guide as one did not exist. Once the interview guide was completed, and ethics clearance was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand (Protocol number: MORG/15/007 IH) (see Appendix 1) the sample was obtained.

A database of individuals who received the Carnegie grant was kept by a representative at UCT and WITS. The respective project managers had also been responsible for tracking the academic progress over the years. Once the database was accessed, those that met the requirements were selected and invited to participate in the research via e-mail (see Appendix 3). The individuals that responded and who were interested in participating in the research constituted the sample.

Face-to-face interviews were then set up with each participant. However, two Skype interviews took place as two participants were not available when data was being collected in Cape Town. The interviews were conducted at UCT and WITS campuses. A small number of interviews were held off the Wits campus as a consequence of campus closure during the student fee protests of 2015. The interviews ranged from twenty-five minutes to one hour and thirty minutes. The reasons for the various time differences were due to three factors. First, some participants had time restrictions for the interview as they had other commitments such as teaching and meetings. Secondly, there were participants who did not experience particular situations that they could discuss or elaborate on, thus the dialogue was short. Lastly, and linked to the above reasoning, several participants were very direct, clear and to the point when giving their answers and further questioning was not always required.

The interviews were of an open-ended and semi-structured nature (Stangor, 2011). This meant that each participant did not have any forced choice options to choose from, but rather they could explain in their own words without any limitations. The semi-structured element of the interviews meant that the interview guide was present, however the list of questions was used as a guideline only, and more questions were asked during the interview based on the responses that each participant gave. The need for the semi-structured format of the interviews was that

it allowed for a conversation to emanate and more information to be gained, as more probing questions could be asked when answers were given.

For ethical purposes each participant was asked to sign two the consent forms prior to commencing the interview. One form was consenting to the interview (see Appendix 6), and the other consenting to the recording (see Appendix 7) of the interview. All interviews were recorded using an audio recording device. Once each interview was completed the audio was then uploaded onto a laptop device where they were transcribed and later analysed using thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006).

3.4 Instrument

3.4 Interview guide

As noted in the procedures section, an interview guide was created (see Appendix 4 and 5). Two interview guides were created as they were aimed at two different groups of individuals; those that have remained at their institution and those that have left. Each question asked was short and precise, which meant that participants could easily understand them. Examples of the questions asked are; How would you describe your identity? When did you receive the Carnegie grant? What are your reasons for leaving your previous institution?

3.5 Method of analysis

The data analysis technique that was used is Thematic Analysis (TA), which involved processing and categorising raw data into themes. The raw data that was analysed took the form of written text. In this research, the written text was the transcribed interviews from recorded verbal communication (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The Braun and Clarke model of TA was used to analyse the data. The suggested six steps for analysing the data are as follows. First the researcher must familiarise herself with the data by reading and re-reading the transcribed data. Then, initial codes must be generated for interesting features of the entire data set which are relevant to answering the research question. Next, the researcher searches for themes from the collated sets of codes and gathers all data for each potential theme. After potential themes have been identified, the themes must be reviewed to make sure that they work in terms of the coded extracts, and for the entire data set, and then a thematic map of analysis can be created. Once the themes have been reviewed, theme names and definitions for those themes need to be created. Then finally, the report of analysis must be produced (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The analysis for this data took the same shape as the process proposed above by Braun and Clarke (2006). After the data was transcribed, each transcript was read through several times, and the data was then coded. Relevant sentences were identified and highlighted through the means of looking for key words for example; belonging, bias, discriminated, race, gender, culture and transformation. In addition, the researcher searched for sentences such as; "I identify myself as…" or "Gender issues do exist…" and so on. The key words that were being looked for also then became the codes for each relevant sentence. Once that was done, a tabulation of the codes was done on the computer with its corresponding sentence. Each sentence was categorised under the relevant codes, for example all sentences related to race were put together. Based on the research questions, related codes were then put together to formulate possible theme, for example race and gender amongst other factors were able to fall under the theme of exclusion. Once it was certain that everything was in alignment, theme names were created and defined based on answering the research questions and meeting the aims as laid out in Chapter 2, thereafter the report was produced.

3.6 Ethical considerations

There are various ethical considerations that one needs to take into account when conducting a research study. For this research there were three relevant ethical considerations, however, first and foremost it must be stated upfront that there was no risk or harm to any of the participants, and as previously said ethics clearance was obtained (see Appendix 1).

In order to ensure informed consent and withdrawal, participants gave their permission, through the means of signing consent forms, to be involved and participate in the research based on adequate knowledge about the study and what participation will entail. In addition, participants were given the option to withdraw from the study at any time, for whatever reason (Evans, 2007). In order for proper informed consent to be given by participants, they were informed in writing, through the use of the participant invitation (Appendix 3), of the aim of the study and what it will involve. They were also made aware of all the tasks that they may be required to complete for the research, in addition they were made aware of any possible risks and benefits to participation (Evans, 2007). Informed consent was therefore given by participants through signing the consent for interview form (Appendix 6), as well as signing the consent to recording form (Appendix 7).

Researchers must value the privacy of participants as well as the confidentiality of any personal information (Evans, 2007). Due to the interviews being face-to-face, anonymity was not

possible; however, participant's personal information will be confidential through the means of having given participants pseudonyms such as Participant A and Participant B thus their personal information may not be associated with an individual's particular name. Also, data has been used in the report in the form of quotes cannot be confidential as it will subsequently be in the public realm through a report, however the data has been written up in a way that the quotes cannot be associated with any particular individual participant. The researcher has also made every effort not to disclose any identifiable information in the research write-up, thereby ensuring confidentiality. Raw data has been stored securely in a password protected computer and only the researcher and her supervisor has and will continue to have access to this data until it is destroyed.

For this research, an executive summary will be made available and will be sent to all participants via e-mail as per their request. Participants might also access the research report from the library portal. If further information is wanted by any of the participants, they can contact the researcher using the contact details made available. The research may also be used at conferences and may be published.

Chapter 4

Results

This chapter presents the themes that emerged during the data analysis process which used the Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis model. There are three broad themes that have emerged from the data, and quotes from participants will be used as evidence to illustrate the emergent themes. Thereafter a discussion and conclusion will be drawn in the next chapter.

The main objective of this study was to explore the career trajectories of female academics that have previously received a Carnegie grant, and investigate the possible enablers or barriers that may exist or have existed based on intersectionality, gender, race as well as any other factors that participants felt barred them from forward movement in their career. In conjunction with this, it was explored whether these factors impacted their perceptions of their sense of belonging or non-belonging to their department and or institution. In addition, the causes for these female academics leaving or wanting to leave their institution were investigated, along with their reasons for remaining with their institution. This took into consideration their feelings of belonging or non-belonging and their experiences of exclusion or inclusion.

4.1 Results

Discourses of exclusion

Sexism and racism have been used as tools to oppress particular races and groups of individuals such as women, particularly in the workplace (Feagin, 2013). A major theme that surfaced during data analysis is that many female academics are negatively impacted in their work environment because of their race, gender, age and sexuality. This may sometimes directly or indirectly affect their career trajectory. The following extracts depict the prejudice and inequity that exists in higher education. It begins with the way each discipline and department is shaped.

> Photography is a very gender specific field. It is mostly dominated by men with ‘big lenses’ (P3, WF).

> Our department is quite poor in racial representation. I think there are just three non-white staff (P4, WF).

> In Architecture there are more men than women. Also the men are more senior (P12, WF).

Following on from the above excerpts then, is the belief from participants that when a department is over represented by a specific race or gender, it becomes more difficult to advance one's career for those that are the minority within that space. The reference to men with big lenses is a critique of patriarchal norms which characterise the discipline of photography. The seniority of males points to the fact that males make the decisions about what is valued and important and they may also serve as gate keepers to the field of Architecture. Moreover, those who are numeric minorities and largely in junior positions, experience their identities as misaligned with the hegemonic identities. This is amplified by some of the excerpts that follow.

> For the longest time I felt things are just not fair in terms of… if you want to get promoted the goalposts are always moving depending on who you are, and that is not right (P16, BF).

> When I joined the Business School there were no female associate professors or above, and the professors at their level had no PhDs. But there were many women lecturers with a PhD that were not being promoted, so it was a very inequitable environment (P20, WF).

> ...We've also attended a meeting with the Dean where all black academics in the Science faculty were invited, and senior black people were complaining they haven't been promoted and that they struggle to be promoted (P11, CF).

> I think there's a very decisive shift around hegemonic safety. I don't think senior white academics in the Architecture program have any investment in a meaningful transformation project. I think that the dominant conversation that I have been able to pick up on is about questions of preservation; preservation of traditions, preservation of built environment, preservation of modernist architecture; and a lot of discomfort around any type of debate on questions of transformation and this conversation is very white managed (P17, BF).

The two groups of statements given above further perpetuates the idea that the way a department or faculty is shaped will impact the current as well as future generations of the academy, particularly for women and black individuals. Both the numeric data and interviews

made it clear that while women academics are generally underrepresented, black women are particularly absent in the academy. In the case of Architecture for example, women as well as black women in particular are attempting to enter the space but they are not able to fully develop themselves and be promoted up the ranks because of the white and male dominance that exists. Consequently, the existing space becomes one where those who threaten their epistemic hold on the field and knowledge production process are subtly or directly excluded. In addition, the space becomes uninviting for women as well as those that are black because they do not see the rewards they can reap when they are not given adequate space to develop. Thus, creating the next generation of academics becomes vastly more difficult as only the white and male version of success is being displayed and validated.

In the last excerpt above, the participant refers to multiple forms of exclusion which she attributes to preservation of white interests and traditions located in the curriculum and the very substance of the discipline including the built environment. Discourses of transformation are then constructed as challenging existing hegemony. They produce discomfort and have the effect of closing down the conversation. Those who do progress despite these challenges are however still seen as imposters that are promoted primarily on the basis of race and gender as the extracts below illustrate.

> ...HOD's felt they were forced to take on people of colour and would say so straight to my face that I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for my colour (P9, CF).

> When you're black it's a built-in thing that people think 'no she got promoted because she's black (P16, BF).

Thus, the existing ideology which has stemmed out of employment equity and transformation policies is that black academics would not necessarily be hired or promoted if they were not black. In addition, it is further propagated that being black means one it not educated or sufficiently developed to qualify for the position to which one is appointed. A generalisation is then created and all black academics are stereotyped and stigmatised about their achievements not being deserving but rather seen as "charity" cases based on their race.

The following two quotes suggest non intended consequences of the dogmatic application of employment equity and the transformation agenda when hiring or promoting employees.

> The HOD applies employment equity and we look at everything, so now we want the reverse, we are looking for a white male...But we will not be able to get one, the

> developmental posts and equity posts supports increasing the number of black staff (P19, BF).
>
> I have applied for promotion this year. I'm not confident, only because of the new transformation rules and they don't want to promote white people (P4, WF).

Even though the aim of implementing employment equity was, and still is to assist in the redress of past inequalities; when incorrectly used it ironically sometimes causes the opposite effect and creates a disadvantage when it comes to hiring people that are needed in a department, such as males. This is because the transformation agenda is to get in more women as they are seen as one of the disadvantaged groups. However, in the case where a field is already dominated by women, a different transformation agenda should exist to advance other groups. As said earlier, this creates a problem for creating the next generation of academics as in this example, male students only see women in the field, and no role models are present for them thus the current state of female dominance is perpetuated.

In the case of the white woman quoted above, it is worth pointing out that the data contradicts her assertion that white women are not being promoted. In particular, the data suggests that white women as a group are experiencing unprecedented growth within the academy. A statement from a participant further supports this.

> One of the ways the university is undergoing transformation is by appointing white women, because they used to be equated the same as a black male or female. So this way the university seems like they are transforming but actually all they are doing is pushing up the female numbers (P11, CF).

However, in cases where white women are being unfairly held back from advancement and they are underrepresented, this may create alienation and a sense of non-belonging and discourage white women as group from pursuing careers within the academy. Another emerging theme from some participants like P11 and P13 below is that representation is not sufficient for transformation. A sense of belonging where one can make a full contribution should accompany representation. Representation without belonging is seen as a form of "window dressing" which is the illusion that gender and race equality does exist when in actual fact behind the scenes there is a great deal of false authenticity.

> So you can walk into the staff room and say 'you guys are quite transformed', but it means nothing if those people have no say in how the department is running, the way

> things are going; and those that try to have a say get pummelled down...You can't do cosmetic transformation, it has to be substantial so when we have different cultures in the department that must be reflected in the curriculum we teach (P13, BF).

In this excerpt, the participant is calling attention to substantive forms of belonging where all academics feel that they are part of the curriculum. The pummelling to which she refers can be understood as epistemic erasure necessary for maintaining a hegemonic masculine white way of seeing reality. Window dressing in fact creates a false sense of reality and security for students who think they have the opportunity to prosper in that environment because they see themselves represented in the diversity of the academics that teach them. These next generations come into a space that is actually unwelcoming with a heavy oppressive atmosphere of which they were unaware because of the "window dressing" that departments display. However, from the extract below we see that there are senior members of staff that do believe in the transformation agenda, not only to create equality but also to have a representative staff and student body thus enabling role modelling and creating a space where students and staff members can relate and interact with each other.

> I took over this unit in 2012 and since then we've made appointments that only represent the universities transformative agenda because I do believe in it. It's not just an issue of saying the law requires us to. So we target race groups in order to make our profile representative, not to meet the law but to meet with the requirements of our students so that our students, if they walk into a unit that is only white, they won't feel at home (P5, WF).

As stated earlier, several female academics perceive and have experienced stagnation in their careers, or have grappled with many difficulties with regards to promotions and "climbing up the ladder" because of race, gender, age and sometimes sexuality. The following extracts clearly illustrate this.

> ...one of my biggest challenges as a young female academic in the environment is having my intellectual pursuits downplayed to my biological ones...I feel sometimes I am spoken down to and I think that has a large part do with my age; being a young academic (P14, WF).

> I know here especially in the school they are very worried about age, so ageism is the worst kind of thing. For instance, they don't look at your record they just count your

> years...it is like they have a set time in their head, from lecturer to senior lecturer it should take five years. From senior lecturer to associate professor it should take seven years. You must have grey hair, if you don't, you can't (P16, BF).
>
> When I started at this university in 2000, it was awful. It was one of the worst years of my life here...I was completely disrespected because of my race and completely disrespected because I came with a degree from UWC. It was said to me in each and every staff meeting that I needed development because I came from UWC (P9, CF).

The preceding quotes point to three forms of alienation for a cohort of female academics. A significant issue is related to gender and its intersection with age. In this regard, to be a young woman in the academy appears to attract disrespect, juniorisation and condescension from colleagues. This impacts on beliefs about readiness for promotion and has an impact on career progression of young women academics. A second matter relates to elitism and its association with standards. We therefore see that participant 9 who had studied at a formerly black institution was seen as not ready and needing development based on the prejudicial belief that her qualification was of inferior quality compared to that of her current employer.

Even though some white woman academics appeared to feel like their career progression was stifled by the focus on the development of black academics, there was an emerging discourse of the need for black role models for students so that they consider the academy as a potential career choice. Without proper transformation in institutions, schools and departments, the new groups of students that come into universities are unable to see the potential in being an academic. The reason for this could be that they are predominately exposed to a white Westernised culture, with white staff members and black support staff. The same could then be said for women; when girls walk into a classroom and they are only being lectured by males, an unrealistic and untrue perpetuation is maintained and continued because women may then think they cannot be in these roles. In the following excerpts, we see examples of how participants think about the value of role models.

> I think role models are incredibly important...usually with the first years, once every term, I invite alumni and ex-students to come and talk to them during one of their lecture periods, and we try to do a kind of a power dance so we don't only have white males coming to talk about Engineering. I want them to see young, dynamic black females (P6, WF).

> ...I had never seen academia as a path for me. Not for me, but people like me. So in the department I didn't see black people around so I didn't think this was something I could aspire to (P13, BF).
>
> I think in terms of this department we need more black academic staff and amazingly our black students will talk to black staff. It's a role model issue here (P3, WF).

Role modelling speaks to notions of belonging and non-belonging as students and academics who feel alone are likely to be alienated from particular career paths and spaces that they experience as unwelcoming. Thus a lack of representation means poor role modelling, and that impacts the career choices of students and creating the next generation of academics that will be able to impart knowledge and skills. Moreover, a dominant atmosphere of black and female alienation may lead to these academics exiting the academy.

This theme of exclusion has highlighted the various forms of discrimination that occur within the higher education sector ranging from ageism to racial discrimination. It points to the fact that black women are discriminated against because of their race, and further stigmatised by Employment Equity and Affirmative Action. The stigmatisation occurs due to their colleagues not seeing them as being on the same level, but rather as poorly educated and only being employed because of their race. From the perspective of white female academics, they feel they are biased against because of their race and are unable to prosper in their careers. They believe that they do not form part of the universities transformation agenda that aims to promote black females first before white females. The theme also speaks about gender and age, where in male dominated fields such as Engineering, female academics are disrespected and looked down upon because of both their age and gender. Thus, the essence of this theme answers and explores the question of how black and white women are differentially impacted based on race, gender, age, class and so on.

The Carnegie Grant: Enhancing belonging

Within the framework of academia there are various influences for one's promotion from one level to the next. As can be seen and understood by the previous theme, age, gender and race are critical influencing factors accompanied by policy guidelines. For example, having completed a PhD and published a specific amount of articles or artistic exhibitions along with other service and administration roles are important considerations for promotion.

In terms of this research and analysing career advancement, one of the main aims was to ascertain perceptions about the Carnegie grant and investigate if participants found it helpful and useful in their academic career advancement; and if it impacted their sense of belonging.

Some participants suggested that having received the Carnegie grant was crucial while others found it to be a useful jump start to the beginning of their research. Others saw it as a light at the end of the tunnel for their research and a sign of institutional confidence in their ability to pursue a doctoral degree. Participants who received the grant did various things with the funding. The grant was useful for a number of academic related activities such as PhD research, attendance to conferences to present research, attending international courses, or participation in exhibitions.

> I think the Carnegie opportunity was quite useful for me because when I came in 2010 and I wanted to start a research project, as someone who had been out of the research academy for a while, I needed to move fast and that opportunity to get funding to start my project was quite useful (P22, BF).
>
> It was very useful, at a stage when I was just starting out and I didn't have access to research funds so it was a very valuable resource to be able to draw on to help me develop as an academic (P6, WF).
>
> It changed my life here...then gave me the confidence to apply for other grants so that for me was an amazing opportunity (P13, BF)
>
> The grant was crucial, it helped me buy myself out of teaching time and allowed me to go to Berkley to consult with my professors; and I would not have been able to finish without it. It would have been impossible (P17, BF)

The above extracts exemplify the usefulness of the Carnegie grant to participants. It was not only useful as a research starting point for some, but it also gave participant 13 the confidence to apply for further grants after having received grant funding for the first time. The further boost in confidence appears to assist in many ways, particularly for black female academics that continuously face the struggle of being perceived as not being good enough or deserving of anything. Even though only one participant explicitly expressed this feeling of increased confidence, there is the prospect that other participants share the same sentiment. Thus, the notion of an organisation finding these women worthy to support creates a new discourse for

black female academics as that of being valuable, intelligent and enhancing their sense of belonging.

This new discourse has further implications for black female academics in that they may find themselves more encouraged and motivated to apply for promotions. In addition, this new found confidence may allow these women to stand up and speak up against the unfair treatment that many black female academics have experienced. Subsequently, this may assist in positively shifting the transformation agenda through black females sharing their thoughts and experiences and allowing others to gain a deeper meaning and understanding of the struggles they face on a daily basis.

> We will not speak when we are being wronged, so there is a lot of internal work that black women must do because without doing the internal work we will not be able to do the confronting work. But I think one thing you must do is speak up and speak out loud. I know that there is this idea that black women complain and talk too much. But I think we don't talk enough, we don't complain enough, we are not loud enough. The assumption that we are "loud mouths" is there to silence us and I think that it's working in many spaces, and I think we do need to be loud mouths more because we are not being heard (P21, BF).

This idea of sharing experiences is supported by the preceding extract. The irony of being called a "loud mouth" has also been brought to light. As a group that has been historically positioned and conditioned to be in quiet service of whiteness and men, black women who step outside of this frame are often shamed into silence. In particular, when black women assume academic roles which position them as having something of value to say, racists and patriarchs are invested in keeping them subservient. This silence allows others to further mistreat and bar black women in the academy, as they take advantage of the fact that these scorned women will not speak up and against this inequality that exists because they will be seen in a negative light.

Thus, the Carnegie grant and similar grants have the capability of doing more than just providing funding to individuals. The grants validate their worth as academics that are able to make an important contribution in knowledge production. They indirectly create a butterfly effect that can impact the spaces in which female academics feel both comfortable and uncomfortable. It allows for the opening up of unwanted and sensitive conversations to create a space where all female academics, especially black female academics can and may feel like they belong. The ability to participate in such conversations is enhanced by the confidence

enabled by seniority and research productivity. This is not to suggest that the grants are a panacea or that there is no resistance to their emboldened voices. In this regard, at one of the institutions the race and gendered criterion of the grant was dropped after the grant was constructed as an affirmative action grant whose beneficiaries lacked merit. The perpetuation of the myth that affirming practices such as targeted gender and race interventions somehow produces compromised outcomes can itself be read as a form of resistance to developing an inclusive and diverse next generation of academics.

In addition to creating the new space, the Carnegie grant has itself created a space of belonging for both black and white academics that are able to find each other, work together, network and relate. This has been done through various mechanisms such has having breakfast gatherings where Carnegie grant recipients are able to come together and discuss ideas and topics.

> So it created a space in a big institution with very few black academics, it created the space where you would easily identify. I remember there were these breakfast meetings that Carnegie would organize where one would meet other black academics and network, a space for creating networks and further collaboration (P21, BF).

As participant 21 mentioned, the breakfasts were a space where black academics could meet other black academics, and the same could then be said for white academics. A contradictory issue then comes to the forefront, as this space of belonging can also then be seen as a space segregation and alienation. The basis for this conjecture is that black academics are possibly only associating with black academics, and the same for white academics, thus creating a space of separation and segregation, and possibly discomfort for both groups when they see each group mingling with only those that they can identify with. Notwithstanding these possibilities, should such micro forms of segregation occur, this enables the possibility of dialogue across racialized differences where academics can reflect on the necessity of closed and open conversations.

Looking past the negative possibilities, the Carnegie grant overall has been quite supportive to those that received it, and they were not only grateful for it because it assisted them in increasing their research output, but that increased output allowed participants to meet promotional requirements and thus enhance their career trajectory. In concrete ways, it appears that the grant has contributed to the development of the next generation of academics. The excerpts below attest to this.

It enhanced the PhD enormously...it stepped in and allowed me to do a real practical project...completing the PhD was critical. I would not have been promoted without that (P12, WF).

It was a large research grant so it helped to get funding to buy equipment, actually the essentials. So it did help, because I got it when I was still a lecturer and as you can see I have progressed (she is an associate professor) (P16, BF).

It was key in the conversion from lecturer to senior lecturer, and that alone was a major milestone. Having my PhD now means that I can supervise PhD students and that means you are involved in big research and that also leads to more publications, and it means you are closer to associate professor which is what I aiming for (P19, BF).

Totally! My PhD was fundamental to being promoted to senior lecturer and getting that was fundamental to achieving associate professorship...I think if I hadn't received the grant I would probably be a year or two behind where I am now. I would probably still be on the same kind of path but I would be delayed (P8, WF).

These results are further supported by data from an interim tracer study produced for the Carnegie Corporation at the end of last year (Canham, 2015a). The data was collated by university based on all recipients of the Carnegie grant. The study indicated the following. At Wits university, of the 163 recipients of the grant there were 88 promotions over the period of ten years. In addition, prior to the grant, 48% of researchers had no PhD's, subsequently there has been a 31% in doctoral degrees (Canham, 2015a). At UCT, of the 150 recipients there were 72 promotions that emanated, as well as an increase of 19% of doctoral graduates (Canham, 2015a). The following tables below indicate the increase of PhD's at each university as well as the number of promotions in each category.

WITS

	Actual	Percentage
Senior Lecturer	28	32%
Associate Professor	27	31%
Professor	16	18%
Lecturer	13	15%
Researcher	4	5%
TOTAL	88	

Table 6- Actual numbers and percentages of promotions that occurred in each category.

	Actual	Percentage
PhD	52	100%
TOTAL	52	

Table 7- Actual number of PhD studies that were completed.

UCT

	Actual	Percentage
No Change	111	68%
New Qualification	52	32%
TOTAL	163	

Table 8- The percentage increase of new qualifications.

	Actual	Percentage
Senior Lecturer	29	40%
Associate Professor	24	33%
Director	5	7%
Senior Research Officer	3	4%
Professor	3	4%
Epidemiologist	1	1%
Research Fellow	1	1%
Doctoral Fellow	1	1%
Research Trial Manager	1	1%
Researcher	1	1%
Chief Research Specialist	1	1%
Academic Consultant	1	1%
Economist	1	1%
TOTAL	72	

Table 9- Actual numbers and percentages of promotions that occurred in each category.

	Actual	Percentage
PhD	29	100%
TOTAL	29	

Table 10- Actual number of PhD studies that were completed.

	Actual	Percentage
No Change	121	81%
New Qualification	29	19%
TOTAL	150	

Table 11- The percentage increase of PhD studies as compared to the already existing qualifications.

As the title of this theme indicates, the premise of this theme is about the Carnegie grant, and speaks to the question about the perceived benefit of participants having received the Carnegie grant. As some of the participants stated, receiving this grant was not only beneficial from a financial point of view, but also benefited in other areas such as increasing confidence, self-worth and the value that each individual has of themselves. In addition, receiving the grant helped many of the female academics to complete their PhDs which was a requirement for promotion which many of them did receive. Furthermore, having received the grant assisted others in finding a space where they were able to feel and could experience a sense of belonging, thus the link to belonging and non-belonging.

Trying to belong in a space of otherness

Following on from the impact of the Carnegie grant on belonging, this theme analyses the sense of belonging participants feels in their current spaces as being either female, black or a combination of the two. Participants indicated that for some there is a sense of belonging in the space, but that does not apply to everyone. Others feel they belong on one level, for example being a woman in a largely female profession, but not belonging for other reasons such as coming from another university or profession.

> I struggled to fit in, but I don't think it was because of a gender issue. I struggled to fit in coming in as a non-engineer into an engineering department (P6, WF).

> I was completely disrespected because of my race and completely disrespected because I came with a degree from UWC (P9, CF).

> When I came here there was quite a lot of hostility towards me. I think that the merging department thing left unsaid rivalries between the two departments...my field of research was very alien to the people in this department (P4, WF).

The above extracts share insight into the various reasons why non-belonging may exist for individuals based on factors other than race and gender or factors which intersect with these identities. The experience of alienation that manifested many feelings for these female academics were not always easily explainable. Participant 4 is not originally from South Africa and she could not understand the politics of the treatment she was receiving. For her, the "foreign" identity exacerbated her sense of non-belonging such that it felt overwhelming. On the other hand, participant 9 had always faced and been in spaces of non-belonging as she grew up in the time of Apartheid. Even though she obtained a degree and worked hard, she still feels that she is excluded because of her upbringing and race. It can therefore be said that non-belonging can be felt by any individual for various reasons, as both and white and black participants experienced a sense of non-belonging to various degrees.

> I struggled to be comfortable in the staffroom so I would walk in and feel like I should just get out because this is not my space...I still feel the space is not welcoming, I have to create the pockets where I feel welcome, but I have to create them, they are not natural (P13, BF).

> The staff and students did never feel they belonged to the institution so they never felt they had to access that space (P2, WF).

> When students come here and they see predominantly white staff, white HOD, there is always a question of are they really welcome here (P1, CF).

The preceding quotes further illustrate the sense of non-belonging that both black female academics and students face. This points to continuities of non-belonging which begin when academics are students and continue when they are academics. It demonstrates the fact that even after many years of democracy and efforts to transform universities, there are still spaces that exist that are created and maintained for only certain groups of individuals, and those that do not fit are excluded. These excluded individuals need to work alone to create new spaces where they can feel comfortable and welcomed. This however perpetuates a continuous cycle of separation by race and gender whereby there isn't one space for everyone but rather different spaces for specific groups.

> So if we don't all do the internal personal work that we need to do, transformation won't happen. So you have a post, but everybody will be in their space. black women will not apply because they are in their place, white women will apply because they are in their place. So we need to interrupt those old ways of thinking about who we are, and which positions you must occupy in the space (P21, BF).

Participant 21 clearly explains the consequences of groups being in their own spaces that have been created by institutions as well as the long standing traditions of society. These consequences not only hold true for the current academic staff, but also the next generation of academics that will follow. The danger is that black female academics will not advance because they will feel constrained to a particular box where they are not supposed exit and are not allowed to move up the ladder to greater things. Thus it is important to change the status quo and to create a discourse where black individuals can and do occupy spaces that might not have been created for them in mind (Puwar, 2004).

Other factors influencing the sense of belonging and otherness is that of stereotyping certain jobs, tasks, roles and traits and perpetuating the idea that specific tasks or roles are only for women or only for men.

> ...it creates an interesting dialectic between hard skills and soft skills. This idea is based on the dualism that hard skills still dominated by men, and soft skills dominated by women (P14, WF).

> There's a great bias, it's subtle and sometimes you find that there is this preconception that 'No, women don't have the time to do this because they have kids to worry about' (P16, WF)

> We had a professor who used to come and say 'Good morning gentlemen' and he wouldn't even speak to the women and he would often repeat that women were a waste of governments money because we would just become pregnant and leave the profession (P5, WF).

The extracts above describe another level of non-belonging, specifically based on gender. They depict the traditional patriarchal nature of society that has further entered the working environment, where men do not feel that women belong in the work place. Therefore, women that are in the academic field, particularly in historically male faculties and departments, are othered and feel a sense of non-belonging. As noted by participant 5, men have the tendency to stereotype women as only being reproductive beings that do not add any value to academia as they will be distracted by child rearing. Thus some women feel alienated as women based on the reproductive possibilities based on their gender identity.

However, being a mother is a possible reality for many women, and many of those mothers need to work as well and balance the responsibilities of both roles. As a few of the participants noted being a mother is part of their identity and that adds another category and dimension to who they are personally and in the work environment.

> I identify myself first off as a mother that's the role I see as more important than any other role I play. It is also the role that gives me joy- the only part of my life where I derive free joy. I don't have to work to get it so I identify myself more as a mother and I also identify myself as a very good clinician (P13, BF).

> I would say I am an academic, a mother, a wife and a daughter (P15, IF).

> I am a mother but I don't elevate that above other things because my youngest is 18. So I identify myself as a mother of a matriculant because as much as I am an academic I

> have to focus on my children as well and now I am getting used identifying myself as a single mother because my husband died last year (P19, BF).

The above quotes support the intersectional identity that women have, and these participants have suggested that being a mother is one of their most important roles next to their career. Based on this discourse and the stereotype that all women probably hold motherhood above all, women are further alienated and made to feel that they are inadequate in the workplace such that they are seen as being unable to be a great academic and a great mother. This alienation is expressed by those women who do not have children and men in general but particularly those in senior posts.

Contrary to this stereotype one of the participants stated that she ensures her work is above board and that plans are put in place if there is an emergency thus indicating that even in difficult times it is possible to manage work and family life.

> I'm a planner so if I knew I wasn't going to be available I would do it in advance and I fit everything into my schedule. It is not often people have to pick up after me. If there is a meeting I needed to attend and I couldn't make it I would put support in place to ensure the other areas of my life are taken care for example bring my mother to help with the child (P15, IF).

On the other hand, another participant puts forward the sacrifices that she makes, that in order for her to prove herself not only as a woman but also a black woman she has to sacrifice one of the important aspects of her life that being her child.

> I have been a bad mother because I wanted to be a better employee. Last week my son was sick, and my son is 8, my son was sick, so in the morning I was on my treadmill and my child said "oh thank you mummy you not going to work" and I said "no! what!? I'm going", and I'm going to my shower and as I'm showering I'm thinking why can't I take my son to the doctor and stay with him why can't I. He is 8, I have never done that, you know I leave my kids at home when they are sick, I come to work and I take them to the doctor at 5 p.m. (P21, BF).

The final quote shows the burden of childcare and the attendant guilt which many academic mothers have to live with.

The final experience noted by women that impacted their sense of belonging is the expectation that women all stand together united, hence causing some sense of belonging at a group level. This has however proven not to be the case in some instances. The quotes to follow describe the experiences of some of the participants, and their idea of having some sort of kinship and someone to identify with when seeing other women in their surrounding environment. Their sense of belonging was quickly replaced with non-belonging as it was established that these women were just "another one of the guys". The shift of these women from feminine to more masculine traits can be attributed to the patriarchal environment mentioned above. They assimilate to their surroundings supressing their true self in order to assimilate to survive and gain ground in their career trajectories. Based on that idea, it can then be said that these women that have adapted were previously in a space of non-belonging, but strategically shifted their ways and thinking in order to belong and be seen as someone with knowledge and skills, rather than just a woman who will have kids and have less time to be a "proper" academic. The sad probability is that they are now alienated from themselves even as they labour under the weight of patriarchy. In some of the examples that follow, we see that some woman can act as the agents of patriarchy.

> Sometimes women can be harder on other women because they have realised they had it hard and had to fight in a male dominated environment so why should somebody else get it easier...Senior women can be complicit by saying "why should transforming the workplace make it easier for women when I had it hard?" (P14, WF).

> But not all women are feminists, they are all there for themselves and they are ambitious and competitive and they don't promote women. My previous Dean was a woman, but she didn't believe in supporting and promoting other women and that can be seen from the number of women that are in senior roles (P12, WF).

> There's a particular woman who tears into women constantly. Another woman treats other women like they are massive competition; totally unsupportive (P18, WF).

This theme depicting belonging and non-belonging deconstructs multiple levels of non-belonging. The experience of most participants was non-belonging as many experienced their belonging as tenuous. The theme describes the feelings and experiences of non-belonging based on race, gender, coming from a different university that is perceived as low class, as well as other roles that women play such as being a mother. These multiple roles that women play, as well as the different ways that they identify themselves such as being black, a female, an

academic, a mother and so on, all protrude around the construct of intersectionality. Thus, the significance of this theme is not only to answer the question about how women understand their experiences of belonging or non-belonging, but it also speaks to one the aims of this research which is to understand the various characters that women give themselves and how they navigate and experience the impact of all these roles in different spaces.

Remaining in a space of discomfort

This final theme seeks to explain and understand some of the reasons for female academics leaving their institution and moving to another, as well as why others have chosen to remain where they are.

The following extracts highlight the frustrating contradictions that some academics experience within the academy.

> You can't have a post because there is no post, but they paying the same on a contract as if there was a post, but there is no post because they haven't created the post, and they can't create the post because they have someone on contract. When there's a performance issue they will say I haven't done any research but I haven't done research because I have no research grants, or research leave or access to research systems or anything, and they say you can't have that because you not employed permanently. (P20, WF).

> I was in a grant funded post, so it was a university post and they couldn't employ me permanently. On the other hand, I couldn't be promoted without a PhD so I found myself in a catch 22 (P15, IF).

The two preceding quotes are from two participants that have left their institutions. Participant 20 left to go to another university as she was unable to proceed in her career while under the constraints of being a contract employee. As she mentioned, there was no access to certain opportunities or facilities because contract employees could not have those benefits. Moreover, tenured employment was unlikely. Thus in order for her to succeed in her career she needed to find an institution that could hire her permanently.

On the other hand, participant 15 left her university but remained as an honorary lecturer in order to keep her networks and supervise students that she had created a relationship with as a full time lecturer. She too was on a contract as she had a grant funded post, and was faced with

the dilemma of not being able to be promoted as she was not employed permanently and she had not completed her PhD due to the same reasons as participant 20.

It can therefore be seen that contract employees experience both exclusion and non-belonging as they are unable to properly fit in and they are unable to adequately progress in their career because their type of employment bars them from such success. Subsequently, these individuals found alternative ways to succeed while still remaining in the field of academia.

An interesting observation from one of the participants is that it is mainly females who are initially put on contract as opposed to men.

> If you look at the contract practices of universities, you will find that it happened most often with women than it does with men. I don't think that it is necessarily a conscious motive, but I think it is easier to do it to women than it is to do to men and that obstructs women's careers. Many women that are employed on contract have their careers obstructed because they do not have access to research opportunities and when you get interviewed for a job you are asked why haven't you done research, so that is quite a common practice (P20, WF).

For many of these female academic participants, whether on contract or permanent staff, the lack of promotional opportunities causes them to leave, particularly for black African female academics, thus the attrition rates for this group of academics are very high. The lengthy excerpt from a person that left their former institution explains this phenomenon.

> One of the reasons why I left is because I felt I was ready for a promotion to associate professor. At the time when I wanted to apply I was told that I was not ready by the head of school...She indicated that for me to be promoted to associate professor I must have about 20 publications and that was contrary to the requirements. I had the policy document with me at the time, so I said 'Is that a new policy?' So when I said that to her, she said, "No, no, no, I'm just saying the committee is just very subjective". Then I said, 'If it is subjective, it's wrong. They have to follow policy, because if they are subjective it means that other people will be penalised because who we are is influenced by where we come from, and if the committee is white and male or white and female then it means that black women, their subjectivities will not be considered'... I work hard and I don't want to do three times more than everybody else. If six articles are a

> requirement I shouldn't have to be forced to do twenty because I'm black. I refuse (P21, BF).

The quote above clearly demonstrates the stereotype that individuals have about black female academics that wish to further their careers. This includes the perception that they are not developed or equipped enough for higher positions and hence they are expected to do double, even triple what is required from a white female academic which should not be the case, particularly if there are rules and requirements put in place for hiring purposes. The fact that the head of school stated that the promotion committee is subjective, further proves that there are possibly many circumstances when there are well qualified black academics that meet the requirements that are overlooked because of their race which is demeaning and not acceptable, especially by institutions that claim they are transforming.

This relates to an earlier theme where "window dressing" and "cosmetic change" were mentioned. Universities state that they are pro transformation and they are trying to redress past inequalities of disadvantaged individuals (female and/or black) but this appears to primarily advantage white women. Universities are under the impression that they are transforming because they are hiring and promoting white women, but they are leaving behind the most disadvantaged group, black females, and are still encouraging and supporting white supremacy. There is no justifiable reason for a black female academic to have to produce more research output than a white female academic if the two individuals are producing the same quality of work.

There are participants who have left their former institutions but there are many participants who have not left their university who have however thought of leaving for various reasons as described below.

> I think on one hand I don't find the university to be a supportive or compassionate place to work (P1, CF).

> Yes, I have thought of leaving, but there is no escaping institutional racism whether you are inside the academy or out (P17, BF).

Explaining why her peers left, a participant noted:

> ...they left because of a lack of support and definitely complete prejudice and discrimination (P9, CF).

Based on the extracts above the core reason behind individuals wanting to leave is because the university is not supportive and there is a substantial degree of racism that exists. Black female academics highlight racism and a non-supportive environment as the core considerations for leaving their places of employment. In their view, the support is given to white academics who are assumed to be more valuable and deserving because they are stereotyped as being more competent to their black peers. As participant 17 mentioned, racism cannot be escaped by leaving an institution because it exists everywhere based upon generalisation, stereotypes and ideologies that have been maintained over time. However, others have left due to racism, and their new institution may still have racism but the university culture may be open to having conversations around that sensitive topic and implementing effective strategies and mechanisms to remedy some of the effects of racism.

On the opposite side of the spectrum are those that have not left or have not even considered leaving, but have chosen to stay for a multitude of factors such as enjoying the students and the passion for academia.

> I enjoy the academic freedom...I do enjoy teaching (P9, CF).
>
> I love my students, and I love teaching and I love supervising...I love doing research...I am an academic in the fundamental sense. I live and breathe it (P18, WF).
>
> This type of job and this type of position is a good fit for me because there's teaching, research and clinical practice, and I love the three together. If I were to go to work in a Technikon I wouldn't get all three, if I worked in clinical practise I wouldn't get all three (P7, WF).

The above quotes illustrate that these participants have chosen not to leave their institution because teaching and research are their passion and their current institution allows them to fulfil both these passions. However, it might be worthy to note that two of the three participant's quotes are from white academics who may not be facing or experiencing some of the barriers, struggles and exclusions that black academics face. It may thus be easier for them overlook other things that may be occurring in their environment which enables them to remain at their institutions. Having said that, participant 18 does face a great deal of dissatisfaction in her faculty because of gender issues that exist and the fact that she is a female in a fairly senior role as associate professor. Therefore, the love of teaching and research can sometimes be a trade-off for an otherwise harsh environment.

This final theme is at the core of this research which focuses on, and answers the question as to the reasons for female academics remaining within their institution or leaving. Of all the participants sampled only three had left their respective institutions and had done so because of the subjectivity of the promotion process based on race and gender, the university environment and lastly because of the different experiences of discrimination. However, from a positive perspective, many have remained because of the joy they get from being in academia which encompasses their love and passion for teaching and research. Thus, there are two sides to a coin and each female academic has had different experiences and encounters which has either encouraged them to stay and overlook or live with the negative situations they are in, or the experience has encouraged them to move on to opportunities elsewhere.

To conclude, this results chapter and the themes that have emerged from the data have brought about an insightful and fruitful understanding around the feelings and experiences of these 22 female academics. It has brought to the forefront the sad but current reality that discrimination has and still continues to exist within the realm of higher education. Although this research has focused on female academics, a participant has noted the negative feelings that students have around the gender and race dynamics that exist. This puts forward the notion that these experiences exist not only for staff but also students thus the continued negative perpetuations. However, the silver lining exists where opportunities arise such as the Carnegie grant that brings about positivity. The positivity that is brought is not only on the level of finances but also around confidence and self-worth, which with combined efforts of the grant and the recipient has resulted in upward career mobility for many of these female academics. Furthermore, the grant has provided a space that allows for individuals to experience the feelings of belonging. All the themes that emerged are linked and can be intertwined to bring about a collective understanding as to why female academics chose to remain or leave their institution which has been the focus of this research.

Chapter 5

Discussion

5.1 Discussion

The themes that emerged from the data analysis revealed the politics that still continue to exist within the realm of the educational sector with regards to race, gender, culture, belonging; and how each of these categories have impacted this cohort of female academics with regards to their career trajectory, successes and barriers to success. The analysis gives a glimpse of some of the deepest sorrows and triumphs of these women. These constitute some of the conclusions drawn in this chapter. Applied in conjunction with each other, the lens and theories used to inform this research provide a compelling case for why research into women academics remains valuable and dynamic. They provide insight into barriers that all women academics face, but more so, the struggles that women of colour battle on a daily basis within their work environment.

Gender and race issues have always existed (Feagin, 2013) and as Booysen and Nkomo (2010) suggest, they continue to exist in more complex ways in the workplace today even though there have been transformation strategies and policies implemented to combat inequality and access (e.g. Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998). Thus, the sense of belonging on various levels, for both women and women of colour exist to varying degrees. Based on the data, the reasons foregrounded are from the continued stereotypes informed by ideologies of meritocracy (Canham, 2015b) and sexism that permeate the academy. This is against the backdrop of a higher education system steeped within a history of colonial and apartheid tropes of excellence embodied in white patriarchal norms. Therefore, the struggle for a sense of belonging for women and black women in particular within this environment is unsurprisingly fraught and contested.

Thus, in terms of the higher education sector gender, race, intersectionality and experiences of belonging and non-belonging impact all individuals, particularly female and black academics who are trying to succeed and navigating their career trajectories through the barriers that are caused by these interconnected factors. More so, the discourses around gender and race that have promoted and advocated for white and male dominance have been inscribed in university

culture from the white foundation that it is built on to the continued Western curriculum that is taught to all students. In the long term this culture of "whiteness" has implications for the next generation of academics not only for white academics but more importantly black female academics that have a history of racial and gender based marginalisation different from white female academics that have and continue to benefit from white privilege. As the results indicated, the dominant perception is that while universities are claiming to be transforming they are actually increasing the numbers of white academics by employing and supporting the development of women who officially form part of the designated groups.

The higher education system is embedded within the broader South African socio political context. It is unsurprising therefore that racist and sexist incidents regularly flare up within both systems as is evidenced by the recent racist beatings of black students on the rugby fields of the University of the Free State (Whittles, 2016) and the racist outbursts by people like Penny Sparrow and others on social media (Wicks, 2016). Thus, following on from Schulze (2006) in relation to female academics, it is important to understand the complexities that exist for women based on the various intersections that they identify themselves with and how that impacts various outcomes of their work life including career success, retention and job satisfaction. This is evidenced by a number of women who identified as being more than women, raced, academics, but who also saw themselves as daughters, mothers, parents, single or married, young or older. One of the categories that was signalled as salient was that of being a mother. For women academics that are mothers, this identity category impacted them in various ways and in forms that would be less salient to male academics.

For those mothers with smaller children that still need attention including to be picked up from school and so on, some of them found it difficult to navigate this identity in the academic environment. One of the reasons for this is that it may be difficult to ask one's line manager (usually a male) for permission to do things like take children to the doctor or fetch them from school when this is considered unrelated to productive work (J. Poduval & M. Poduval, 2009). Parental duties associated with motherhood in a patriarchal society sometimes require women academics to stay away from work and take leave at a sudden moment's notice that is not always understood (J. Poduval & M. Poduval, 2009). The challenge is embedded in the fact that men do not understand the complexities of being a working mother, and that even though women may come from a double-income household, the responsibility still lays upon them to take care of the duties involving their off –spring (J. Poduval & M. Poduval, 2009). Thus

women may then be resented in the workplace by other women who do not have children, and by men who think they are incapable of fulfilling their work tasks properly.

As the results indicated, one of the participants mentioned that she always ensures her work is up to scratch and on par, because in emergencies, the work that is needed to be done is still done for someone else to take over and teach the class or whatever the circumstance may be. Therefore, the issue that working mothers are faced with is the fact that those around them, particularly men, underestimate and stereotype them as women who will not be able to deliver on their work duties efficiently and effectively because they are mothers (J. Poduval & M. Poduval, 2009) but this has been proven to not always be the case.

Further evidence is given by another participant who commented that she would go to work for the full day and only take her child to the doctor after working hours. However, she did not attribute this sacrifice to gender issues but rather to race, and the fact that it is insinuated that black women do not deserve to take care of their children in times of crises, but must rather work. This could be related to the construction of black women as domestic workers and nannies who primarily exist to serve the needs of others before those of their own children and themselves. The need for black mothers to stay and work is caused by the perpetuation that black women are not where they are because of their skill, knowledge or experience (Mathipa & Tsoka, 2001). Instead, because they are black they therefore need to work, and work more and harder than their white female counterparts do. As the participant noted, the same rule does not exist and apply to white women around her, who would come and go as they pleased, whether it was family related or not, thus indicating that different rules apply to different groups of people.

This further emphasises the ideas around belonging and the fact that if you do not fit within the hegemonic group, you do not hold any of the benefits that may be associated with that group. Even though there may be common identifications as women, the race differences break down that sense of belonging and togetherness and cultivates the experience of exclusion, whether knowingly or not. This perception has been supported by Booysen and Nkomo's (2010) intersectional analysis of social location. They demonstrate that women belong in a different space as opposed to men, but black women also belong in a different space as opposed to white women.

Furthermore, the notion of women belonging to two different groups based on their race is related to the colour-blind view that women are a cohesive group that they experience the world in the same way. As shown in the literature review on intersectionality and findings of this research, black women academics often articulate struggles and world views from a position of holding different subjectivities to black men and white women as they experience multiple oppressions based on gender, race and class (Moolman, 2013). Bell and Nkomo (2001) also found that the experiences and barriers that are faced by black females are different to those of white women as the latter group remains a beneficiary of white privilege. Moreover, the research found that there were generational rifts between women academics as some of those from the older generation felt that young female academics should not have it easier, unlike themselves who had no research leave and little funding, and had to manage their work-life-family balance without institutional support.

Based on North American research by Sameer Sirvastava and Elio Sherman, there are a number of contributing factors as to why women do not help other women, particular those that have already reached their prime in their career (Lebowitz, 2015). Firstly, it may be attributed to the fact that they do not want to associate themselves with being weak through assisting another woman who would like to come up the ranks from a lower level (Lebowitz, 2015). They also do not want to lose their status that they have gained as overcoming obstacles and prevailing in a man's world (Lebowitz, 2015). Other research has indicated that it may be attributed to women being threatened from a competition stand point, and that the colleague they are helping may outrank them at some point (Tennery, 2012). Also, it has been found that some women do not like to help other women when they are in a male dominated environment, and they do not want to be tainted with being in a marginalised group when they have succeeded to such a high standard (simonszzi, 2014).

Nevertheless, creating and sustaining the next generation of academics of both genders and people of colour has proven challenging based on the fact that there are not many women including black women in the academy. This is due to many women not entering into the academy because of race and gender barriers, and women leaving based on the same assumptions, because they are unable to advance their careers. These perceptions exist alongside the pervasive view that the whiteness of universities continues to exist as can be seen from staffing to the Western theories characterise the curriculum (Mabokela, 2000). In this regard, the challenge of developing the next generation of academics extends beyond staffing

to include contestations as to what constitutes knowledge and epistemic exclusions. Echoing Mabokela (2000), some participants articulated the view that academia needs to stop being a white privilege because there are many black individuals that enjoy academia and want to be in the academic environment. Moreover, aspirant academics want to be role models to other black students so that they might begin to imagine that academia is a place where they might one day belong.

Based on the research carried out by Mabokela (2000) it can be seen that fifteen years later, similar levels of sexism and racism are still experienced by black female academics as they have to endure exclusion and discrimination of various forms. Applying critical race theory and intersectionality has allowed for the surfacing of these experiences and explanatory possibilities. Using the tenets of CRT allowed for the stories of marginalisation to surface (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). These experiences have been further shared through this research with the aim of providing an understanding and nuanced reading of the experiences and barriers faced by female academics. It is apparent that black female academics face compounding challenges that include more than just being women.

The underlining cause for this continued circle of racism can be attributed to the culture of the universities as they have been built on a foundation of white male elite privilege. Even though the white population is a numerical minority, they continue to benefit from generational privilege built on the backs of black subordination enabled by colonialism and apartheid. Based on population information from 2015, the white population has declined to 8.3% of the country's population as opposed to the 80.5% made up of black African individuals (BusinessTech, 2015). As Suransky and Van der Merwe (2014) noted in their research based on the incident at UFS, race and gender discrimination still exist at universities. They attribute this to the culture of these institutions that have not embraced change. Consequently, they may be practicing reformation and window dressing as opposed to transformation and seemingly looking like they are pro-equality, justice, redress, and race-neutrality (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). As two the participants suggested, there is lack of genuine and authentic transformation as the tactics being used continue to further white dominance and privilege rather than recruiting and developing those individuals that require redress from past inequality and subservience. Universities are more concerned with maintaining the status quo and being among the best of the universities. Transformation within these spaces is seen as working against excellence instead of productively enabling more inclusive forms of competence.

Thus, it does not prove useful to implement policies and strategies that do not serve to appropriately and adequately redress the past inequality that disadvantaged women still face. In addition to the theme of race, gender is also a crucially important factor when looking at institutional and department culture where patriarchy and masculinity are prised. This is evident at both UCT and Wits (Mabokela, 2000; Robus & Macleod, 2006). Hence, there are barriers to entry and promotion. As one of the participants mentioned, she is in a department that is dominated by men and slowly over a period of time, the males have pushed women out through creating and fostering an environment where they can no longer cope and which eventually drives them out. She has and is experiencing these difficult challenges with being an associate professor, where she constantly has to fight to be heard. Moreover, her identity as a single mother exposes her to patriarchal ridicule among her male colleagues. She has experienced emotional and verbal abuse, as well as been sexually harassed on countless occasions. She claimed that reporting these incidents within her patriarchal workplace has not brought any reprieve and leads to her construction as a problem.

Importantly, the women that participated in this research have shown that they are not passive victims as they are able to talk back and tell counter stories of survival and triumph. Some leave and others remain. They use funding opportunities such as those provided by Carnegie to advance their careers and defy the stereotypes. Stories of advanced degrees, increased productivity and promotions to senior ranks are enabled by these extra measures that have been enabled by donor agencies. These stories coexist with those of marginalisation. Perhaps the greatest value of the grants is that they have allowed a more complex story to emerge where a cohort of women can advance despite ongoing alienation. The advances of these women suggest that their ascension might have benefits for further challenging sexist, ageist, and racist stereotypes and prejudices. The support from Carnegie has allowed for these women to gain confidence in themselves as some participants perceived themselves as now being worthy and valuable because someone was willing to see their potential and invest them. More so, the Carnegie grant assisted in the experience of belonging for a few black female academics as they were able to network with others like themselves at Carnegie meetings and workshops.

The aim of the grant as proposed by the funder was to develop and advance black and female academics as will assist in changing the institutional cultures of universities through the data collected and research studies done (e.g. the climate survey at UCT and Wits). The success of the research grants is supported by the number of participants that stated the grant assisted in

them being completing doctoral degrees, being promoted, and producing quality research. However, in relation to culture, there are still many barriers along the road. The amorphous nature of culture means that it is more resistant to change. Financial injections into culture change do not necessarily mean that the requisite commitment to change exists. Moreover, unlike investments into the development of individuals, the results of culture change are more difficult to measure. However, as participants of this research have shown, their development can be curtailed by cultural barriers. This suggests that greater commitment to breaking down cultures of racism, sexism, ageism, and homophobia is required. The development of this cohort of academics however bodes well for this task as a critical mass of women within senior ranks of the academy might facilitate greater challenges to sexist norms. However, the relatively small number of black women beneficiaries of the grants means that black women remain a minority and struggles affecting them might remain marginal. More focused support for their development therefore remains an urgent priority.

The final aspect that this research analysed was the retention and attrition rates of this cohort of female academics. The participant's interviewed were both those that remained within their institutions, and those that left to go to other institutions. Many participants stated that despite the challenges they faced, they are passionate about the academic environment and enjoy being academics. One of the key reasons for this is that these academics are able to have the best of both worlds of teaching and research. However, there have been participants that felt that their development was not adequately supported within a hostile culture. However, their efforts to leave were curtailed by a limited job market. There are however those that have left and those who claim to be thriving within the academy despite ongoing challenges. Some stated that they are in a much better space and environment that is open to the sensitive and awkward conversations around race, gender and transformation. This pattern of turnover is consistent with the research findings that have elsewhere reported that academics leave their institution because of the lack of support and encouragement from their university and the culture of exclusivity that exists (Furr & Elling, 2002).

Based on the findings and stories of participants, many shared their advice and coping mechanisms that have allowed them to remain civil and sane in a space that causes them discomfort and at times unhappiness. Some of the suggestions from participants are as follows: find other female academics that have made it and speak to them as they can offer support and insight that may prove valuable. Secondly, get to know the rules and requirements and set

achievable goals and targets based on that. Others advised that one should keep a record of everything in order to prepare for biased and subjective processes. Others advised that women scholars must believe in themselves and always keep one's achievements in mind with the view that you are not inferior to others. Lastly, work to your strengths and work hard based on those because your success can fall on that. It can therefore be seen that there are many suggestions that have been made, and each individuals needs to find what strategy and approach works for them in order to success in their career.

Chapter 6

Limitations and Recommendations

6.1 Limitations and delimitations

As with any other research, this current study has various limitations. One of these relates to the sample. The aim of this research was to explore the experiences of female academics who had received the Carnegie grant from all three universities; Wits, UCT, UKZN. It was however not possible to include UKZN as the response rate from academics there was not adequate and thus data could not be collected from that university.

The sample size of this cohort of female academics was 22, which is adequate for a qualitative study. This sample is not generalizable to all those that received the grant. However, since this was a qualitative study, generalisability of findings was not the intention. The sample included only a cohort of those that received the Carnegie grant and at specific universities, thus excluding other females and institutions from the sample. Hence, it is not possible to make assumptions about all female academics. In addition, assumptions cannot be made about all universities and their cultures as other universities may be different.

As once off interviews were conducted, there was no opportunity to get further clarity or to explore ideas that emerged as salient within the analysis of findings.

A delimitation of the research is that of the scope that only focused on female academics and deliberately excluded men. This was done intentionally as the it was important to investigate female academics based on the fact that women are still marginalised in the world of work, particularly in the field of higher education. The literature and this current research has found that men are still prevailing with very few women in senior positions. A second delimitation was a specific focus on those universities that had received the Carnegie grant.

6.2 Recommendations

The information that has been obtained through this research will provide donors with details pertaining to the advancement of these academics based on having received the grant. University managers will also be privy to the details and experiences shared by participants

indicating the lack of culture change and transformation, the barriers that black female academic face in their career trajectory, and the battle they have to go through to be promoted. Using this information will hopefully sensitise relevant stakeholders to the race, gender, and belonging challenges that exist in their institutions. Through the assistance of other important bodies and organisations, appropriate approaches and strategies should be developed to try assist in the culture change and transition to improve the lives and success of female academics and create a new and accepting environment for next generations of academics to come.

In addition to the university and relevant stakeholders, it is the hope that the readers of this research, specifically those that are not aware of the struggles of women in general but more so black women, that they will pay cognisance to the to the feelings, experiences and struggles that women go through in order to succeed. That individuals will have a change in mind set and become of aware of the things that are done to alienate and separate women of colour and make themselves more mindful to how they express themselves and what it may mean to someone who is different to them.

Another recommendation is for similar studies to be conducted that explores a different sample as mentioned in the limitations. Using a different sample may allow insight and information to be gained that will be able to identify if any similarities or differences exist, on the various levels of race, gender and institutional culture.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings support the view that there are definite racial and gendered inequalities that are manifested by the institutional cultures that exist at Wits and UCT. These include white dominance and privilege that are embedded in the culture and curriculum of these institutions. Like Mabokela (2000), this research suggested that without commitment and resourcing for transformation which is alive to the nuances of intersectionality, there will be continued alienation towards black academics, there will not be enough black academics to groom and a role model for future academics, and the "whiteness" of universities will continue to manifest and be perpetuated by future generations.

This research has found that the culture has created a state of exclusion and discrimination for female and black female academics in particular as they continuously face challenges and barriers based on their skin colour and gender. The Carnegie grant has attempted to assist female and black academic in this regard through providing funding that can help with research output which ultimately assists in meeting employment and promotional requirements. Thus, more opportunities are necessary for female and black academics in order to boost their career trajectory and success as has been substantiated in this research study.

In addition to this, the study has taken on an interesting perspective of looking at intersectionality, and how women inhabit various roles which affect their careers in various ways. This illuminates that being a woman, a mother and black and so on are not separate categories when looking at one's identity, but all these factors influence the career trajectory of female academics. Based on this finding, these different factors make career advancement and development more difficult as these women are operating in a space that is not accepting or welcoming especially in departments that have mostly men and patriarchal cultures. Thus, they bump into many walls and barriers on a daily basis that they continuously need to overcome.

Participants felt that the constant battles that they face are tiresome and many academics have left to avoid having to overcome the same challenges over and over again. The emotional labour of trying to be productive and to belong in an alienating space is overwhelming for many. But this research has shown that there is a silver lining when institutions invest in the development of groups that is crucial for the development of the next generation of academics but which are currently in the margins of the academy. The cohort of women that has been funded by Carnegie and other donors has demonstrated that financial investments signal trust and confidence in their success and belonging. The rate of doctoral degrees and promotions that these investments have enabled suggest that change is occurring and the next generation of academics and students will be better off for it.

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MORG/15/007 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Tracing the career trajectories of female academics at two universities.
INVESTIGATORS	Raymond Zaakira
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	30/06/15
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 30 June 2015

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor B. Bowman)

cc Supervisor:

Dr Hugo Canham
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2017

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

CENTRE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
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31 July 2015

Dr Hugo Canham
Department of Psychology
University of the Witwatersrand

Dear Dr Canham

Re: Tracing the trajectory of Carnegie Funded Researchers in South African Universities

The Research Ethics Committee of the Centre for Higher Education Development has reviewed the documentation you submitted to it in respect of the above proposed research study.

I am very pleased to confirm that the REC has approved the research to proceed at UCT on the terms specified in your submissions to the Committee. Should the research focus and process change in any substantive way, you are requested to make a new submission to the Committee.

We wish you all the best with the work.

Yours sincerely

Dr Alan Cliff
Chair, CHED REC
(on behalf of the Committee)

Appendix 3

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 450 Fax: 011 717 4559

Dear Academic

Good day, my name is Zaakira Raymond and I am an Organisational Psychology student currently completing my Masters degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research for the purpose of obtaining this degree which involves tracing the career trajectories of female academics, looking specifically at female academics who have received a Carnegie grant; and the potential contributing factors to the retention and attrition patterns of those that have received the grant.

In order to conduct this research, I kindly request your participation in a one-on-one interview, which should take approximately 45 to 60 minutes to complete. This is a substantial investment of your time; however, your response is valuable as it will contribute towards a broader understanding of female academic's retention and attrition patterns as well as their sense of belonging within the higher education sector. I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this research.

Participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate. Participation involves being interviewed by me. Everything you say during this interview will remain confidential. The interview will be audio-recorded, and only my supervisor and I will have access to the recordings. The recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer. Although I will know who you are, confidentiality will be maintained by not disclosing any information that is of a personal nature in the report. Even though some direct quotations might be used, data will be written up in a manner that ensures that no one is identifiable. I will assign a pseudonym such as Participant A to your data in the report. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. You also have the right to refrain from answering any question should you wish to do so.

An executive summary of the study and its findings may be provided should you wish to see it. After examination of the final report, the entire research report will also be available at the University of the Witwatersrand library portal. Should you have any queries about this study, please contact me or my supervisor. My contact details, along with those of my supervisor appear below. Before beginning the interview, you will need to read through and sign the two consent forms attached. Please detach and keep this sheet.

Kind Regards,

Zaakira Raymond

Zaakirar@yahoo.com

Dr Hugo Canham (Supervisor)

Hugo.canham@wits.ac.za

Interview guide (Currently at the institution)

1. Tell me about yourself? How would you describe your identity (Probe if necessary e.g. South African, female, Black/White/Indian etc.)?
   Follow up's
   a. Which of these categories do you identify with more and why?
2. What is your current position at this institution?
   Follow up's
   a. When you started here what was your position?
   b. How did you get promoted?
3. How would you describe the role that you play within the faculty and department?
   Follow up's
   a. How do you perceive the job tasks that your role entails in terms of masculinity and femininity?
   b. Do you think the position you possess is more for the male gender? If yes, for women in this position do you think they need to have masculine characteristics in order to fulfil their job role? Why?
4. What do you enjoy most about working here?
   a. What was your greatest achievement since joining this institution?
   b. What has disappointed since joining this institution?
   c. Could these disappointments have been avoided in any way?
5. Are there any ways in which you think male academics have advantages in academic life when compared to women academics? Why?
6. Are there any ways that women academics have an easier time in this institution compared to their male counterparts? Why?
7. When did you receive the grant?
   a. How has the grant featured in your career development?
   b. Would you perceive the grant as beneficial or not?
   c. Did the Carnegie grant assist in your career development or not?
   d. In what ways did it assist or not?
8. Do you think black women academics are thriving in your department?
   a. Are there differences in the way that white female academics and black academics experience this department?
9. In your view, are women academics adequately represented in the senior roles within the school or department?
   a. In your view, what do you think are the experiences or female senior academics and heads within your department and school? Do you think they have an easier or harder time than their male counterparts?
   b. Do you feel that you belong to the department and school or do you feel like you at the margins? How?

    c. How would you describe the culture of your department/school/university? Why?

10. Is the career development from receiving the Carnegie grant a reason for you remaining at this institution and within the academic field?

    Follow up's

    a. What are the other possible reasons for you staying?

11. Have you considered leaving the university or academic field before?
    a. What made you change your mind?
    b. Are you considering leaving now?
    c. What are some of the reasons that you would leave if you were to leave?
12. Do you feel that you have faced or continue to face any forms of discrimination against you, particularly with regard to your career development?
    a. How has that effected your career development?
    b. How have you overcome those challenges?
    c. What other struggles have you faced to get into your current position?
13. What advise can you give to other women academics with regards to career development and remaining resilient?

NOTE: These questions are not exhaustive nor are their sequence in any way rigid.

Appendix 5

Interview guide (Participants who have left their institution)

1. Tell me about yourself? How would you describe your identity (Probe if necessary e.g. South African, female, Black/White/Indian etc.)?

   Follow up's

   a. Which of these categories do you identify with more and why?
2. What is your current position at this institution?

   Follow up's

   c. When you started here what was your position?
3. When did you receive the grant?
   a. How has the grant featured in your career development?
   b. Would you perceive the grant as beneficial or not?
   c. Did the Carnegie grant assist in your career development or not?
   d. In what ways did it assist or not
4. How would you describe the role that you play within the faculty and department?

   Follow up's

   a. How do you perceive the job tasks that your role entails in terms of masculinity and femininity?
   b. Do you think the position you possess is more for the male gender? If yes, for women in this position do you think they need to have masculine characteristics in order to fulfil their job role? Why?
5. What do you enjoy most about working here?
   a. What was your greatest achievement since joining this institution?
   b. What has disappointed since joining this institution?
6. Are there any ways in which you think male academics have advantages in academic life when compared to women academics?
7. Are there any ways that women academics have an easier time in this institution compared to their male counterparts?
8. What are the reasons for you leaving your previous institution or academic field?
   a. Did the Carnegie grant have an impact on your decision?
   b. Could these reasons be potential factors for you to leave this institution?
   c. Is it possible that these factors may exist in all institutions?
   d. How do you remain resilient from these factors?

9. How does this institution compare to the previous one in terms of its culture?
10. What was the culture of the previous institution?
11. Do you experience any difference in terms of race or gender discrimination?
    a. Do you feel that there is greater career development at this institution?
    b. How has that effected your career development?
    c. How have you overcome those challenges?
12. Do you feel that you have faced or continue to face any forms of discrimination against you, particularly with regard to your career development?
    a. How has that effected your career development?
    b. How have you overcome those challenges?
    c. What other struggles have you faced to get into your current position?
13. In your view, are women academics adequately represented in the senior roles within the school or department?
    a. In your view, what do you think are the experiences or female senior academics and heads within your department and school? Do you think they have an easier or harder time than their male counterparts?
    b. Do you feel that you belong to the department and school or do you feel like you at the margins? How?
    c. How would you describe the culture of your department/school/university? Why?
14. What other struggles have you faced to get into your current position
15. What advise can you give to other women academics with regards to career development and remaining resilient?

NOTE: These questions are not exhaustive nor are their sequence in any way rigid.

Appendix 6

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 450 Fax: 011 717 4559

Consent Form(Interview)

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Zaakira Raymond, for her study exploring the career trajectories of female academics. I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary.

- I may refrain from answering any questions.

- I may withdraw my participation and/or my responses from the study at any time before the research report is examined.

- There are no risks or benefits associated with participation in this study.

- All information provided will remain confidential, although I may be quoted in the research report.

- If I am quoted, a pseudonym (Participant A, Respondent B etc.) will be used.

- None of my identifiable information will be included in the research report.

- I am aware that the results of the study will be communicated in the form of a research report for the partial completion of the degree, Masters in Psychology (organisational).

- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter.

Signed:_____

Date:_____

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
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Consent Form (Recording)

I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Zaakira Raymond to be audio recorded for her study. I understand that:

- The audio-recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor.
- The audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.
- Although direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym.

Signed:_____

Date:_____